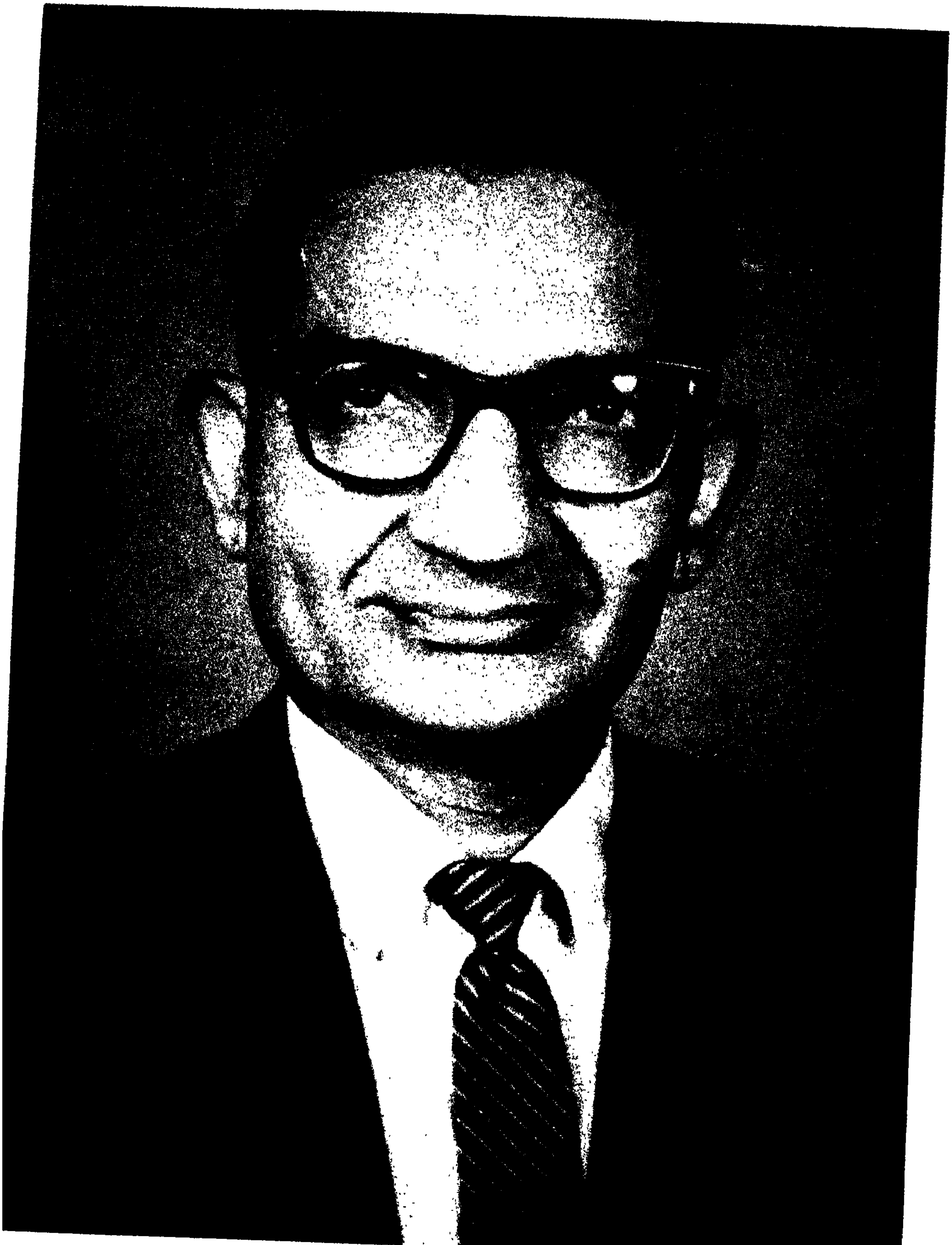
शिल्पसंवित् CONSCIOUSNESS MANIFEST

Studies in Jaina Art and Iconography and Allied Subjects in Honour of Dr. U.P. Shah

DEDICATION

शाहान्वयसमुद्भूतः प्रेमानन्दात्मजः सुधीः
उमाकान्ताभिधो विद्वान्पूर्वापरकृतश्रमः ।
जैनमूर्तिविधानज्ञः कलामर्मपरीक्षकः
जयत्यतितरां श्रीमान् दिवौकाः विश्वविश्रुतः ।।

He, of refined intellect, erudite, born in the Shah family, son of Premananda, namely, Umākanta, proficient in both Oriental and Occidental learning, expert in Jaina Iconography and Art-History, opulent, abiding in the heavenly world with his renown spread the world over, excels.



Frontispiece Dr. Umakant P. Shah (1915-1985)

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Foreword

In the year 1990 a committee under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor, M.S. University of Baroda was formed to suggest appropriate measures for a suitable memorial of Dr. U.P. Shah. The committee resolved: (1) to publish a Commemoration Volume, (2) to institute an annual award of gold medal. to be conferred on a student who secured highest marks at M.A. in the subject of Art-History/Sanskrit/Archaeology, and (3) to institute annual memorial lecture series in the above subjects to perpetuate the memory of Dr. U.P. Shah. It also resolved to raise funds and invite research articles from scholars and friends of Dr. U.P. Shah from all over the world. An appeal in this regard was issued, the response to which was indeed heart-warming. Consequently, this volume mostly containing articles on subjects related to Jaina Iconography, Art-History and Archaeology is being consecrated to his memory. However, articles on subjects connected with oriental studies in general are also included.

Coming as he did from a *vaiṣṇava* family, Dr. Shah was circumstantially led to choose the field of Jaina Art and Iconography and Art-History for specialization, nevertheless, he was at home with a host of other subjects, like Epic-Studies, Text-Criticism, Cultural History and was temperamentally interested in any subject related to Indological and Oriental Studies.

For the last five millennia this country has been witnessing the growth of two parallel thought-currents, generally described as Vedic and non-Vedic, orthodox and heterodox, a closer scrutiny of which reveals a uniformity in their world-view, cultural ideal and paradigms and basic tenets. Jainism, branded as heterodox system of thought, may be traced back to the Vedic era in its *śramana*-tradition, as the *Ṛgveda* X.136 speaks of *munayaḥ vātaraśanāḥ* or air-girded ascetics travelling through space. Jainism, not finding adequate rational accountability for the Vedāntic non-dualism, which maintains that the one gives rise to the many, that is, viewing the world characterised by multiplicity as derived from unitary, changeless, absolute, postulated five real substances, namely, *jiva*, life, *kāla*, time, *ākāśa*, space, *dharma*, virtue and *adharma*, nonvirtue. This stand earned for it the title 'realistic pluralism'. But the Jaina ideal of *Kevalī*, the accomplished *Muni* or *Arhat* who is held to be omniscient, brings it to the verge of monism, since the *Arhat*, according to Jainism itself, transcends the duality of subject and object and realizes himself to be the trans-personal absolute, unitary Being, encompassing the totality of objective existence in an act of meditational gnosis.

It is, thus, evident that both Vedānta and Jainism share an almost common cultural ideal. The other philosophical premises for both, regarding the basic tenets, such as, the theory of *karma* and re-incarnation, emancipation and meditational practices and the like, are also very similar with minor technical differences. It is, therefore, natural that the myths, symbols, and visual art-forms arising from them have been influenced mutually in both the traditions. The archetypes concretized in their sculptures and icons take rise from similar psychological background. The central thrust of both the systems of thought happens to be the realization of the impermanence of the objective aspect

of existence and the attainment of enlightenment, consequent upon ethical refinement and various meditational practices, effecting gradual psychic tranquillization-cum-stabilization and simultaneous attainment of higher vision and wisdom on the subjective side, leading ultimately to a transcendental, steady state which may be characterised as immutable, immortal and absolutely real.

The Vedic seer-poets communicated their ideas through symbols and myths, because this mode of communication was the only suitable mode for representing the contents and processes of the unconscious at the extreme end of which they discovered the Self. As the mathematically precise language is the most suitable method for representing scientific concepts and theories, allegorical method suits most for metaphysical propositions. Symbolism to metaphysics is what mathematics is to science. There persists still a confusion regarding the exact understanding of the Vedic myths and symbols, some scholars maintaining them to embody 'action-plan' for collective survival, others holding them to be metaphorical presentation of pre-historical ethnic conflicts, still others holding them to represent a process through which the atemporal, undifferentiated consciousness enters into temporality and conditioning, ahistorical ushering itself into history, a powerful protagonist of which is Eliade Mircea, a contemporary French philosopher. But of late some scholars, both oriental and occidental, have advanced the theory that they represent an intense 'inner search' for the self-existent and self-luminous principle and communicate the result of this search graphically. Postulating such a self-evident principle is the logical necessity for a thorough explanation of all actual existents of the world and their knowledge.

Thus, the ocean with sweet waves spoken of in the *Ṛgveda* IV.58.1, later in the Purāṇas called *bhavasāgara*, is seen to symbolize the unfathomable recesses of the heart, that is, the unconscious part of one's being; and Agni, the central operative factor in sacrifice, in its triple character as the terrestrial fire, atmospheric lightning and the celestial Sun, significantly called *tryambaka*, 'triple-born', later identified as Śiva, symbolizes the self-luminous Self or the *Puruṣa*. This *Puruṣa*, according to *Ṛgveda* X.90, sacrifices his status as the Primordial Absolute Being that is conscious of its unitary, infinite character in order to give rise to a condition of duality, responsible for the eventual manifestation of the world of multiplicity. Prajāpati, later called Brahmā, Sarasvatī, Indra, Varuṇa and other gods symbolically stand for the emergence of radical dyads and the like representing the finer levels of manifestation of this Unitary Primeval *Puruṣa*. Brahmā, with his four faces, metaphorically represents the principle of egoity, capable of looking around in all directions but incapable of seeing its own source, arising as it does from the undifferentiated, unmanifest and therefore utterly dark aspect of being. Sarasvatī stands for the Veda, the corpus of knowledge, representing the conceptual formation regarding the objects, their order, their relationship and the like. *Ṛk* represents sound which is responsible for the creation of form, *yajus* for motion and *sāma* for the magnetic field or radius of objects. This is *aparā vidyā*, lower knowledge. The *parā vidyā*, higher knowledge, is that of *akṣara*, immutable that underlies all existence.

The lotus on which he (Brahmā) sits represents ego's physical locus, the whole objective existence, divided into fourteen golden petals symbolically standing for that many levels of existence, according to the degree of their fineness and subtlety. He desired to trace the root of that lotus and having composed himself began to dive deeper into the vast ocean from which the lotus grew. C.G. Jung would describe it as 'descent into the unconscious'. By a gradual process of elimination of the physical and psychic components of existence, he came face to face with emptiness, beyond the principle of egoity. When even the final vestige of egoity was obliterated, he found there in that signless expanse something remaining. On closer and constant scrutiny, he discovered that this remnant or *śeṣa*

was the natural abode of the all-pervading Divinity — the Real Existent — that abided from eternity to eternity that can be described only as eternally present. This fact is symbolized by Viṣṇu reclining on *śeṣa*, represented as a snake, also called *ananta* — the infinite. Incidentally, it would be interesting to understand the mathematics (and therefore the science) of the infinite, as conceived by the Vedic seers. The infinite could be one only; there cannot be two infinites. Even the concept 'one' cannot be logically applied to it. The term *'advaita'* or 'non-dual' used to describe it suggests this fact. If from the infinite, through the process of self-differentiation, the condition of duality — namely, the ego, speech, form and their further permutations — in short, the world emerges, neither does the infinite increase nor does the dissolution of the world decrease it. Since there is no possibility of addition, multiplication and subtraction in the infinite. It is that which ever remains full or perfect. This is the story of eventual unfoldment of creation and its dissolution that the Vedic sages intend to tell in mythological and metaphorical garb. It follows that there are no two beings, one infinite and the other finite. There is only one Infinite Being that through self-conditioning appears as finite being. It stands to reason, therefore, that the finite being, through the process of self-analysis, self-criticism and self-transcendence, can attain its original status as the Infinite Being.

It is evident that the Vedic thinkers view the world as self-objectification or self-differentiation of an undifferentiated principle. In this scheme the objectified or the differentiated aspect has no separate or independent reality of its own. Brahmā, symbolically standing for the ego, is the point of self-departure and differentiation and naturally falls on the objective side. It is designated as 'non-dualism' because both the phenomenal subject and object are negated as unreal.

Incidentally, it may be stated that modern science presupposes the finality of the empirical subject and rules out the possibility of trans-personal states of consciousness. But Fritjof Capra in his work *The Turning Point* (1988, p. 376) says: "Quantum theory has changed the classical view of science considerably by revealing the crucial role of the observer's consciousness in the process of observation and thus invalidating the idea of an objective description of nature." He further says: "Can there be a science that is not based exclusively on measurement: an understanding of reality that includes quality and experience and yet can be called scientific? I believe that such an understanding is, indeed, possible. Science, in my view, need not be restricted to measurement and quantitative analysis." This advocacy to broaden the field of science is indeed timely. Science, as search after truth, cannot afford to be dogmatic and refuse to probe into the subjective pole of existence by appropriate methodology, if truth is suspected to lie on that side.

Buddhism, being a fresh offshoot from the Upanisadic soil, sought to democratize the same search after truth, unnaturally confined to the narrow Brahmanical circle. It advocated a similar meditational way leading directly to the realization of emptiness, to the exclusion of mythological ritualism and metaphysical speculation. It critically demolished all rationally constructed theories about the ultimate reals, propounded by the followers of different religious denominations. So far, the task accomplished by Buddhist thinkers was in consonance with the Vedic Indian ethos, but when its later followers insisted on interpreting the concepts of *anātman* and emptiness in absolutely negative terms, verging to nihilism, contrary to the original teachings of the Buddha, it lost the favour of the elite and began to lose hold among masses. While teaching the meditation on emptiness to Ananda, the Buddha had said: "I through abiding in emptiness, am now abiding in the fullness thereof" (*Majjhima Nikāya*, sutta, 121). Moreover, in the name of *tantra*, the later followers of Buddha engaged in practices unacceptable to the finer

taste of the cultured elite. It had, therefore, to be uprooted from India. Despite this, the blessed Tathāgata Buddha, whose original teachings concorded with the Upaniṣadic spirit, has been held in high esteem as the most exalted, enlightened one and is considered as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Unlike Buddhism, Jainism sustained its theories and practices through several millennia of its existence by necessary adaptations. Though they denied the existence of God, the Jaina ideal of *Kevali*, on account of his omniscience, corresponds closely to the positive concept of *ātman* of the Upaniṣads. They also have been generous enough to recognise and accommodate popular aspirations and practices needed by the religious-minded masses.

Dr. U.P. Shah combined in himself the best elements of both these cultural traditions. It is, therefore, in order that this volume dedicated to his sacred memory should represent a broad spectrum of philosophical and cultural standpoints. And like the *anekāntavāda* of the Jainas, to put forth critical and different viewpoints for looking at the multi-faceted reality that articles on different topics of Jaina and Indological studies are included in it.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. V.C. Shah, Vice-Chancellor, M.S. University of Baroda for agreeing to chair the Commemoration Volume Committee, for providing necessary guidance in the realization of this project, and for writing preface to this volume. I thank sincerely all the members of Dr. U.P. Shah Commemoration Volume Committee and the Editorial Committee for their cooperation. Though it may give rise to an appearance of impropriety, I would like to thank Shri Dilipbhai U. Shah, son of Dr. U.P. Shah, without whose sincere and arduous efforts this project could hardly have materialised. I am also thankful to all the scholars, friends, and relatives of Dr. Shah who contributed substantially by way of articles, financial assistance and practical help. I also thank Shri B.C. Chauhan, Technical Assistant and other colleagues working in the Oriental Institute who laboured silently for the success of the project. I would also thank Shri Shakti Malik, Proprietor, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi for neat and prompt printing of this volume.

Vadodara
Guru Purnima, V.S. 2050
July 22, 1994

R.T. Vyas
Chief Editor

PREFACE

I am happy to place this Commemoration Volume in the hands of scholars of Oriental Studies, published in the sacred memory of Dr. U.P. Shah (1915-1988), an internationally reputed and recognised scholar of Art-History in particular and Indian Cultural History in general. He was one of the pioneers in the field of the then nascent discipline of Art-History and distinguished himself in the area of Indian Sculpture and Painting and wrote a valuable book on Jaina Art and Iconography, apart from several other works and over one hundred and fifty research articles published in reputed research journals of several Universities and Institutions of the world. He contributed substantially in the development of the Jaina school of painting after the pioneering work of Dr. Norman Brown and Manjulal Majumdar, particularly in the state of Gujarat.

The then Bombay Government assigned him the task of writing authentic volumes on two newly discovered art-treasures of Gujarat, namely, the bronzes from Akota near Vadodara and the sculptures from Shamlaji in north Gujarat. He, in his consequent works, showed that Vadodara and its ambient area in the western Gujarat had developed in the medieval era its own school of bronze-sculpture with fine Jaina content—parallel to the Chola bronzes of South India and Pala bronzes of Bengal and Bihar. He also exhibited affinity of the Śaivite and Mātṛkā sculptures of Shamlaji with those of Elephanta. Moreover, his researches in the Lakulīśa cult proved Karavan 30 kms to the south-east of Vadodara to be the most important centre of the Śaivite cult in the beginning of the Christian era from where it spread upto Almora and Nepal in the north, upto Orissa in the east and upto Nagapattinam near Tanjore in the south.

He distinguished himself by discharging his duties meticulously as Deputy Director, Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda and as the last General Editor and Head of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa Project. He was a dynamic member of the Senate of the M.S.University from 1958 to 1970 and was the Founder President of "Heritage Trust of Baroda". Hence it is quite proper that this volume containing articles of scholars and friends of Dr. U.P. Shah from all over the world is dedicated to his memory.

Vadodara
5-12-92

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I

Dr. Umakant P. Shah: An Indologist and Art Historian

Ratan Parimoo

In the sad demise of the 73-year-old Dr. Umakant Shah on the Diwali Day (November 1988), Gujarat had lost a distinguished scholar of Indian Culture and Indian Art History. Born in Baroda on March 20, 1915, he belonged to the generation of Indian scholars who enriched the field of Indian Art History in the era when the discipline was still in its formative stage and fortunately rich unexplored material became available. He belonged to the post-Independence generation of scholars like Sivaramamurti, Vasudev Sharan Agrawala and Motichandra whose scholarship was strongly based on the knowledge of Indian culture, religion, Sanskrit texts etc., and with such rich grounding they handled extensive range of Indian sculpture and paintings, working on their chronology, iconography and interpretation. Indeed on Jaina art he not only collaborated with such a stalwart as Motichandra (then, Director of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) but specifically continued the unearthing and presenting the contribution of Gujarat in developing the school and style of Jaina painting begun earlier by Norman Brown and Manjulal Majumdar. Dr. Shah not only highlighted the art of Gujarat and its contribution to the total Indian Art History, but by establishing his astute scholarship became the pride of Gujarat. Yet Dr. Shah always remained a modest, unassuming, humble man.

Having completed his doctoral thesis on 'Elements of Jaina Art' the post of Editor of the prestigious Rāmāyaṇa Project (since 1965) at the Oriental Institute, Baroda, of which he was also designated as Deputy Director (since 1954), gave him the academic base. Making best use of the opportunity from here he did his major scholarly work, thus raising also its name still further. He became a worthy successor in art historical studies to his predecessor Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya (a former Director of the Oriental Institute) whom he considered as one of his gurus.

Dr. Bhattacharya had greatly contributed as a scholar of Buddhist iconography, particularly of the Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism. Dr. U.P. Shah was to emerge as a great scholar of Jaina art and iconography which remained his life-long pursuit. As a Baroda-based scholar he was also worthy successor of the great art historian, Dr. Hermann Goetz, the German immigrant who organized the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery during the 1940s. Dr. Shah had received guidance from him and had worked in collaboration with him on art historical material from Gujarat. He was also closely connected with the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, a prominent centre of Jaina studies.

In his official capacity as the General Editor and Head of the Rāmāyaṇa Department of the Oriental Institute he carried out the work of Critical Edition of Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa with meticulous care. Besides, he edited and published two important works under the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, one particularly a rare music and dance text from

Gujarat, viz., Sangītopaniṣadsāroddhāra of vācanācārya Sudhākalaśa. It was through his efforts that the Rāmāyaṇa Department has been continued as a permanent wing for preparing critical editions of nationally important epics and Purāṇas.

He either translated his research papers in Gujarati or did entirely fresh papers in the Gujarati language, viz., on Kṛṣṇa Līlā and on the Nātha Sampradāya. The bibliography of his published research papers in Gujarati language is equally extensive as those written in English. By using Gujarati as medium of academic research he contributed to scholarship in regional language which is another laudable contribution by him, and needs to be continued if we wish the regional language should fully develop. Such contribution of Dr. Shah was duly recognised when he was awarded the gold medal by the Editorial Board of the then prestigious Gujarati monthly, 'Kumar'.

Although a Vaiṣṇava himself but with tenacious energy he pursued his studies in Jaina art and iconography, writing on illustrated manuscripts on palm leaf, paper, patlis and cloth, preserved in many of the Jaina Bhandars and on newly discovered hoards of Jaina bronze images. These writings mostly as long or short papers are spread over three decades starting with his 'Studies in Jaina Arts' in 1955. His focus had been to reveal the consistent development in both the genres based on objective data like inscriptions, colophons etc. His study of paintings culminated in the comprehensive volume of 'Treasures of Jaina Bhandars' (1978). But his magnum opus was yet to come which he planned in the form of two volumes, entitled 'Jaina Rūpa Maṇḍana', the first of which was published in 1987. Atleast the scholarly world is fortunate that much of his life work especially covering Jaina images and stone sculpture was put together in it. We hope the succeeding volume could also be brought out.

Dr. Shah was catapulted to national and international fame when he was chosen by the then Bombay Government to write the authoritative volumes on the two important newly discovered art treasures from Gujarat, one covering the bronze hoard from Akota, and the other on sculptures from Samalaji. The monographs on these two subjects were published in 1959 and 1960 respectively. The Akota Bronzes, discovered in Baroda itself, revealed the antiquity of Baroda's history, and also established that with its dominant Jaina content, Western India also had its own school of bronze sculpture parallel to already well-established Chola bronzes from South India and Pala bronzes from Bengal and Bihar during the medieval period. With the Śaivite and Mātṛkā sculptures of Samalaji in north Gujarat, which showed affinities with the great sculptural monument of Elephanta, it was possible to demonstrate that Gujarat was part of the development of sculpture in stone which began in direct rock in western ghats from the first century B.C. onwards.

Dr. Shah in his characteristic mild manner proposed that Western India had developed its own regional school of sculpture beginning from the Kṣatrapa period onwards which should be seen as independent of the Gupta school and not its offshoot. It was amply supported by the discovery of an even earlier monument, a Buddhist brick stupa at Devni Mori (near Samalaji) the authors of which had established it as a late 4th century structure. Dr. Shah's theory of a regional Indian School in Western India outside Gupta territory was quite contrary to the accepted academic views, which he also presented in International Seminar at Los Angeles in 1970. He was again invited to yet another international seminar organised by the great scholar, Dr. Stella Kramrisch, in U.S.A. in 1981 on Śiva and Śaivite Art, where Dr. Shah presented his researches on 'Lakulīśa Cult and Images', which was another serious preoccupation of Dr. Shah on which he intended to publish a full volume which has remained unrealised.

Indian scholarly world had honoured him by electing him the president of Fine Arts and Technical Sciences Section of the All India Oriental Conference held at Banaras in 1968. In his busy academic life he had also served on the Art Purchase Committee of the National

Museum (Delhi). Besides he was co-editor of the Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art (Calcutta) during 1960s and 1970s.

The undersigned had the privilege of working with him when the undersigned was the executive secretary of the Indian Association of Art Historians and Dr. Shah its president. He had in his own gentle way been encouraging the efforts of the undersigned to build up a well-organised centre for art historical studies in our university as the only centre of its kind in Gujarat. Mild mannered with a small build, Dr. Shah will be remembered as a towering scholar of Indian Art History of our country.

Abbreviations:

1. B.M.P.G. Bulletin of Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda.
2. B.P.W.M. Bulletin of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
3. J.I.M. Journal of Indian Museum.
4. J.I.S.O.A. Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.
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ADDITIONAL LIST

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6. Introduction of Śāsana-devatās in Jaina worship, paper read before Prakrit and Jaina Section, All India Oriental Conference, Bhuvanesvara, 1959.
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Note: In addition, several review articles were published, from time to time, in various journals like J.O.I. and J.I.S.O.A. Dr. Shah also edited several volumes of the J.I.S.O.A., published since 1968-69.

Dr. U.P. Shah — Some Reflections

R.N. Mehta

One evening in 1988 I went to Dr. U.P. Shah. The conversation took into consideration the life cycle in the Universe. In examining several aspects of life and its termination Dr. Shah observed that recently one of his relatives living in Bombay took his bath and slept for good. Before the family members came to know of the incident, he had already left the mortal world, without asking for any service from anybody.

The incident had touched him. After a few months early on the Dipavali day that is celebrated for many reasons, Dr. Shah went out, took the newspaper, came in the house and suddenly passed away, as reported by Mrs. Aruna Shah and Shri Dilip Shah, when after getting the news I went to see them.

Dr. Umakant Premanand Shah alias Babubhai was a Ramabhakta, with great faith in Mantrajapa. He regularly wrote Rama Nama, and offered his worship to Shri Rama. This was due to his family background. Often while going out, whenever we would go towards Jubilee Garden, Umakantbhai will often change the route to the Rama Mandir near Rokadnath Hanuman, offer his prayer and then move for other activities. This deep religiosity was accompanied by insatiable and firm belief in truth. This search of truth was given a sharp edge by his spiritual teacher Mastana Maharaja on one side and by Professor B. Bhattacharyya on the other. He studied Epigraphy and Palaeography under him and he initiated young Umakant to the vast field of Iconography. Professor Bhattacharyya's concepts about Iconography were very clear and inspiring. He had a wonderful sense of leading his students to clear understanding by loving but sharp criticism, emphasis on checking the original references and drawing the conclusions like a true Naiyayika. He used to frown on us if we copied from secondary or tertiary writings and showered his blessings when conclusions were drawn on the basis of original primary data.

Umakantbhai was my senior under Prof. Bhattacharyya, so, when I wanted some book, that was taken by him, Prof. Bhattacharyya asked me to collect it from him. Umakantbhai was living in Kuberbhaichand's Khancha in Ghadiali Pole, I was living in Naviple at a distance of about 200 metres, I went to him. He was squatting on the floor with a portable typewriter in front of him and was busy typing something. He kindly asked me to sit down, completed the line that he had in mind, and asked me the purpose of my visit. When I asked for the book and told him about my studies, he was overjoyed. He not only gave the book, but from that day our relations were instilled by common interest in Indology. As a young student I was to gain excellent training in many fields of Indian history and culture from my guru-bandhu.

I came home and narrated the story of my meeting with Umakant to my mother, because we were staying in the khadaki to the north of his residence. She remembered him very well and told me about some training in Gujarati that the older boy was giving to me when I was just a kid. Our old memories revived and we worked from 1944, throughout on many projects and had many pleasant memories.

One of our close friends was Maganbhai Desai. All three of us used to sit and gossip

about many academic subjects. These discussions not only helped me but were responsible for my training in Field Archaeology and subsequent researches. One problem that haunted us was about the history of our town. We knew the Pauranic stories and the known writings about Vadodara, more through the study of Umakantbhai, but they did not satisfy us. Fortunately, I had received sufficient training in field-work, and knew the importance of stratigraphy and ceramics. These points were discussed by us at a most appropriate time. These discussions inspired Umakantbhai and Maganbhai. They started looking at the diggings of telephone lines, foundation of medical college, nurses quarters and I joined them. Our first clear understanding was of the glazed ceramics and from that base we built up ceramic sequence that stood the test of time and excavations. The history of Vadodara and its environs was put on sound basis, due primarily to the enthusiasm of Umakantbhai.

His acquaintance with Dr. Hermann Goetz, his organising abilities and position in the Government of Baroda State were a great help in these studies. But, other problems were also existing in the academic field. One of the most important ones was the search of Pre-Chaulukyan Art Tradition of Gujarat. With the willing cooperation of Dr. Hermann Goetz, Umakantbhai joined in the effort and many sculptures were discovered and retrieved for the Baroda Museum. The greatest achievement was the discovery of Akota Hoard.

It started as an interception by the author's mother of a few bronzes and developed into a full-fledged activity with great excitement. Umakantbhai played a major role in this effort. The highly patinated images were carefully cleaned, studied and published by him as a student of Jaina Iconography that he was completing in those years.

He was a meticulous worker and he would not be satisfied with data. Ultimately we made him submit the thesis that ran in four large volumes. Dr. Motichandra used to tell him, "Umakantji Ph.D. ke liye Mahabharat ki jururat nahin hoti". This work is a great contribution in the field. For it he would work at night, take a lot of tea and sometimes Ms. Arunaben would prepare some edibles after mid-night. In the morning she often informed me that Umakant had worked throughout the night and was sleeping after 5 a.m. I was often reminded of his schedule of work which could be compared with that of Jehangir.

His cheerful disposition and desire for academic growth kept him busy in these activities while he maintained himself on the family business, that underwent a change. He had opened a ghee-shop near Mahalaxmi Mata in Ghadiali Pole. He conducted his business and carried on his academic activities. He completed his Diploma in Museology in the first batch. He disliked taxidermy and expressed his ideas in no uncertain terms, but conservation was his special interest.

The changing patterns of economy in the fifties were straining him. He was offered the post of Deputy Director of Oriental Institute, that he accepted and worked on it till he retired. Prior to that he worked for some time in the explorations on the Mahi. However, the work did not attract him, so he had given it up. His Ramabhakti, his excellent background of Sanskrit and his devotion played a key role in the project of Ramayana. An exhibition of Ramayana project was held in the central hall of the Baroda College. He planned it, organised it and executed it with infinite care to details. It was considered to be a success, but to achieve it Umakantbhai used to spend sleepless nights, rested on benches and saw that the work was completed in time. The same enthusiasm was witnessed during several exhibitions that he undertook, some of them were on the History of Vadodara, Akota Hoard, Oriental Conference at Ahmedabad, etc.

His studies brought him fame and friends. His house was a centre of many distinguished scholars. He was an excellent host and Ms. Arunaben's devoted *Athitya* is proverbial in the circle that knows him. He guided students through their difficulties, but would not tolerate slipshod writing or argument. He would not spare words to show his displeasure like Shiva whose name fortunately he bore. When he would show his Trinetra, those close to him would

bear with him for a few minutes and the Ashutosh form of benign Shiva would become manifest. Impatient students, therefore, used to keep a safe distance from him, but calm students benefited from his immense knowledge and inspiration. He would treat all students equally and would not care to know their guide. His guiding principle was that knowledge should flow freely and without any hindrance.

He wrote in English, Gujarati and edited works in Sanskrit and used Prakrit very effectively. His arguments would be straight and to the point. He hated unnecessary verbosity that he called "Padding", so his corrections were considered almost acidic by those who thought otherwise.

He was a versatile scholar of Indology with specialisation in Indian Art History. He would carefully examine the objects, photograph them himself or get them photographed and use the visual aids effectively to deliver his message. His writings and edited works will be long remembered by the coming generations. His contemporaries praised him. He was elected as Chairman of Fine Arts Section of All India Oriental Congress and was a recipient of several honours that he would not talk about, but took them in the stride of his academic development that continued till the end of his life.

3

Jaina Iconography: Evolution and Appraisal

Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari

The contribution of north India in the development of Jaina iconography is of much more significance than what has been brought out. According to the Jaina tradition, all the 24 Jinas of present *avasarpiṇī* aeon were born in this region and it was here that they spent their active lives. Perhaps this was the reason that most of the Jaina deities gained sculptural representations first in the region. The earliest Jina images with their characteristic iconographic features such as the flowing hair-locks of Ṛṣabhanātha, seven-hooded snake canopy of Pārśvanātha, the *śrīvatsa*, the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, the cognizances and the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs also make their first appearance in this region. However, the characteristic *uṣṇīṣa* and the *śrīvatsa* are generally absent in the Jina images of south India. The figures of the Jaina Mahāvidyās, the complete sets of 24 *Yakṣīs*, Jīvantasvāmin Mahāvīra and Jaina tutelary couples etc. are also conspicuous by their absence in south India. This absence requires proper investigation.[1]

The Indus Valley civilization (c. 2300-1750 B.C.) is the earliest civilization of India. The figures on some of the seals from Mohen-Jo-Daro and also a male torso from Harappa remind of the Jina images on account of their nudity and posture, similar to *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, which is exhibited more emphatically in Lohānīpur torso.[2] But nothing can be said with certainty until the Indus Valley script is deciphered finally.

Apart from the doubtful instance as above we do not have any literary and archaeological evidence regarding the Jina image prior to Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra is never said to have visited any Jina temple or worshipped any Jina image. In this connection it would be relevant to make reference to the Jīvantasvāmin Mahāvīra image which is said to have been carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra (c. late sixth century B.C.), hence called Jīvantasvāmin or Jīvitasvāmin. According to the tradition, a sandalwood image of Mahāvīra, wearing *mukuṭa* and other ornaments befitting royalty, was carved in his life-time during the period of his *tapas* in palace, about a year prior to his renunciation. Like the Bodhisattva before reaching Buddhahood, Jīvantasvāmin also represented a conception which may be called *Jina-sattva*. U.P. Shah, the first scholar to identify the Jīvantasvāmin images, has accepted the literary tradition and conceded that Jīvantasvāmin image was carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra.[3] He has tried to reinforce his view on the strength of the two Jīvantasvāmin images of the early Maitraka period discovered from Akoṭā near Vadodara in Gujarat. These images exhibit Jīvantasvāmin as standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and wearing royal dress and ornaments, and one of the images also bears the word 'Jīvantasāmī' in the pedestal inscription.

The Jaina *āgamas*, the *Kalpasūtra* and early literary works like the *Paumacariya* of Vimala Sūri (A.D. 473), however, do not refer to the Jīvantasvāmin image. The earliest references to these images are found in the later commentaries of the *āgamas* (c. mid sixth century A.D. onwards), and other works, namely, the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, the *Āvaśyakacūrṇī*

and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* of Hemacandra (A.D. 1169-72). These works mention the existence of the Jīvantasvāmin images at Kośala, Ujjain, Daśapura (Mandsore), Vidisha, Puri and Vītabhayapaṭṭana. The *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* while dealing at length with the legend and the iconographic features of Jīvantasvāmin images mentions that Chaulukya ruler Kumārapāla (c. A.D. 1145-76) caused the excavations at Vītabhayapaṭṭana and unearthed the Jīvantasvāmin image.[4] According to Hemacandra, the first and original image made by God Vidyunmālin was installed at Vidisha. However, there is no literary or archaeological reference to the Jīvantasvāmin image prior to the fifth-sixth century A.D. Hence the tradition of the contemporaneity of the Jīvantasvāmin image with Mahāvīra seems only to represent the prevalence of such a belief in the later Gupta period.

The earliest-known Jina image, preserved in the Patna Museum, comes from Lohānīpur (Patna, Bihar) and is datable to c. third century B.C. The nudity and the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*, suggesting rigorous austerity, of the image were confined only to the Jinas. Another Jina image from Lohānīpur is assignable to the Śuṅga period or slightly later.[5] A terracotta Jina figure of c. third century B.C. is also reported from Ayodhyā.[6] The reference to the Kaliṅga Jina (image), once taken away by Nandarāja, and brought back by Khāravela (c. 25 B.C.), in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela is of special interest in this connection.[7] Thus the Jina images from Lohānīpur and Ayodhyā and also the evidence of Hāthīgumphā inscription distinctly suggest that the antiquity of the Jina image may well be pushed back atleast to c. fourth-third century B.C.

The two early bronze images of Pārśvanātha, differently dated by scholars from second century B.C. to first century A.D., are in the collections of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and Patna Museum.[8] These figures, provided respectively with the five- and seven-hooded snake canopy, are rendered as sky-clad and standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*.

Mathurā was a stronghold of Jainism from c. 100 B.C. to 1177 A.D. The early (c. 100 B.C. to the Kuṣāṇa period) Jaina sculptures from Mathurā are of special iconographic significance, because they exhibit certain formative stages in the development of Jaina iconography.[9] The vast amount of veritable vestiges include the *āyāgapaṭas*, independent Jina images, *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā*, Sarasvatī, Naigameṣī and also the narrative scenes from the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra. Of all these, the *āyāgapaṭas* (tablets of homage) of second-first century B.C. merit special attention, since they represent the transitional phase of Jaina iconography in which the worship of auspicious symbols together with the Jinas in human form was in vogue. One such example of c. first century B.C., bearing the figure of Pārśvanātha, seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* in the centre, is in the collection of the State Museum, Lucknow (J253). The rendering of the Jinas in *dhyāna-mudrā* (seated cross-legged) and the representation of *śrīvatsa* in the centre of their chest appear for the first time in the Śuṅga-Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā.

I have elsewhere discussed the problem of exact sect affiliation of the Kuṣāṇa Jina images from Mathurā which to the most of the scholars are the products of the Digambara sect in view of the nudity of the Jina images.[10] On the basis of the *acelaka* (sky-clad) and *sacelaka* (draped) ways of living for Jaina friars and Jinas being conceived always sky-clad in *Āgama* texts, it has been observed that the Kuṣāṇa Jaina images from Mathurā, showing full concurrence with the Āgamic tradition, can suggest no sectarian affiliation with the Digambaras. It rather, and upto atleast the mid second century A.D., represents the undifferentiated proto-Śvetāmbara and Yāpanīya sects. The earliest examples showing the difference of the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects in visual representations are known only from late fifth century A.D. onwards.

The Gupta period was a milestone in the development of Jaina iconography, and some of the most significant iconographic features, as for example, the distinguishing cognizances (*lāñchana*) and the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* figures, were introduced during the period. The Gupta

Jaina sculptures are reported from several sites, like Mathurā, Rājgir, Durjanpur, Vidisha, Vārāṇasī, Chausā and Akoṭā. The images of Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha, Puṣpadanta, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were carved during the period. The first Śvetāmbara Jaina image, known from Akoṭā, was also carved in the Gupta period.

The history of Jainism continued uninterrupted in the post-Gupta period. The Jaina art and literature thrived most vigorously between the 10th and the 15th century A.D. The period saw the building of a very large number of Jaina temples with exquisite sculptural carvings. Gujarat and Rajasthan were the strongholds of the Śvetāmbara sect while the vestiges yielded by other regions are affiliated mainly to the Digambara and the *Yāpanīya* sects. The tradition of carving 24 *devakulikās* with the figures of 24 Jinas therein was popular mainly at the Śvetāmbara sites. The Digambara Jina images show much more variety in iconographic details than the Śvetāmbara images, wherein the figures of Navagrahas, Bāhubalī, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with Neminātha, *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair, and few other goddesses, like Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, are carved in the *parikara*. At the Śvetāmbara sites the mention of the names of the Jinas in the pedestal inscription was preferred to providing them with their respective cognizances which are usually found in Digambara Jina images. The rendering of the narratives from the lives of the Jinas was popular mainly with the Śvetāmbaras.

The sixteen Mahāvidyās were accorded the most favoured position after the Jinas in Western India while in other parts of the country the *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs occupied that position. The collective renderings of the 16 Mahāvidyās are found only on the Śāntinātha temple at Kumbhāriā (Banaskantha, Gujarat: ceiling: A.D. 1077) and the Vimala vasahī (two sets, one in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* ceiling: c. A.D. 1150), and the other in the corridor ceiling of cell no. 41: c. A.D. 1185), Lūṇa vasahī (*raṅgamaṇḍapa* ceiling, A.D. 1230) and the Kharatara vasahī (two sets, c. A.D. 1459) in Delvāḍā at Mt. Ābū (Rajasthan).[11] Of the sixteen Mahāvidyās, Rohiṇī, Vajrāṅkuśā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Apraticakrā, Acchuptā and Vairoṭyā were the most popular ones. The representation of Śāntidevī, Brahmaśānti *Yakṣa*, Jīvantasvāmin Mahāvīra, Gaṇeśa, the parents of the 24 Jinas, and some goddesses, not known in Jaina tradition, was confined mainly to the western Indian sites. The figures of Sarasvatī, Aṣṭa-dikpālas, Navagrahas and Kṣetrapāla were popular in both the sects. The figures of Rohiṇī, Manovegā, Gaurī and Gāndhārī *Yakṣīs*, Garuḍa *Yakṣa*, Jaina tutelary couples and Rāma and Sītā occur only at the Digambara sites. There are also some icon types and images from the Digambara Jaina sites like Deogarh and Khajurāho, which are not known in the tradition. The rendering of the *dvitīrthī* and *tritīrthī* Jina images and the representation of Sarasvatī and Bāhubalī in *tritīrthī* Jina images, and *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pair with Bāhubalī and Ambikā are some such rare examples which need further probing.[12]

The Jainas developed their pantheon by assimilating and transforming different Brāhmanical legendary characters and deities in Jaina creed which could distinctly be gleaned through their vast literature as well as surviving visual imagery. Vimala vasahī and Lūṇa vasahī (c. 1150-1230) exhibit some of very interesting renderings of Kṛṣṇalīlā and other Vaiṣṇava themes which include Kāliya-*damana*, Kṛṣṇa playing *Holī* with *kanakaśṛṅgakośa* (as mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*) with *gopas* and *gopikās*, the episode of Bali and Vāmana, *samudramanthana* and vivid carvings pertaining to Kṛṣṇa *janma* and *bālalīlās*.[13] The figures of saptamātṛkās, finding no mention in Jaina works, were also carved in some of the examples known from Mathurā, Gyaraspur, Vimala vasahī and Khaṇḍagiri. We also encounter figures of several such deities, mainly the female ones, at the prolific Jaina sites like Vimala vasahī, Lūṇa vasahī and Kumbhāriā which could not be identified on the testimony of the available textual prescriptions. Most of the deities in such cases show the influence of the Brāhmanical goddesses. Vimala vasahī alone has 16 such goddesses, some of which with bull as mount and holding either *triśūla* and *sarpa* or *triśūla* in both the hands have distinct Śaivite stamp.

The figures of male deities in these sculptures are meagre in number compared to the female ones, which probably owes to the Tāntric influence and Śakti worship. The Pārśvanātha Jaina temple (A.D. 950-70) at Khajurāho contains all along its facade the divine figures with their Śaktis in *āliṅgana*-pose, which include Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Rāma, Balarāma, Agni, Kāma and Kubera. Such figures are against the accepted norms of Jaina tradition and were actually carved under the influence of Brāhmanical temples at the site.[14] Many of these divine figures, excepting Ambikā and a few Jinas, are related with the Brāhmanical pantheon. On the south and north *śikhara* and also the facade of the *garbhagṛha* of the Pārśvanātha temple, there are four sculptures showing amorous couples. The instances of erotic figures in Jaina context, datable between 10th and 12th centuries A.D., are also known from Deogarh (doorway, Temple No. 18), Śāntinātha temple at Nādlāi (Pali, Rajasthan), Ajitanātha temple at Tāraṅgā (Mahesana, Gujarat) and Neminātha temple at Kumbhāriā.[15] The presence of erotic figures at Jaina sites is gross violation of the Jaina tradition which does not even conceive of any Jaina god alongwith his Śakti in *āliṅgana* pose. This was due to the Tāntric influence in Jainism during the early medieval times (c. 9th to 11th centuries A.D.). The Jaina *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* (A.D. 783) makes the point more clear by referring to the construction of a Jina temple by a *śreṣṭhī*—Kāmadatta, who for the general attraction of people also caused installation of the figures of Kāmadeva and Rati in the temple.[16] It also alludes to the worship of Rati and Kāmadeva alongwith the Jina images. It may also be noted here that the Tāntric influence was accepted in Jainism with certain restraints. Overt eroticism was never so pronounced in Jaina literature and sculptural manifestations as was the case with Brāhmanical and Buddhist religions, which is evident from the examples carved on the temples of Khajurāho, Moḍherā, Koṇārk, Bhubaneśvara and many other places. The erotic figures from Jaina temples as compared to Brāhmanical ones are neither so large in number nor so obscene in manifestations.

During the Pāla period the Jainas visualised some innovatory forms as well which was apparently inspired by the tradition of syncretic images.[17] A few Jina images of 9th-10th centuries from Sonbhandar cave and Vaibhāra hill at Rājgir are endowed with five- or seven-hooded snake canopy but the cognizances on the pedestals are conch, elephant and lion which thus show the composite features of the Jinas and hence identifiable as Pārśvanātha-Ajitanātha, Supārśvanātha-Neminātha and Pārśvanātha-Mahāvīra.

Deogarh was singularly important for innovatory icon types which although not referred to in literary injunctions are well in tune with the Jaina tradition.[18] These include particularly the figures of Bharata *Cakravartin* and Bāhubali, the two sons of Ṛṣabhanātha, who owing to their rigorous austerity were elevated in status to equal the Jinas, highest in Jaina worship. The features like the *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and the figures of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* (Gomukha and Cakreśvarī of Ṛṣabhanātha), invariably shown with the Jinas, have been associated with Bharata and Bāhubali for the sake of their elevation. These features were consequently adopted at a number of other Jaina sites namely Ellorā, Khajurāho and Bilhari.

Deogarh has also yielded the earliest instance of the collective rendering of the 24 *Yakṣīs*, carved on the facade of Temple No. 12 (A.D. 862).[19] The names of the *Yakṣīs* and their respective Jinas are labelled in the present instance. The names of the *Yakṣīs* surprisingly concur with the list available in the eighth century Digambara work *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*. As regards iconography, the *Yakṣīs* reveal distinct bearing of the Jaina Mahāvidyās of the Śvetāmbara tradition as enunciated in the *Caturviṁśatikā* of Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri (c. 8th century A.D.) and as represented at the facade of the Mahāvīra Temple at Osiāṅ (Jodhpur, Rajasthan), said to have been built during the reign of the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja (close of 8th century A.D.). The subsequent examples of the collective renderings of the 24 *Yakṣīs* are known from Patiāndāi (on the *parikara* of Ambikā image, 11th century A.D., Satna, M.P.,

now in the Allahabad Museum) and the Bārābhujī cave (Khaṇḍagiri, Puri, Orissa, 11th-12th century A.D.).[20]

Jaina Divinities

The Jaina pantheon was evolved by the end of the fifth century A.D. At this stage it mainly consisted of the 24 Jinas, *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*, Vidyādevīs, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Naigameṣī, Bāhubali and other Śalākāpuruṣas. The Śalākāpuruṣas or the Mahāpuruṣas, according to Jaina tradition, are great souls. The lives of the Śalākāpuruṣas, numbering 63, became favourite themes of Jaina *Purāṇas*. Their list includes the 24 Jinas, 12 Cakravartins (Bharata, Sagara etc.), nine Baladevas (Rāma, Balarāma etc.), nine Vāsudevas (Lakṣmaṇa, Kṛṣṇa etc.) and nine Prativāsudevas (Bali, Prahalāda, Rāvaṇa etc.). It may be noted here that only the names and some of the general features of the deities were finalised by the fifth century A.D., while their detailed iconographic features were finalised between the 8th and 13th century A.D. The development of Jaina pantheon was more or less identical in both the sects and the differences are noticed mainly in regard to their names and, at times, their iconographic features. The story of the transfer of embryo of Mahāvīra, the image of Jīvantasvāmin Mahāvīra and reference to Mallinātha as female Tīrthaṅkara do not find mention in the Digambara works. Jaina art and iconography in respect of the assimilation of Brāhmanical legendary characters (Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Bharata etc.) and deities in Jaina pantheon and consequently their expression in visual and iconic forms have remained largely ignored.

Jinas or the Tīrthaṅkaras

The nucleus of Jaina pantheon and so also the visual manifestation, representing the concretization of thoughts and myths into figurative and pictorial art, centred around the 24 Jinas or the Tīrthaṅkaras who were venerated as the *Devādhideva*, the supreme deity. As a consequence, the Jina images outnumber the images of all other Jaina deities. The Jina images denote *bhāva* worship and not the *dravya* worship (physical or idol worship). Jina worship is regarded mainly a worship not of a deity but of a human being who has attained perfection and freedom from all bondage. The passionless Jinas or *arhats* are *vītarāgas* and therefore neither favour nor frown upon anybody. Because of this only Jinas were represented always in the attitude of meditation while their counterpart Buddha, in due course of time, was represented with such gestures as the *abhaya-mudrā*, the *varada-mudrā* etc. which show his concern about the world. Moreover, none of the Jinas was ever credited with performance of miracles even at the time of their *upasargas* while the case was reverse with Buddha. Thus it is apparent that the Jainas by strictly adhering to the *dhyāna* (seated cross-legged) and the *kāyotsarga* (standing erect) *mudrās* in respect of the Jinas have shown their unceasing respect for *yogic* postures of transcendental meditation and bodily abandonment. However, to cater to the needs and aspirations of the worshippers for material possessions, the *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs* were associated with each of the 24 Jinas.

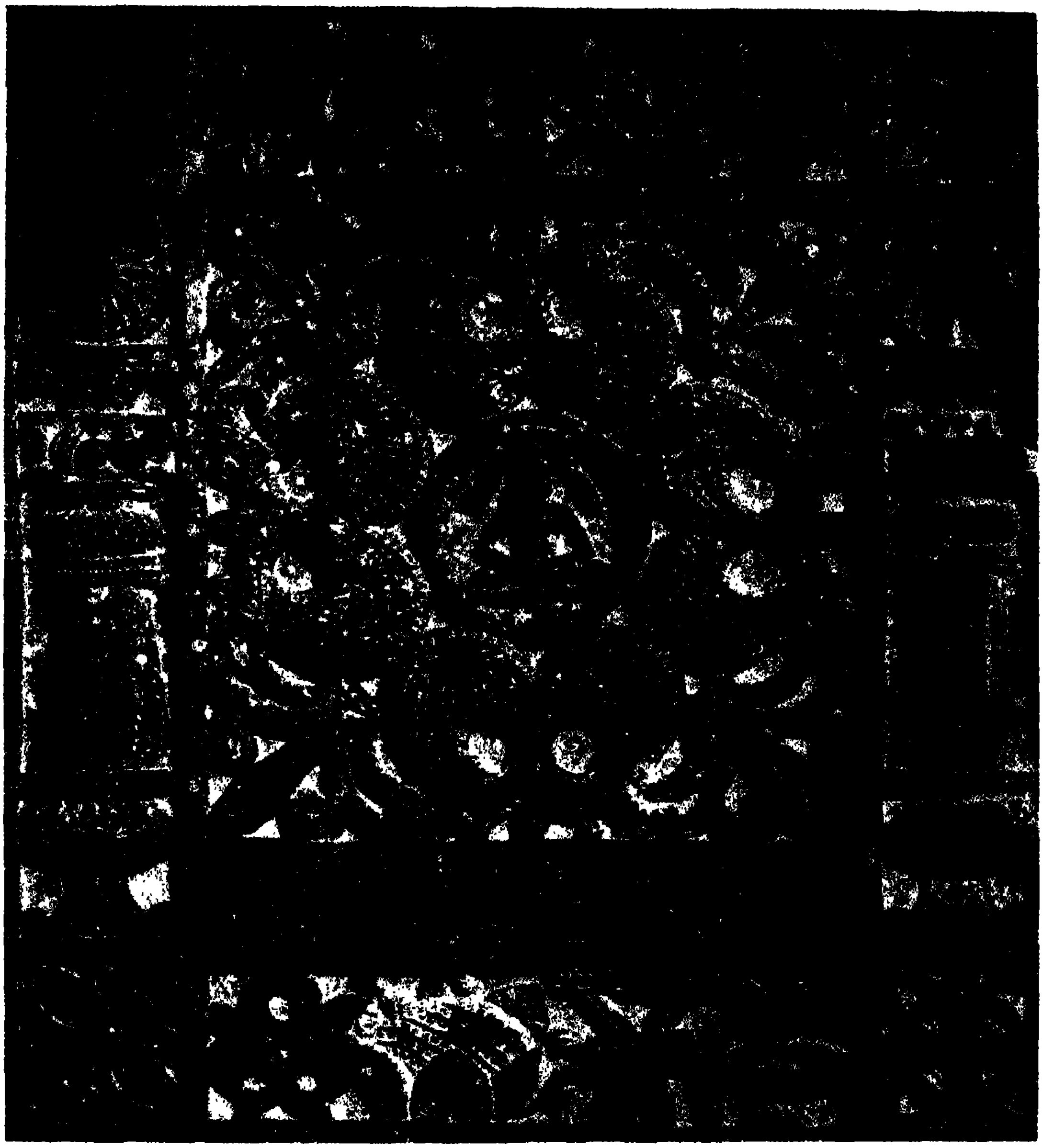
Of all the Jinas, the iconographic features of Pārśvanātha were finalised first. The seven-hooded snake canopy was associated with Pārśvanātha in c. first century B.C. Thereafter in c. first century A.D., Ṛṣabhanātha was endowed with flowing hair-locks, as is evident from the sculptures procured from Mathurā and Causā. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa joined Neminātha as his cousins in Kuṣāṇa period as is borne out by the Neminātha sculptures from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā. During the Kuṣāṇa period, the images of Sambhavanātha, Munisuvrata and Mahāvīra were also carved but they are identified on the basis of the pedestal inscriptions, bearing their respective names. The rendering of the distinguishing cognizances, *Yakṣa-*

Yakṣī pairs and the *aṣṭaprātihāryas* (eight chief accompanying attributes—*aśok* tree, *devadundubhi*, scattering of flowers by gods, triple umbrella, fly-whisk, lion throne, divine music and halo—*Paumacariya* 2.35-36; *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* 1.76-77), with the Jinas which marks a significant development in Jina iconography, started as early as in the Gupta period. The Neminātha and Mahāvīra images respectively from Rājgir (Vaibhāra hill, Bihar) and Vārāṇasī (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Vārāṇasī, Acc. No. 161) are the earliest instances showing their distinguishing emblems. The Ṛṣabhanātha image from Akoṭā and Mahāvīra images from Jaina caves at Bādāmī and Aihoḷe (Bijapur, Karnatak) are the earliest Jina images with *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (58.45) of Varāhamihira is the earliest text which envisages the iconographic features of the Jina images.

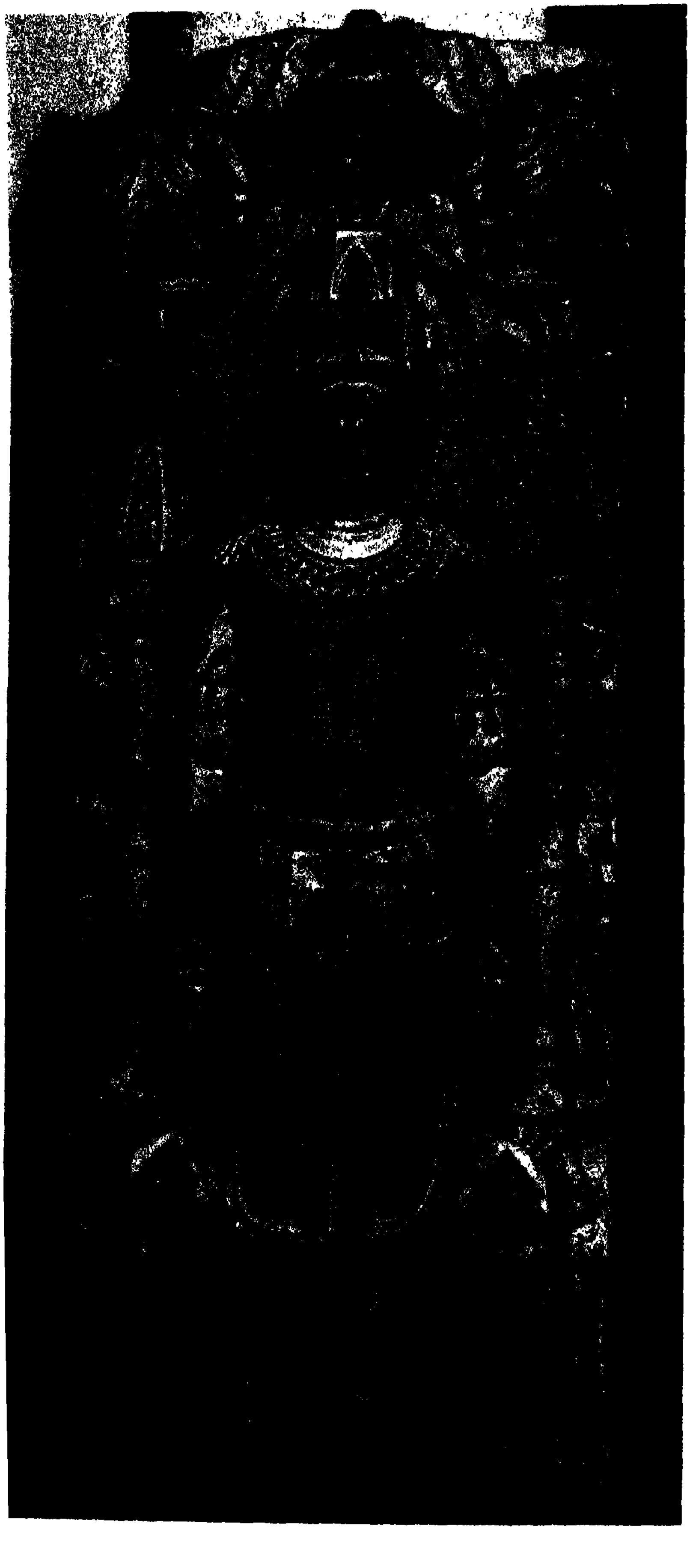
The lists of the distinguishing cognizances of the 24 Jinas were finalised in c. eighth-ninth century A.D., as referred to in the *Kahāvalī*, *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (381-82) and the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (4.604-05). As far as the cognizances of the Jinas, the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions are in agreement with each other, with a few exceptions as in those of Supārśvanātha, Śītalanātha, Anantanātha and Aranātha. The Jina images reached the final stage of iconographic development in c. 9th-10th century A.D. which invariably contained distinguishing emblems, *Yakṣa-Yakṣī* pairs, *aṣṭaprātihāryas*, *dharmacakra* with worshippers, diminutive Jina figures and, at times, navagrahas, vidyādevīs, elephants lustrating the Jinas and some other figures. The rendering of Śāntidevī with lotuses and deer in the centre of the throne, bull-faced figures and some other figures playing on flute and *vīṇā* in the *parikara* of Jina images was confined mainly to the Śvetāmbara Jaina sites of western India.

The carvings of the narrative scenes from the lives of the Jinas occur mainly at the Jaina sites in western India, namely, Kumbhāriā, Delvāḍā (Vimala vasahī and Lūṇa vasahī), and Osiāñ.[21] These instances, datable between 11th and 13th century A.D., deal chiefly with the *pañcakalyāṇakas* (five chief events in the life of a Jina—*chyavana, janma, dīkṣā, kevalajñāna* and *nirvāṇa*) and some other important events in the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Munisuvrata, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Of all these the scene of fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī, the story of the previous life of Śāntinātha in which he generously offered the flesh of his entire body to save the life of a pigeon, the trial of strength between Kṛṣṇa and Neminātha and also the marriage procession of Neminātha and his renunciation, the story of Aśvāvabodha and Śakunikāvihāra in the life of Munisuvrata and the previous births of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra alongwith their *tapas* and different *upasargas* (hindrances) created by the demons are of special iconographic importance.

The four-fold Jina image known as *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* or *caumukha* is one of the earliest and most significant forms of Jina images. The term *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* signifies that the image is auspicious on all the sides.[22] The earliest Jina *caumukha* images found from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā are datable to the first-second century A.D. These images remain popular in all the regions in subsequent centuries. Scholars like U.P. Shah believe that the conception of Jina *Caumukha* was based on the early conception of Jina *samavasaraṇa* with an advancement upon it.[23] But this view is not acceptable. The *samavasaraṇa* is the congregation hall erected by the Gods wherein every Jina delivers his first sermon after attaining omniscience. It consists of three circular ramparts at the focal point of which is the figure of a seated Jina, facing east. The three images of the same Jina on the remaining sides were installed by the *Vyantara* gods to facilitate the worshippers to see their master from all the sides. However, none of the early Jaina works like the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Paumacariya* refer to the installation of the Jina images on the remaining three sides. Its first mention occurs only in the works of eighth-ninth century A.D. Moreover in the Kuṣāṇa Jina *Caumukha* image it was intended to show four different Jinas standing on four sides. This was apparently contrary to the original conception of *samavasaraṇa* showing a seated



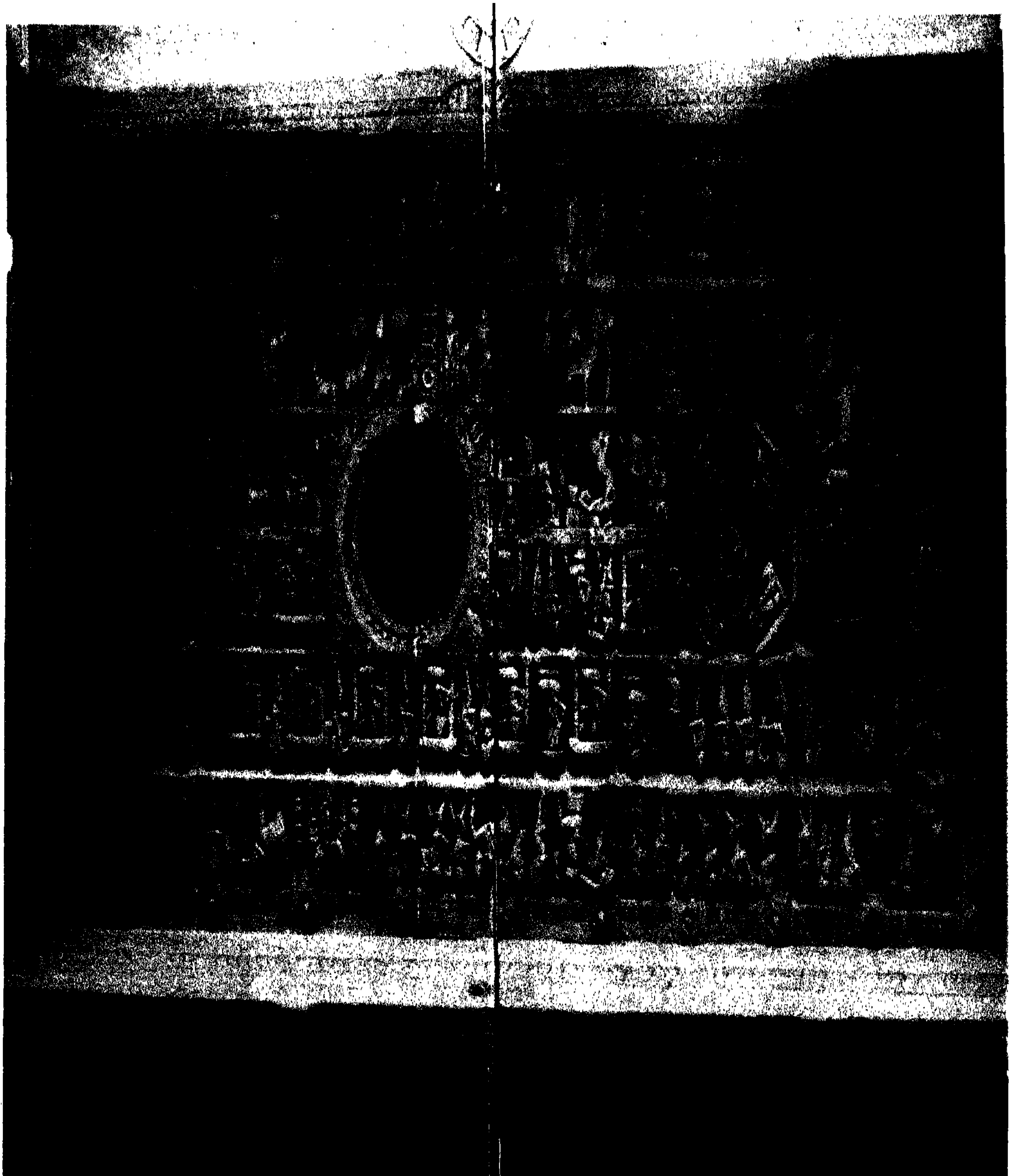
Ch. 3, Pl. I Jaina *Āyāgapaṭa* (showing Jina in the centre and eight auspicious symbols), Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura (U.P.), *c.* first century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow (J.249).



Ch. 3, Pl. II
Jīvantasvāmin Mahāvīra (wearing *mukuṭa* and ornaments and standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā*), Khiñsar (Nagaur, Rajasthan), 11th century A.D., Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

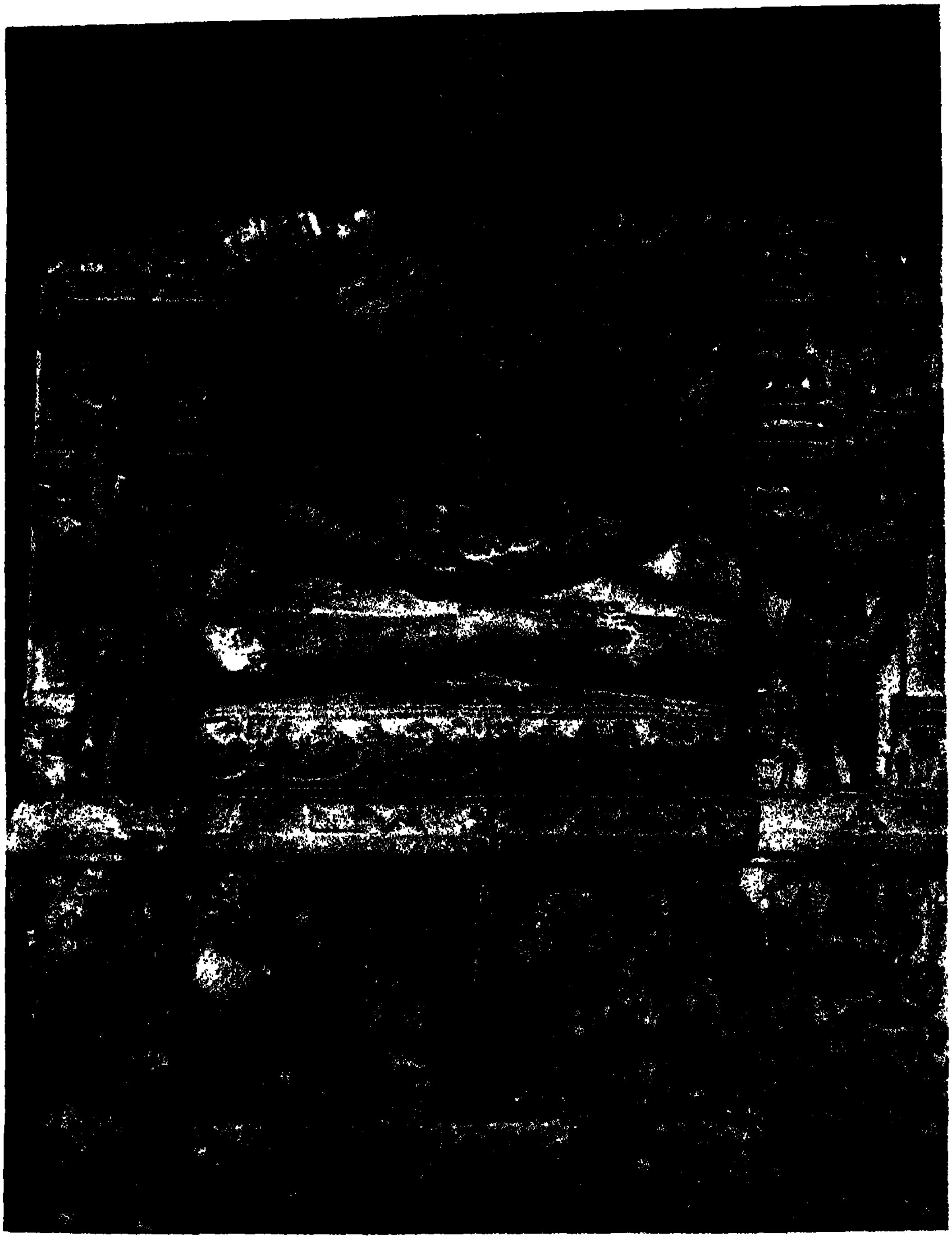


Ch. 3, Pl. IV
Munisuvrata (Śvetāmbara—in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*), Western India, 11th century A.D., Govt. Central Museum, Jaipur.

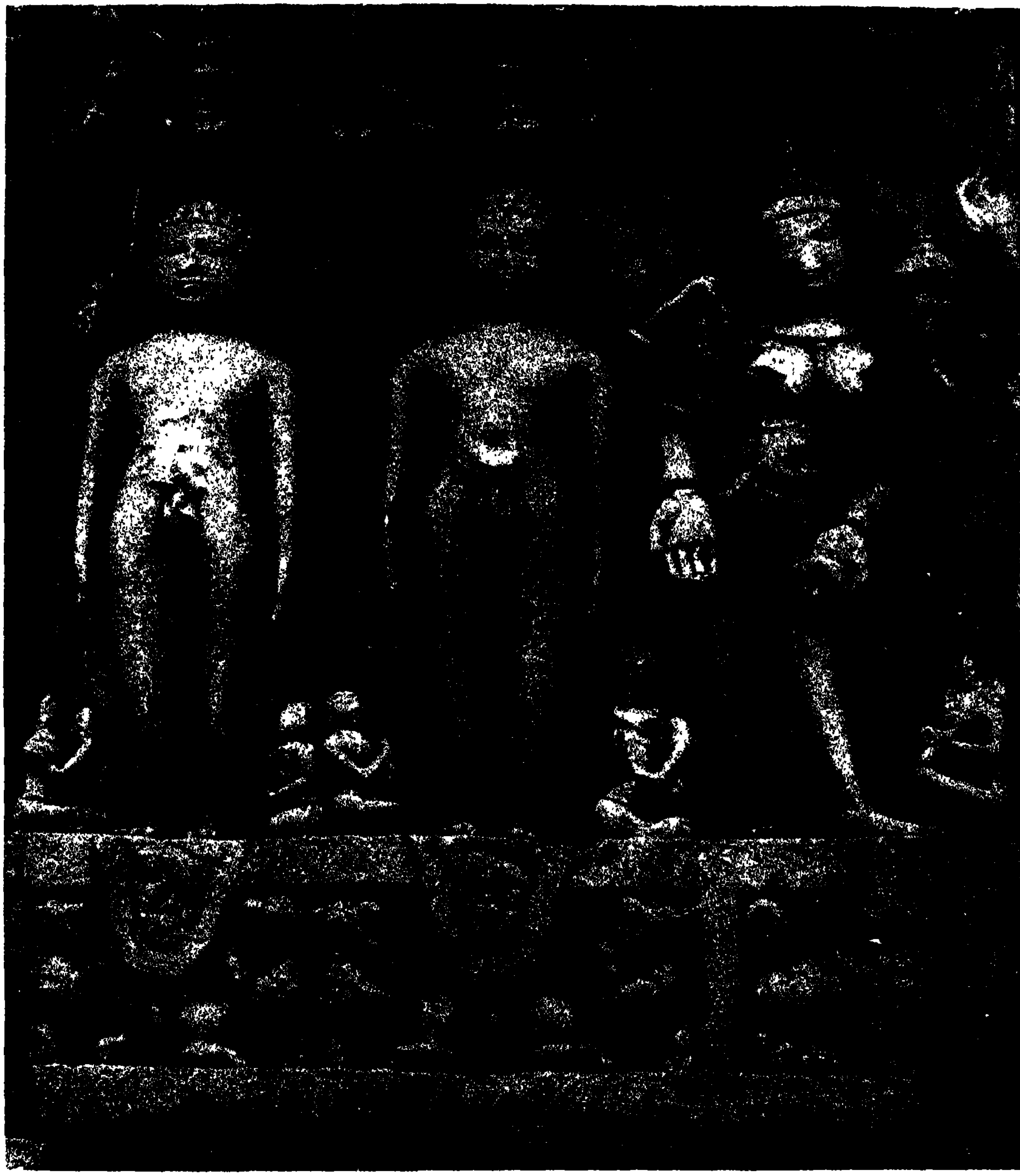


Ch. 3, Pl. VII Narratives from life of Mahāvīra (showing *pañcakalyāṇakas, upsargas* and episode of Candanabālā), *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* (bay ceiling), Mahāvīra temple, Kumbhāriā (Banaskantha, Gujarat), latter half of 11th century A.D.

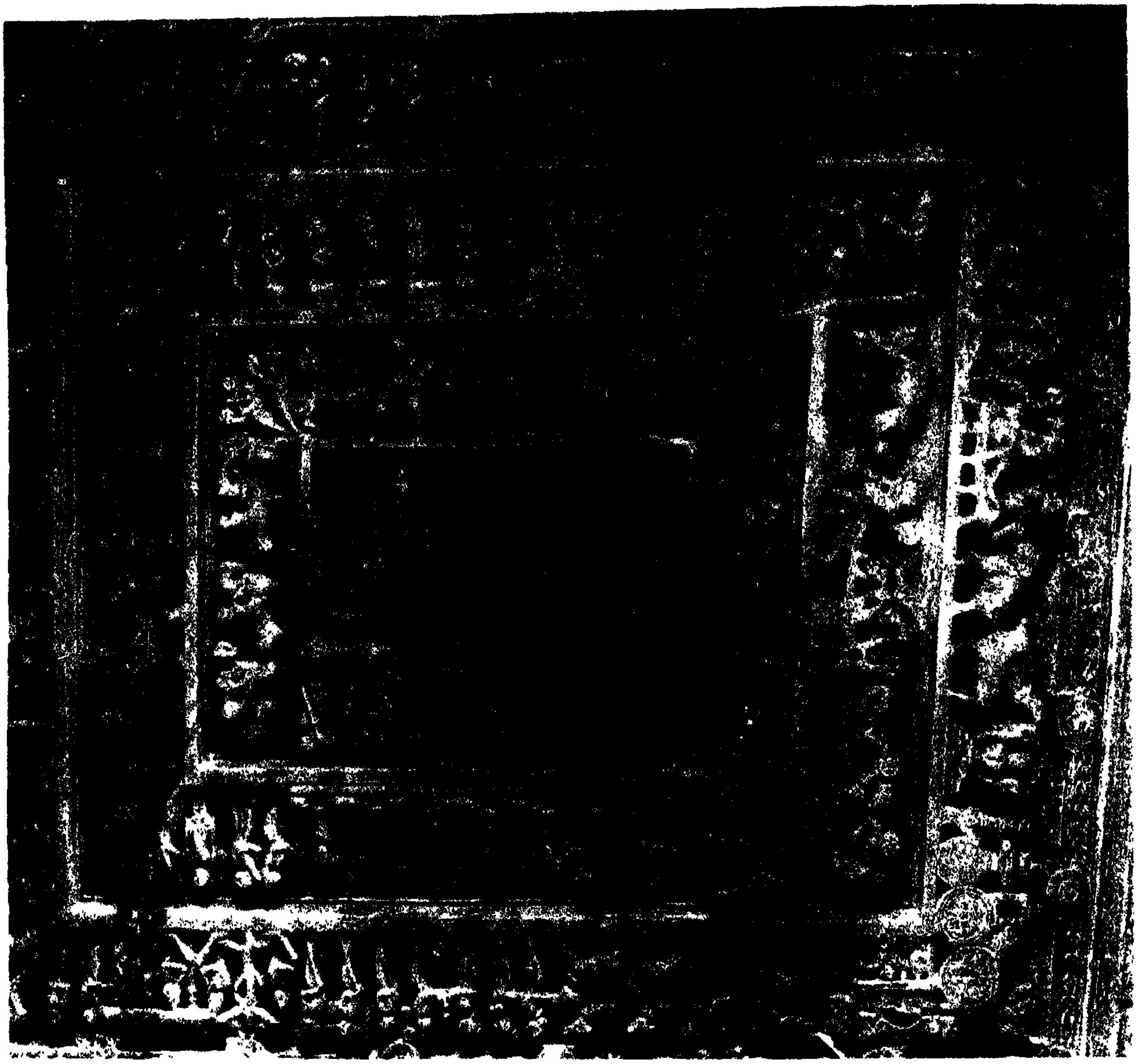
Photo Courtesy: American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.



Ch. 3, Pl. III Ṛṣabhanātha (in *dhyāna-mudrā* and accompanied by *aṣṭaprātihāryas* and *yakṣa-yakṣī*), Orai (Jalaun, U.P.), c. 10th-11th century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow (16.0.178).



Ch. 3, Pl. V Tritīrthī Jina image alongwith Sarasvatī, west wall, Temple No. 1, Deogarh (Lalitpur, U.P.), c. 12th century A.D.



Ch. 3, Pl. VI Narratives from life of Ṛsabhanātha (showing *pañcakalyāṇakas* and *yakṣa-yakṣī* of Jina, and also fight between Bharata and Bāhubalī), *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* (aisle ceiling), Śāntinātha temple, Kumbhāriā (Banaskantha, Gujarat), latter half of 11th century A.D.

Jina on the top alongwith the three images of the selfsame Jina on the remaining sides.

Under these circumstances it would not be appropriate to conclude that the Jina *Caumukha* of the Kuṣāṇa period, showing four different Jinas on four sides, bears any influence of the *samavasaraṇa*. It is rather difficult to find any traditional basis of the conception of the Jina *Caumukha* from the Jaina works. On the other hand we come across a number of such sculptures in Kuṣāṇa and even earlier art which might have inspired the Jainas to carve the Jina *Caumukha*. It is not impossible that some such representations as the Sārnāth and Sāñchi lion-capitals, and multi-faced *yakṣa* figures may have been the source of inspiration.

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4

Two Jain Yantras of the Fifteenth Century

Pratapaditya Pal

No other scholar has contributed as much to the study of Jaina art and iconography as the late U.P. Shah. One of his earliest papers,[1] published a half century ago, was about a *Varddhamāna Vidyā-paṭa*, a type of Jain *yantra* painted on cloth and not encountered frequently. It seems particularly appropriate therefore to pay homage to his memory by publishing another similar painting, along with a stylistically akin *yantra* of a goddess. As it happens, this is even a rarer example of Jain tantric imagery, and as it is probably earlier of the two, it will be introduced first.

The roughly square *paṭa* shows the goddess seated in the lotus posture at the centre within two intersecting triangles (Fig. 1). The seat is supported by two elephants. Of golden complexion she wears a black sari with gold flowers and is suitably ornamented. The principal right arm held against her breast displays the teaching gesture and that on the left is placed in her lap in the meditation gesture (*dhyānamudrā*). The other attributes or gestures of her remaining sixteen (?) arms cannot be recognized easily. They include a sword and a shield, a trident, an elephant goad, a bow and an arrow, perhaps a conchshell and a lotus as well as a banner (second on top right). Six syllables are placed in the six corners formed by the intersecting triangles. Above the goddess's head both the inner triple circle enclosing the triangles and the outer triple circle have extended spouts containing the syllable *hrīm*. Beyond the triple inner circle is another, inscribed with a long *mantra* beginning at the right of the first spout with the invocation *om pañcāṅguli*. The next circle is wider and is adorned with a continuously scrolling vine forming medallions that enclose the syllable *hrīm* repeated sixteen times boldly in gold against blue. Then follows a narrower circle with *mantras* of several verses. The spout at the summit is flanked by a pair of eyes and protected by a canopy.

The four corners of the *paṭa* are occupied by four male figures who probably represent guardian deities. The two at the upper left and lower right corners are white and the other two blue but all four are bearded. The one at the lower left corner differs from the other three in that he has only two arms, strikes a different posture and stands on a serpent. Nothing is held by his right hand but the left holds a pot or a skull cup. Each of the other three figures strikes the same lively dancing posture, has four arms and is accompanied by an animal that is canine in appearance. Each also holds a sword and a shield, a small drum and a cup.

Of the remaining ten figures the smallest of the three figures in the lower right corner is seated like a monk and wears white garments. He is very likely the officiating Śvetāmbara monk. The other nine constitute the group of planetary deities known as the Navagraha. This is clear from the two seated figures at the top as well as two others immediately below the guardian deity at the upper left corner. These two definitely represent Rāhu, portrayed as a bust looking at the crescent moon, and Ketu with his serpentine tail. The red figure on the top is no doubt Sūrya, the Sungod and the white Candra or Soma, the Moongod.

Now to return to the identification of the central goddess. The names that can be recognized from the *mantras* are Maheśvara and Maheśvarī who are mentioned in the second line of the first verse of the *mantra* in the outer circle. This *mantra* continues to implore the goddess to remove all diseases and faults (*sarvarogadoṣaṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇa*) and to heal (*nirāmayaṃ kuru*). It should also be pointed out that the last verse of this *mantra* contains the expression *pañcāṅguli māī*, while the first verse of the *mantra* in the inner circle begins with the expression *om pañcāṅguli*. The expression literally means five fingers and one wonders if it is not the name of a charm, reminiscent of the Buddhist *Pañcarakṣā* and if the goddess here isn't the presiding deity of the charm.

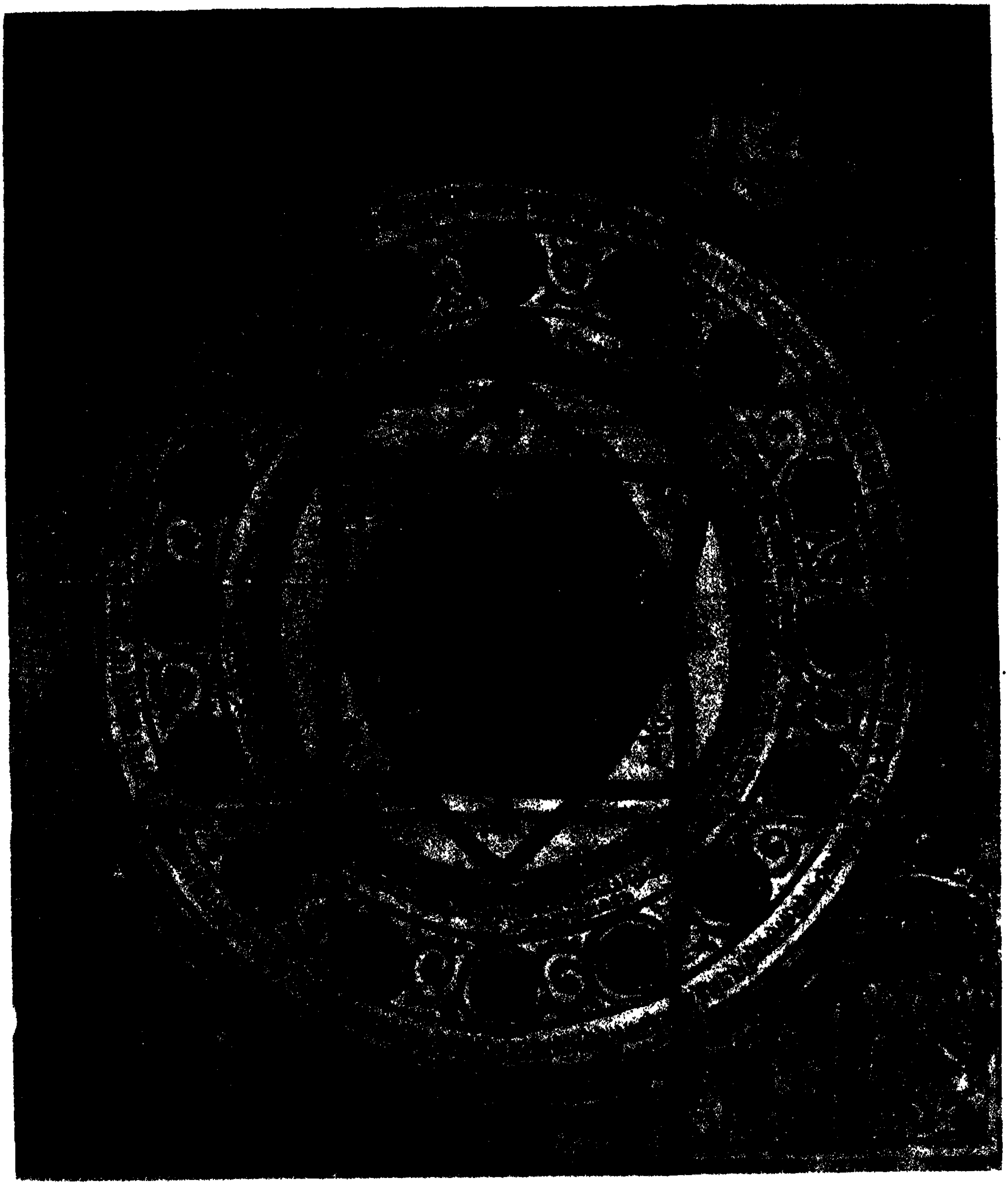
U.P. Shah has published a closely similar image of a goddess from a manuscript of *Supāsanahacarita* which he identifies as sixteen-armed Kālī-devī.[2] In point of fact, however, the goddess has twenty arms and the attributes there are much clearer than they are in the *maṇḍala* or *yantra* under discussion. The two principal arms make the same gestures but the right hand is disposed horizontally rather than vertically. Most of the other recognizable emblems in the *yantra* are also encountered in the published image with two differences. There the animals below the seat are lions rather than elephants and the goddess here does not wear a garland. There is a fascinating scene below the goddess which however was not identified by Dr. Shah. It probably demonstrates the relationship between Supārśvanātha and the goddess. The *Śāsanadevatā* or the female tutelary deity of Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara, is Kālī or Mānavī.

Although conceptually related to the Hindu Kālī, iconographically the two are quite different. Little of the terrifying nature of Hindu Kālī characterizes the Jain goddess's form. However, the *mantra* is similar to those encountered in Śākta literature. Like the Hindu goddess, this Jain deity too is invoked in a *yantra* comprising of two intersecting triangles, generally known as the Śrī*yantra*. Interestingly the two sides of the triangles are curved rather than straight. If she is indeed Kālī then the four protective deities at the four corners can be identified as Bhairava. While the deity on the snake is unusual, the other three do have the dog which is the mount of Bhairava. The presence of the Navagraha in the *yantra* is nothing unusual for the *mantras* make it clear that the goddess is being invoked to ward off evil influences. Moreover, they do enhance the iconographic significance of the painting. As far as is known, this is a unique representation of the *yantra* of the Jain Goddess Kālī.

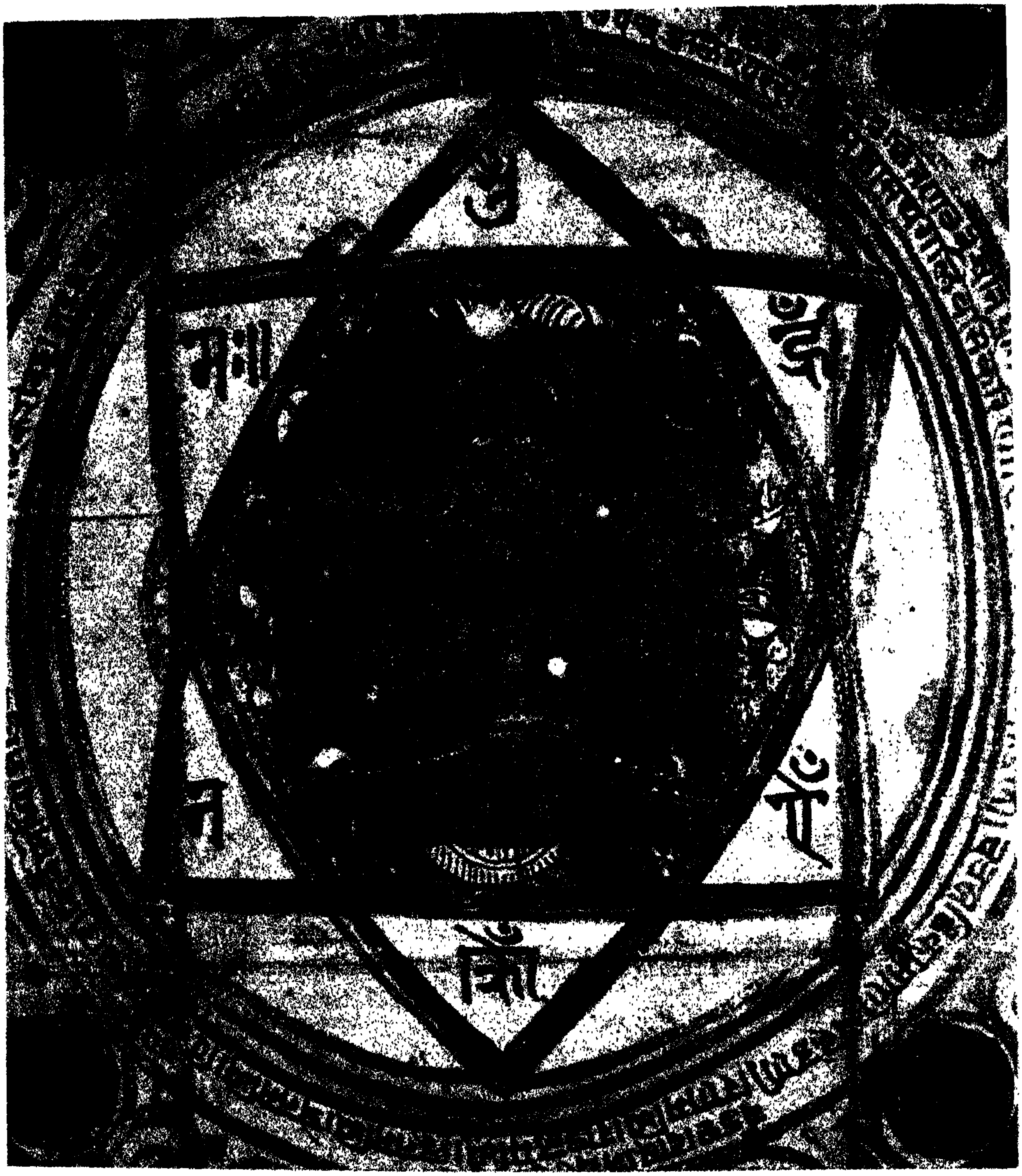
Apart from their iconographic kinship, stylistically too the two depictions of Kālī are closely related. The *Supāsanahacarita* was copied and painted in the year 1423 at Devakulavāṭaka (Mewar), which is the Sanskritized name of Dilwara in Rajasthan.[3] It would not be far-fetched to conclude therefore that this Los Angeles *paṭa* was also painted in the same workshop at about the same time, or perhaps a little later.

The second *maṇḍala* or *yantra* in the collection is also of about the same date but is not as rare (Figs. 3 & 4). It is a *yantra* used in an esoteric rite known as *Varddhamāna Vidyā*, as was first pointed out by Dr. Shah. In fairly good condition, it too combines both *mantra* and *yantra*, or words and images, in an attractive manner but is not figuratively as rich as the other.

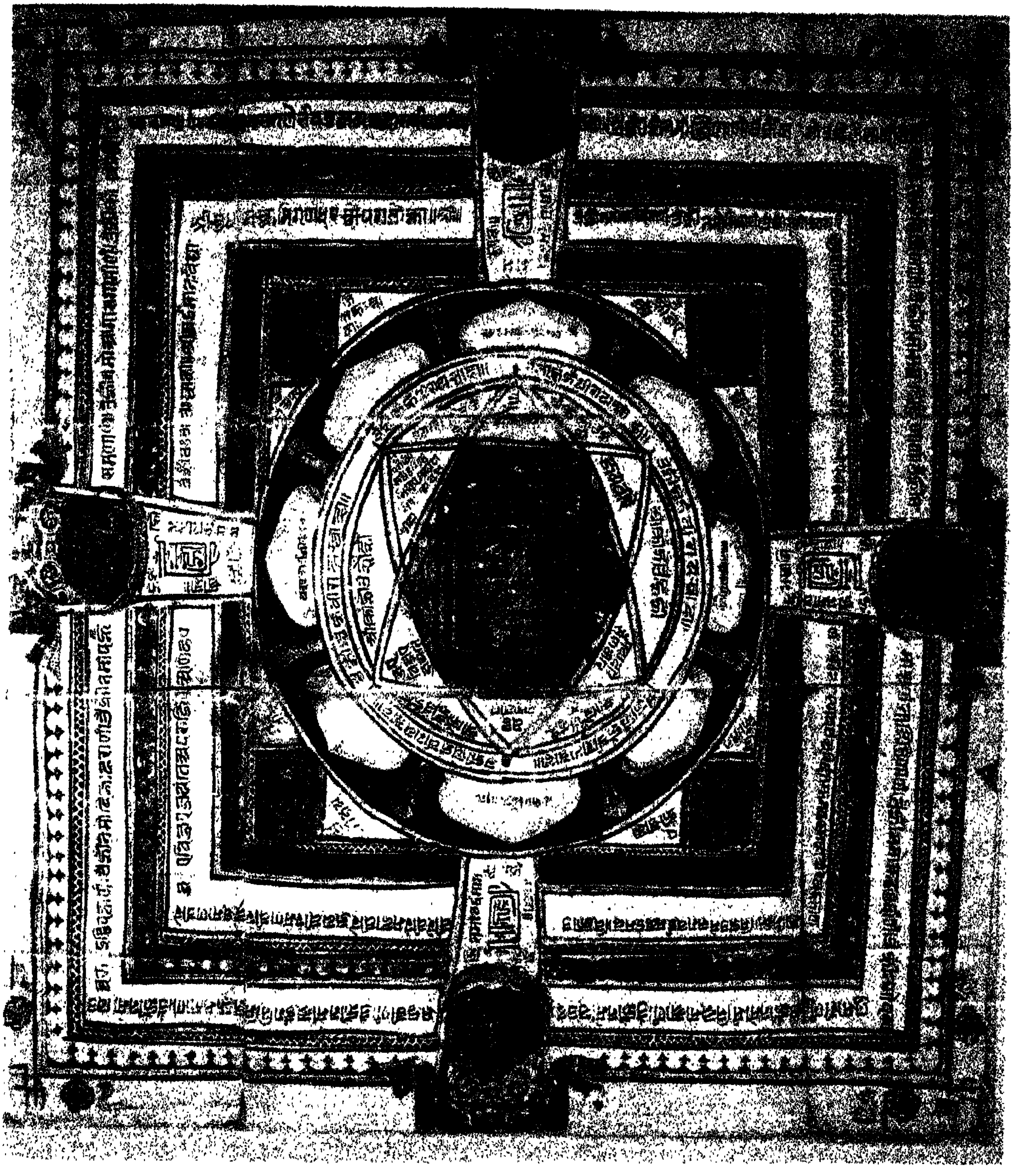
The importance of both *mantra* and image is emphasized even further here by superimposing the lustration scene on the combined syllables *om* and *hrīm*, boldly delineated in gold against blue. The meditating Jina is in fact seated on the lower loop of the letter *om*, as if on a crescent. Two flywhisk-bearing *yakṣa* attendants flank him, while two elephants above raise their trunks to perform the lustration ceremony. The horizontal bars of the letters seem to be decorated with solar and lunar symbols as well as flowers or stars. This entire configuration of mystical syllables and images is contained within a star formed by two intersecting triangles as in the Kālī *yantra*. It thus appears that this star-shaped diagram is a common element in Jain *yantras* irrespective of the sex of the deity. Here also the sides of the triangle are curved rather than straight. Every corner or segment formed by the star



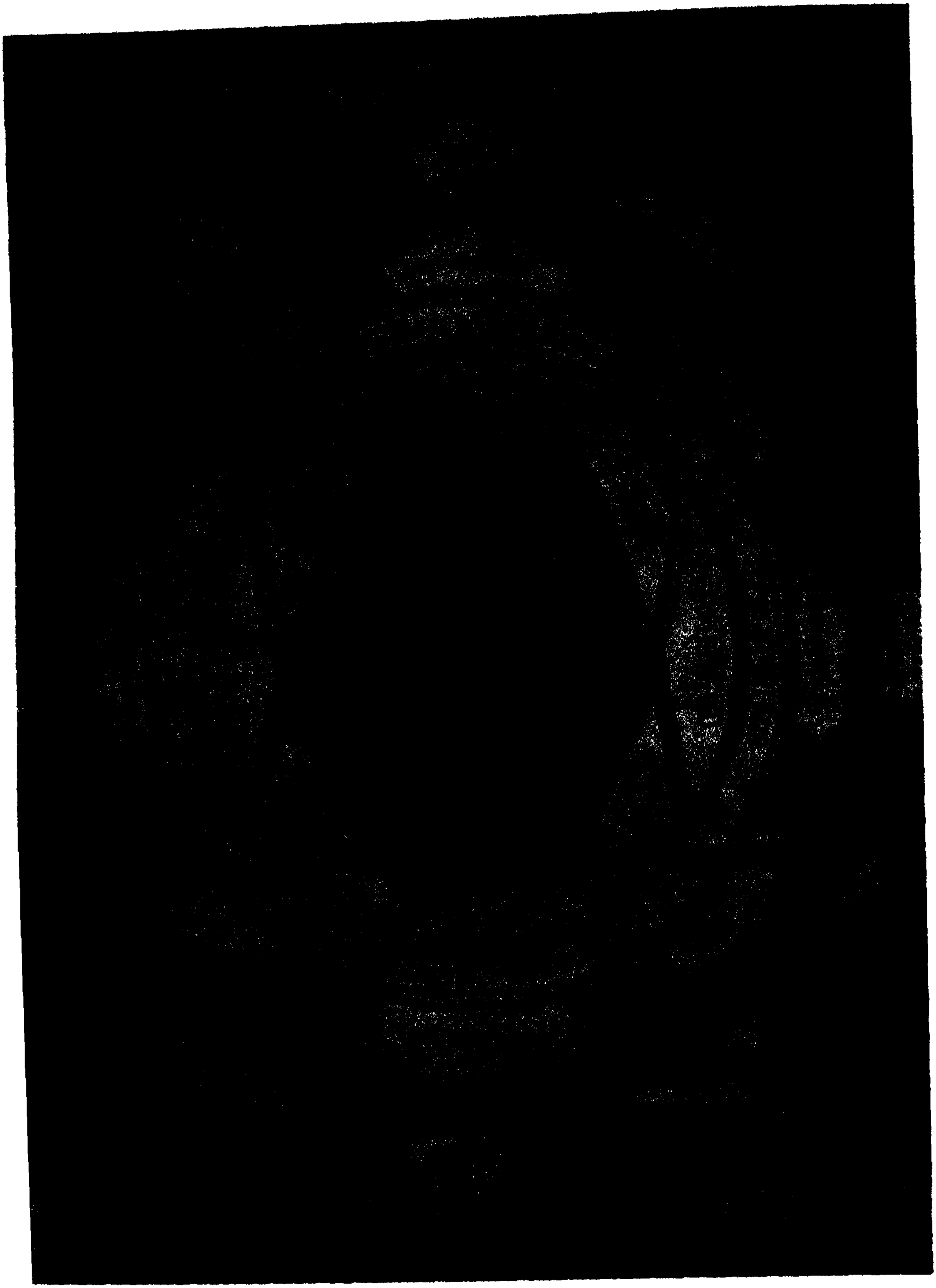
Ch. 4, Pl. I *Jain Yantra* with Goddess, Rajasthan (?), 15th century, Watercolor on cloth, 22.5 x 20.5 cm, Gift of Navin Kumar in Memory of His Mother, Mrs. Prakashvati Jain, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Ch. 4, Pl. II Detail of Pl. I.



Ch. 4, Pl. III *Varddhamana Vidya-pata*, Gujarat, 15th century, Watercolor on cloth, 61 x 60.3 cm. Purchased with Funds provided by Paul F. Walter, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



:h. 4, Pl. IV Detail of Pl. III.

or the surrounding circles is filled with *mantras* as are the four of the eight lotus petals. The four goddesses at the four corners are identified as Jayantī, Jayā, Aparājitā and Vijayā.

The outer wall of this inner square is decorated with a crenellated design that is suggestive of the ramparts of a citadel. In fact, two more squares are similarly adorned making the citadel a structure with three surrounding walls. The slightly flaring tunnel-like openings in the centre of each side probably represent a passageway corresponding to the portals of a Buddhist *maṇḍala*. However, instead of a structure at the end of each passageway there is the auspicious waterpot resting on a crescent and with leaves emerging from the top. On either side of the neck of the pot is a pair of eyes as one encounters on the square entablature (*harmikā*) of a stupa in Nepal. The top of each pot is further adorned with flying banners and parrots. The line marking the outermost wall is extended at each corner to form the prongs of a trident. Facing each trident is a small pool of water and an animal consisting of two serpents, two lions, a dog (?), a bull, a deer and a peacock. What exactly they represent is not clear. The fauna do not match those normally associated with the Dikpālas.

As mentioned earlier, U.P. Shah had shown that this type of *yantra* is used for the tantric rite known as *Varddhamāna Vidyā*. Varddhamāna is the given name of Mahāvīra, while *Vidyā*, literally meaning knowledge, denotes a charm in tantric religious tradition. The term is common to all three religions. It should be noted that Jainism also has a cult of Sixteen Mahāvidyās corresponding to that of the Ten Mahāvidyās of Hinduism, which further knows of a group of Sixteen Gaurīs. What is interesting about the *Varddhamāna Vidyā* is the association of four goddesses—Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantī and Aparājitā—with Mahāvīra. U.P. Shah considered them to be ancient goddesses who were "worshipped under various names by all sects and have been invited by the Jainas at least from the age of Vajrasvāmī in the first or second century A.D."[4] This would indeed make them older than their appearance in Hindu literature, where they serve as constant companions of the Goddess Durgā.

Once again, as in the *yantra* of the Goddess Kālī, in this diagram too both the word and the image are regarded as equally important. Indeed, compared to the Buddhist and surviving Hindu *maṇḍalas*, mostly in Nepal, the Jainas seem to have made greater use of *mantras* than images in their *yantras*. In a sense one might state that this *yantra* combines three of the four objects of meditation of a Jain: *padastha*, i.e., meditation on sacred *mantra*; *piṇḍastha*, i.e., meditation on the magical powers of a Jina; and *rūpastha*, i.e., meditation on the material form of a Jina.[5]

Iconographically, Jain *yantras* are more simple configurations than either Hindu or Buddhist *maṇḍalas*. The basic form is a combination of the square and the circle which is sometimes represented by the eight-petalled lotus. Apart from accommodating fewer figures and more *mantras*, Jain diagrams are more linear and less colourful. The concept of the *maṇḍala* representing a sacred enclosure in the form of a citadel with elaborate portals is much more sumptuously depicted in paintings by the Buddhists in both Nepal and Tibet. It should be noted though that while temporary *yantras* are still an integral part of Hindu worship, more permanent *maṇḍalas* on cloth appear not to have survived in India. However, from those preserved in Nepal, going back atleast to the early fifteenth century, one can state that Hindu *maṇḍalas* or *yantras* too were painted as elaborate citadels with gateways and multi-hued lotuses and were generally richly coloured. By contrast, surviving early Jain *yantras*, also going back to the fifteenth century and mostly from Western India, as is clearly indicated by these two fine examples, are sparingly coloured, although the use of gold is characteristic. Later Jain *yantras*, particularly after the seventeenth century, show increasing use of a brighter and more diversified palette, but the drawing and the detailing never did achieve the finesse or richness evident in Hindu and Buddhist *maṇḍalas* of neighbouring Nepal.

Despite the enormous contribution of Dr. Shah, the subject of Jain iconography, particularly of a tantric character, still requires the attention of scholars. Many aspects still remain unexplained and it is hoped that younger generations of Jain scholars will follow the example of U.P. Shah and continue the tradition which will be the best way of paying him tribute.

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5

Vaddamanu — An Early Jaina Site in Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh

M. Kasturibai and J. Varaprasada Rao

Vaddamanu (Lat. 16°32' N, Long. 80°25'30" E) is a small village in Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. It lies 10 km south-east of Amaravati, the famous Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh and 32 km north-east of Guntur town (Fig.1). The ancient remains were located on the local big hillock (pedde Konda) of Vaddamanu village. The Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad[1] conducted excavations for 4 seasons (1981-85) on this hillock and brought to light remains of stupas, viharas, pillared halls, ellipsoidal structures, staircases, votive stupas, cyclopean walls etc. besides sculptural fragments, inscriptions, coins and other minor antiquities. The cultural activity at the site belongs to early Historical (circa 300 B.C. to 600 A.D.) and assignable to 4 Phases, viz., I. Post-Mauryan, II. Sada-Satavahana, III. Ikshvaku and IV. Vishnukundin.

Though Vaddamanu lies nearby a famous Buddhist centre, the evidences from the excavation attest Jaina affiliation to the site. The very name of the village Vaddamanu, etymologically, reminds us of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. Even otherwise, the evidences from the excavations prove Vaddamanu to be a Jaina centre. These are mainly inscriptions, coins, structures and art motifs.

Inscriptional Evidences

There are a total of 13 stone and 214 potsherd inscriptions found during excavations. Majority of these are fragmentary and donatory in nature. Palaeographically these resemble Mauryan, Satavahana and Ikshvaku Brahmi characters and were in Prakrit language. A few inscriptions which had direct bearing on the Jaina religion were considered for the present study wherein mention was made of the names of *gaṇadharas, gaṇas, śākhās, saṅghas, vihāras* etc.

According to Kalpasutras,[2] the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra had nine 'Gaṇas' and eleven 'Gaṇadharas'. His foremost Gaṇadhara, Ārya Bhadrabāhu, had four disciples belonging to Kāśyapa gotra. The foremost disciple of Bhadrabāhu was Goḍasa[3] who founded Goḍasa gaṇa. Although no inscription has come to light referring to his name, a limestone railing pillar from Vaddamanu in 3rd century B.C. characters may be mentioned here (Pl. I.1):

1. Text	(T)	TA PUTASA GADOḌASA ṬHABO
Meaning	(M)	The pillar of Gadoḍa (erected by) the son of a person, whose name ends with the letter 'TA'.
Remarks	(R)	The pillar in question was erected in the honour of Gadoḍa, who could be a disciple of Goḍasa.

Another stone railing pillar of stupa in 3rd century B.C.characters reads as (Pl. I.2):

2. (T) UTAROḌASA ṬHABO
   (M) The pillar of Utaroḍa
   (R) A pillar was set up in the honour of Utara and it was called as Utaroda. In Jaina literature, there is mention of one Utara[4] who was the foremost disciple of Ārya Mahāgiri, one of the Gaṇadharas of Mahāvira. The above pillar might have been raised by a follower of Utara.

The words like Ara, Araka, (A) rahata, Mahā, Sitha were found on a few stone and potsherds of Vaddamanu. A limestone fragment contains an inscription in three lines in 3rd century B.C.characters and reads as (Pl. I.3):

3. (T) 1. ARA ——
   2. ...(tu) Sa ri ra —
   3. —— (da) naṁ
   (M) 1. Ara(nadha)? the eighteenth Tirthankara
   2. Reference to the body of somebody
   3. —— donation
   (R) Since the inscription is broken, the meaning cannot be derived, however it is a donatory inscription, beginning with 'Ara' which can be related to Jainism.

It might be referring to the Jaina Tirthankara Aranādha. "Sarira" in the second line denotes body and 'tu' before the above word suggests its relation with some proper noun. Hence this indicates donation was made in the memory of the death of a great person.

A stone inscription on a broken 'suchi' slab in 2nd century B.C. characters reads as (Pl. I.4):

4. (T) A RA(HA)——RĀ I
   (M) The initial letters indicate a salutation to Jaina teacher.
   (R) The word 'Ara' is related with Jainism.

A donatory inscription on limestone coping stone in 2nd century A.D. characters reads as (Pl. I.5):

5. (T) VAḌHAMĀNA NEVĀSIKASA DHAMUTISA SAMĀTUKASA PITUKASA SABHĀTUKASA CHULA DHAMUTIKASA KU(MĀ)
   (M) (Donation) of a resident of Vadhamana by name Dhamuti and his family and the son of younger Dhamuti
   (R) The above inscription reveals the present name of the village Vaddamanu as Vadhamana, i.e., a Prakrit form of Vardhamāna, perhaps named after the Vardhamāna Mahāvira.

In addition to the above stone inscriptions there are a number of potsherd inscriptions

referring to vihāras, sanghas, śākhās, gaṇas, gaṇadharas etc., assigning a Jaina affiliation to the site.

A black-and-red ware sherd of a dish contains an inscription in 3rd cent. B.C. characters, reading as (Pl. II.1):

6. (T) *NAṀDABHITASA HA(-)*
   (M) of Naṁda bhita
   (R) Naṁdabhita may be a follower of Nandi or Nandimitra[5] who are Sṛutakevalins.

On a rim of a black-and-red ware dish, the letters in 2nd century B.C. characters read as (Pl. II.2):

7. (T) *VADHAMA...*
   (M) Prosperous or a name of a person
   (R) It may refer to 'Vardhamāna Mahāvira'.

Another sherd of a vase contains a fragmentary inscription in 2nd century B.C. characters, reading as (Pl. II.3):

8. (T) *JINA(KA)*
   (M) Jina
   (R) It refers metrically to a Jina. If the last letter is 'KA', it indicates smallness of dimension. It may refer to a small idol of Jina. The inscription begins with Swastika in a stylized form.

A sherd of a vase with fragmentary inscription in 1st century B.C. characters reads as (Pl. II.4):

9. (T) (-) VATHAGAṆADAṬA
   (M) 'Vatha' (a follower) of Gaṇadatta's (doctrine)
   (R) If 'Vatha' is prefixed with the letters 'Uda' it appears that the gift was made to one (Uda)vatha a follower of Sthavira Gaṇadatta,[6] one of the disciples of Bhadrabāhu.

The fragmentary inscription on a sherd of red ware vase in 1st century B.C. characters, reads as (not illustrated):

10. (T) (TI)GANA
    (M) Refers to some 'Gana'
    (R) It is perhaps another reference to Gaṇadatta's doctrine, who founded 'Udvathi Gana Sakha'.

Rim of a rouletted ware sherd, with inscription in 1st century A.D. characters, reads as (Pl. II.5):

11. (T) SAMPATIVIHARA (PA)
(M) Vihara pertained to Sampati
(R) Sampati is the Prakrit form of Samprati and the inscription refers to a vihara named after Samprati. He may be considered as king Samprati[7] of Ujjain, who was the grandson of Aśoka. Samprati contributed greatly for the spread of Jainism and he was the disciple of Arya Suhastin. According to the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Sutra-Bhashya*[8] Samprati made the regions of Amda (Andhra), Damila (Dravida), Maharatta (Maharashtra) and Kudukku (Coorg) safe for Jain monks.

A black-and-red ware rim of a dish contains a fragmentary inscription in 1st century A.D. characters, reading as (Pl. II.6):

12. (T) BHOKAVADHAMANAPAVA(TE)
(M) For the benefit of (the monks) of Vadhamana hill
(R) It may also indicate for the benefit of the Stupa on the Vadhamana hill which is named after Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.

Rim of a dish of black-and-red ware contains a fragmentary inscription in 1st century A.D. characters, reading as (Pl. II.7):

13. (T) BHOGOSAṀGHA
(M) For the benefit of Saṁgha
(R) It may be referring to Bhoga Saṁgha. Here mention may be made of Bhoga Pura[9] one of the places where Mahāvīra moved during his 30 years of missionary life. The followers of Mahāvīra at Bhogapura could have evidently formed into Bhoga Saṁgha. This inscription may be a reference to that Bhoga Saṁgha.

Another fragmentary inscription on a rim of rouletted ware dish, in 2nd cent. A.D. characters, reads as (Pl. II.8):

14. (T) *PABHARASAGHA YĀYA VIHĀRA PĀRI(-)*
(M) For the (well-being) of *Pabhara Saṁgha* of *vihāra*
(R) '*Pari*' generally is followed by '*Bhoga*' and refers to a donation made for the well-being of *Pabhara Sangha* of that particular *vihara*. Pabhara was the Prakrit form of *Pragbhara*. *Pabhara Sangha* appears to have its origin from Orissa. There were caves for Jaina ascetics on the *Pragbhara*[10] of *Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri)*. The *Prabhara Sangha* could be identified with Pragbhara of Udayagiri.

A black-and-red ware rim of a dish with inscription in 2nd century A.D. characters reads as (Pl. II.9):

15. (T) JINĀNA VIHĀRA PARIBHOKO SAME(TA)
(M) Including for the merit of Jaina vihāra
(R) It is direct evidence for the existence of Jaina vihāra at Vaddamanu.

The study of the above inscriptions evidently proves Vaddamanu as a Jaina centre from 3rd century B.C. onwards. In fact Jainism entered South India during Chandragupta Maurya's times through renowned Jaina pontiff, Ārya Bhadrabāhu.

Coin Evidences

There were circular and square lead coins come into light for the first time at Vaddamanu with distinct legends on the obverse, containing the name of the kings ending with 'Sada'. These coins were stratigraphically found earlier to the Satavahana coins thereby establishing the rule of 'Sada' kings prior to the Satavahanas in the area.[11] The coins bear on the

Obverse: A lion standing to right or left with upraised and curled tail in front of a conventionalised tree in a railing, the legend runs on the top margin in Brahmi script.

Reverse: Crescented six-arched hill enclosed in a double square frame. Outside of the frame and above, a big crescent with series of dots underneath.

The names of the kings revealed at Vaddamanu include *Maha Sada, Sivamaka Sada, Asaka Sada* etc., all the names ending with 'Sada' perhaps belong to Sada family or dynasty.[12] These coins were also found in Dharanikota, Amaravati, Gudivada and other early historical sites in coastal Andhra Pradesh. The earlier scholars like Rapson,[13] Subba Rao[14] and I.K. Sarma[15] have attributed these coins to the Satavahana kings owing to the indistinct legend on the coins. We may mention here the inscription of *Siri Sada* found at Guntupalli[16] (West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh). D.C. Sircar[17] attributed *Siri Sada* as a distant successor of the king Kharavela and further related to the Aira king *Mana Sada* of Velpur grant. I.K. Sarma[18] calls him as lord of the Kalinga-Mahishaka countries who belonged to Mahameghavahana dynasty. The inscription at Guntupalli clearly mentions the king Siri Sada belonging to Mahameghavahana line and as a lord of Kalinga-Mahishaka. D.C. Sircar aptly pointed out Siri Sada's distant relation with the great Mahameghavahana king, Kharavela of Kalinga. The latter was the king of Kalinga while the former was the king of both Kalinga and Mahishaka regions. It indicates that Siri Sada was a Kalinga king, later on had a sway over Mahishaka region (i.e., Krishna-Godavari river valleys of coastal Andhra) probably with a base at Dharanikota.[19]

Thereby the Sada kings were the successors of Kharavela, the latter was a staunch advocator of Jainism and brought back the idol of 'Jina' from Mathura, carried away by the Nandaraja.[20] Kharavela caused the excavation of caves of the Jaina ascetics at Udayagiri. Siri Sada might have caused the excavation of caves of the Jaina ascetics at Guntupalli. The Sada kings being the successors of Kharavela might have patronised Jainism in the area and caused the establishment of a Jaina vihara on the hill top at Vaddamanu. The Jainism might have flourished in the other centres like Velpuru, Dharanikota, Guntupalli, Gudivada etc., from where the numismatic and epigraphical evidences for Sada kings have come to light.

The outstanding corroborative later evidence which ascertained the clear existence of a Jaina vihara at Vaddamanu, was the three copper plate grants of Prithvi Sri Mularaja found at Kondavidu in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.[21] The Grant was issued from Tandikonda during his 25th year for the benefit of the Mahavihara, the one established by Mahameghavahana. Tandikonda is identified with Tadikonda of Guntur District, which lies 15 km south-west of Vaddamanu. The Grant was in Sanskrit, in 6th century A.D. characters, and closely resembled those of Vishnukundin records. A village by name *Kaluvacheruvu* was gifted to the Vardhamāna Mahavihara,[22] which was previously established by a Mahamegha-

vahana. This Mahavihara was none other than the one on the hill top at Vaddamanu, where the coins of Sada rulers were found, who were the successors of the great Meghavahana king. The numismatic evidence from excavation revealed the existence of the site upto Vishnukundin's times (6th century A.D.). This was also substantiated by the above copper plate grant when a village was donated for the well-being of the Vardhamāna Mahavihara. It throws light on the Jaina vihara at Vaddamanu which was surviving even during 6th century A.D.

Art Motifs and Structural Evidences

The excavations at Vaddamanu yielded pillars, railing pillars, cross-bars, copings, umbrellas and other architectural members of Vihara and Stupa which give an idea of the grandeur of the Stupa and other associated structures. The remnants of the stupas were unearthed at Vaddamanu as at Mathura, the Jaina Centre. In addition, there are two ellipsoidal structures at Vaddamanu which are analogous to that of Udayagiri. At Udayagiri, a large apsidal structure was unearthed on the hill top.[23] On keen observation this apsidal structure has got second apse also on the other end which may be considered as ellipsoidal structure. At both the places it could have served as a place of worship.

The art motifs depicted at Vaddamanu include more of floral and geometrical and less of human representation. The representation of stupa with all components in vertical disposition on various railing pillars from bottom to top is interesting feature here, besides the depiction of vṛksha chaitya. These two motives occupy the main theme of art and religion at Vaddamanu. The *Toranas* depicted on rail pillars are similar to the ones found at Udayagiri and Mathura (Pl.). The religious motifs like *Kalpataru*, *Kalachakra*, auspicious symbols like lotus, *meena yugala*, *ratnatraya* etc. are well comparable to Udayagiri and Khandagiri and Mathura. The negative evidence that supports Vaddamanu as a Jaina stupa site, was the absence of any kind of representations of Buddha either in the form of empty throne, Buddhapada or in any symbolic form of Hinayana cult of Buddhism. No Buddha image was also found at Vaddamanu like in Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other Buddhist sites, though the site clearly surpassed the Satavahana and Ikshvaku regime.

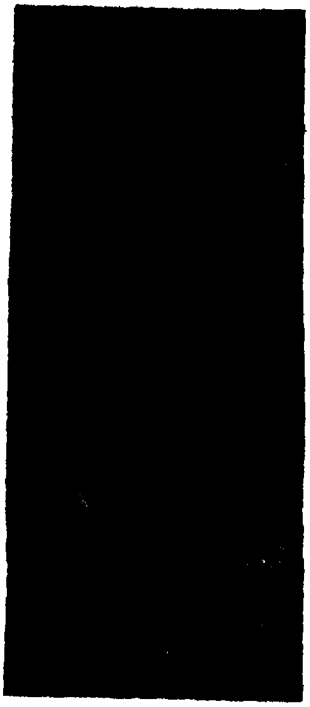
As discussed above the epigraphical, numismatic, structural and art motifs thus confirm the monastic establishments at Vaddamanu to be Jaina, which flourished during the circa 3rd century B.C. to 6th century A.D. in Andhradesa. It may be well comparable with the known early Jaina sites like Mathura, Udayagiri and Khandagiri.

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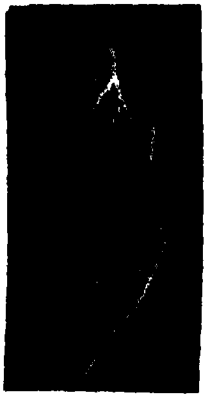
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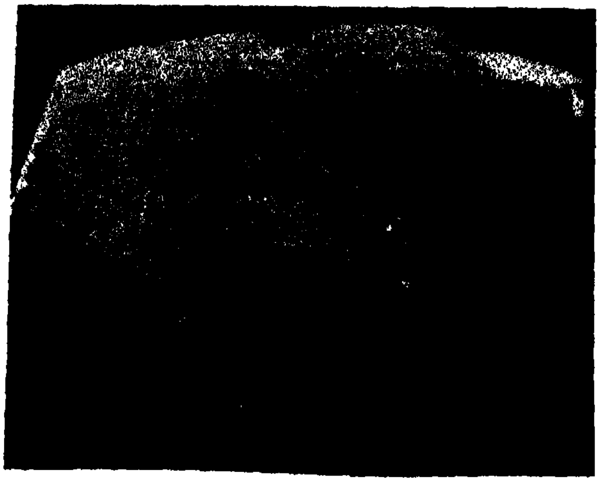
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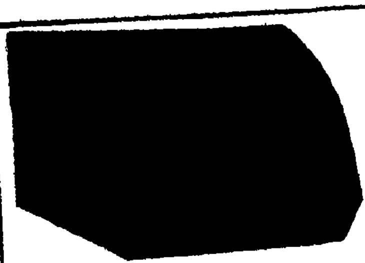
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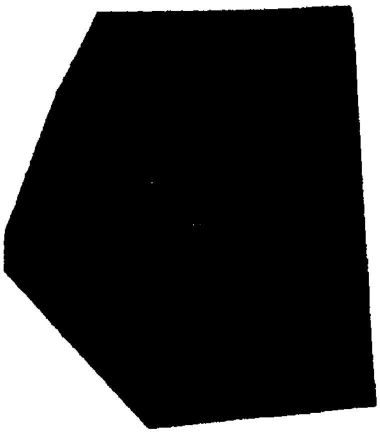
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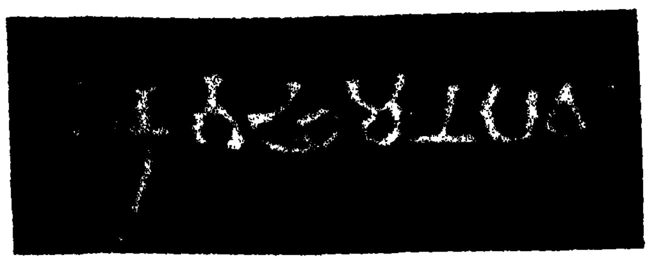
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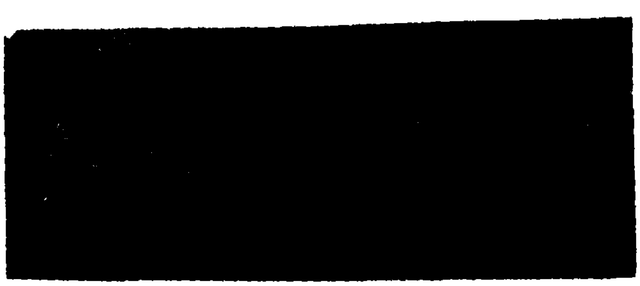


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Ch. 5, Pl. II Potsherd Inscriptions—Vaddamanu.

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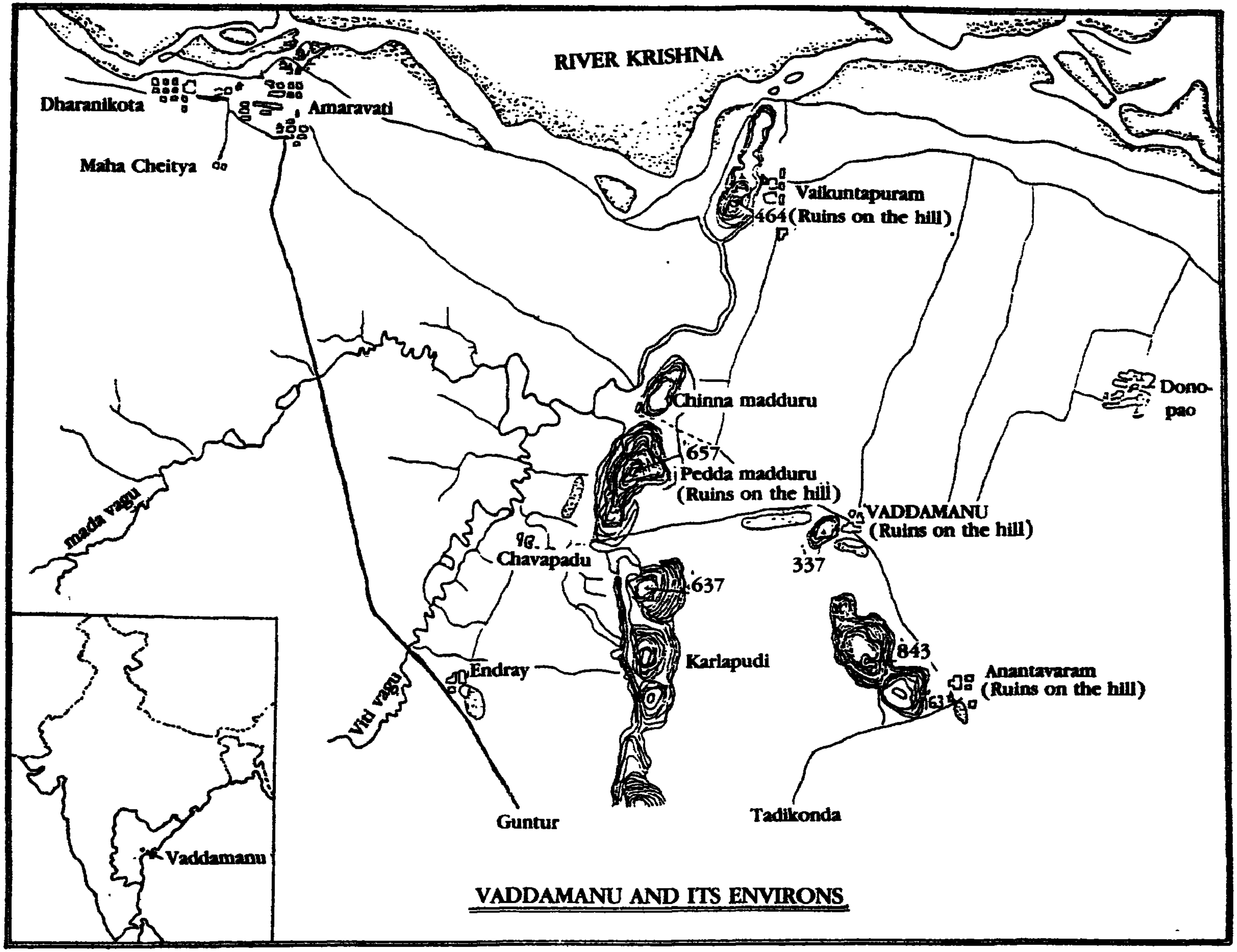

RIVER KRISHNA
Dharanikota
Amaravati
Maha Cheitya
Vaikuntapuram
464 (Ruins on the hill)
Chinna madduru
657
Pedda madduru
(Ruins on the hill)
VADDAMANU
(Ruins on the hill)
337
Chavapadu
637
Karlapudi
843
Anantavaram
(Ruins on the hill)
631
Dono-
pao
mada vagu
Viti vagu
Endray
Guntur
Tadikonda
Vaddamanu
VADDAMANU AND ITS ENVIRONS

FIG. 1

6

Jain Epistemology

R.T. Vyas

The Jain theory of knowledge is remarkable in several regards and stands apart from all the epistemologies of different orthodox as well as heterodox systems of thought that flourished in India. First of all, it represents a bold attempt at apotheosis of knowledge, inasmuch as it holds that man through gradual refinement of his character can attain omniscience. Omniscience in Jainism is not an article of faith or an attribute of absolute or almighty being or God, existing from all eternity, but is a distinct possibility with any man to be realized through following a strict course of discipline, the grades of which are clearly laid down in the Jain *āgamas*, the repositories of infallible utterances, rather, *anakṣara upadeśa*—silent preaching—of those who have arduously attained to omniscience. It is, as such, a matter of experiment, an intellectual ideal to be pursued empirically and, therefore, suited to modern scientific temperament. Secondly, Jainism with equal boldness negates the undue and sole occupation with matter by the modern scientific method evinced in remaining only at the level of noetics, refusing to move ahead of the limits set up by sense-perception and reason. It ventures to suggest that *mati* or the knowledge obtained through sense-perception and the scientific knowledge gained through observation, classification, generalization and induction, and *śruta* or knowledge gained by word of an authority, that is, all recorded knowledge, including scriptures are both indirect forms of knowledge, as they are mediated by senses and mind, whereas the remaining three, namely, *avadhi*, clairvoyance, *manaḥparyāya*, telepathy and *kevala*, perfect knowledge comprise direct knowledge, as they are gained by the soul directly and intuitively through non-discursive method without any mediation. Thus omniscience is not to be equated with the bulk or totality of knowledge accumulated progressively by empirical or scientific methodology. It is an instantaneous perception of the whole truth by the self, irrespective and independent of time, space and object.

So far as the assertion of the indirectness of the sense-derived knowledge is concerned, there is strong support from C.G. Jung who maintains: "It is an almost absurd prejudice to suppose that existence can only be physical. As a matter of fact, the only form of existence of which we have immediate knowledge is psychic. We might well say, on the contrary, that physical existence is a mere inference since we know of matter only in so far as we perceive psychic images mediated by the senses."[1]

Thirdly, the Jain epistemology adopts a balanced view of the morphology of knowledge, since it holds that when an object is known its seer or the subject is also known simultaneously. This stand obviates the possibility of pan-objectivism and exposes onesidedness of the modern scientific knowledge which has been noticed by several serious students of philosophy. Cassirer, in this regard, states: "I investigated essentially with the structure of mathematical and scientific thought. When I attempted to apply my findings to the problems of the cultural sciences, it gradually became clear to me that general epistemology, with its traditional form and limitations does not provide an adequate methodological basis for the cultural sciences...Instead of investigating only the general

premises of scientific cognition of the world, it would also have to differentiate the various fundamental forms of man's "understanding" of the world...It seemed to me that the theory of scientific concepts and judgements which defines the natural "object", must be amplified by an analogous specification of pure subjectivity."[2]

The soul, according to Jainism, is of the nature of pure, independent consciousness that reflects the totality of objects, when it attains to the state of *kevali*. This concept answers adequately the pure subjectivity stated by Cassirer. This will be made clear in the course of this article.

Before discussing the Jain epistemology, it is necessary to make it clear that the Jain philosophy conceives of knowledge not as a matter of barren speculation but in teleological terms, that is, any form of knowledge serves a specific purpose. As such, the whole Jain theory of knowledge is release-oriented and necessarily involves gradual ethical refinement, the basic urge for which arises from the clear intellectual perception of the highest goal of human endeavour which, in turn, initially needs faith in the statement of truth made by the one who has attained it. Knowledge, thus, forms a constituent of the triune consisting of *darśana-jñāna-caritra* or vision-knowledge-character.

There are about forty-five canonical works of Jainism known as *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas*, *mūlasūtras*, *chedasūtras* and *prakīrṇa*, especially of śvetambara Jains, as the digambara Jains declare that these works are late and apocryphal. They maintain that the original Jain *āgamas* have been lost. These works contain the *siddhānta* and are listed by Weber[3] in his *Indian Studies*. From amongst these, it is *Nandisūtra* that gives an outline of the theory of knowledge, on the basis of which Umāsvāti in his work *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* (T.S.) enunciates it in detail.

T.S. I.9 states—"*matiśrutāvadhimanaḥparyāyakevalāni jñānam*", 'There are five kinds of knowledge—*mati*, *śruta*, *avadhi*, *manaḥparyāya* and *kevala*'. For the attainment of them, there are two *pramāṇas* or means of valid knowledge—*pratyakṣa*—direct and *parokṣa*—indirect. The other *pramāṇas*, accepted by different systems of philosophy, such as, *anumāna*, inference, *upamāna*—analogy, *śabda* or *āgama*, word or scripture, *arthāpatti*—presumption, and *sambhava*, probability are included in the *parokṣa pramāṇa* of the Jains, that is, in the *mati* and *śruta* types of knowledge. *Mati* is cognition by means of sense-perception. It includes *smṛti* or recollection, *saṁjñā* (also called *pratyabhijñā*), recognition, *cintā* or *tarka*, induction based on observation and *abhinibodha*, deduction based on reasoning. *Matijñāna* is both *indriyanibandhana*, sense-dependent and *anindriyanibandhana*, derived through mind which is not considered to be a sense. So far as *matijñāna* is concerned, it needs to be borne in mind that the faculty of perception belongs to the soul and not to the sense-organs like eye, ear etc., nor to the mind. The external physical senses, five in number, are, therefore, to be distinguished from the unseen faculty of vision of the self. Precisely, it is the self that gains, on its own, the different kinds of sense-knowledge in association with the physical senses, by removal of the veil, on account of which the knowledge could not reveal itself.[4] Internally the removal of the veil covering the inherent knowledge in the soul is determined by the *karma* which is *paudgalika* or material in nature and outwardly it is determined by the vicinity of the object and the sense, sufficient light and similar other conditions. Jain philosophers, thus, do not admit separate existence of either senses or mind, apart from the soul.

The Jain thinkers have dealt with the subtle psychological process through which a given sense-datum is converted into thought or is made one piece with knowledge. It shows how sense-perception gives rise to indirect or mediated knowledge, which generally passes as *pratyakṣa* or direct source of knowledge. They have designated five stages through which the sense-data are presented, received, assimilated and ultimately integrated to form a unit of thought. Knowledge presupposes the subject or knower, the object, the world, or known and their correlation. Thought proceeds in the domain of relations. The first stage is called

vyañjanāvagraha, contact of an object, in which the object in the outer space comes into contact with the peripheral end of one's sense-organ. After such relationship is established between the soul and the non-soul, the subject and the object, a sort of stimulation occurs in the cerebrum which starts working upon the mind, giving rise to sensation. At this stage which is known as *arthāvagraha*, presentation of object, the mind becomes aware of some extra-mental factor, indeterminate in character, since the mind has only started to grasp the distinction between the subject and the object—an amorphous state of vague awareness. This is the second stage in the perceptual process. The third stage is called *ihā*, urge to apprehend the object. The mind does not rest at second stage but proceeds further with a searching inquiry as to the characteristic content of what is posited from without. This involves comparison and assimilation of the present sensation to earlier similar sensations, as they arise within the mind by the law of association, resulting in specification of points of identity and distinction between previous and present sensations. The next stage is known as *apāya*, distinction from previous sensations. It represents integration of the present sensation which has assumed the character of an image, to the store of earlier sensations or past images revived in consciousness because of association, likes, dislikes etc. This integration, in turn, helps distinguishing the present sensation from the rest, through the recognition of its distinct characteristics. The final stage in the perceptual process is known as *dhāraṇā* or definite knowledge. This consists of the determination of the location and qualities inherent in the object presented.[5] Through this process of objectification and localization we gain knowledge of things existing objectively in space as extra-mental reality. "This principle holds good in all cases of empirical knowledge, historical or otherwise."[6]

Śrutajñāna is knowledge obtained through the words of Jain scripture or of persons who attained perfect knowledge. It is of two kinds: *aṅgapraviṣṭam*, described in *aṅgas*, and *aṅgabāhyam*,[7] described in works other than *aṅgas*. Each of them is again divided into twelve kinds, depending on the subject-matter discussed in the twelve *aṅgas* and other allied works. This knowledge, acquired through the *āgamas*, though indirect, deals with those types of direct knowledge which can be acquired by anyone who so desires and who is ready to follow the discipline of ethical refinement. Thus *śrutajñāna* paves the way for the higher and direct types of knowledge. It is necessary to bear in mind that the *āgamas* do not contain the direct knowledge but simply indicate the possibility and describe the methodology for the acquisition of that knowledge which being direct, personal, intuitive and immediate, has to be attained by one within his own self for spiritual function, *uvaoga* or self-luminosity is the essence of the soul.[8] According to Jain thinkers *śrutajñāna* gives rise to an aspiration for *upaśama* or quiescence of mind, *samyaktva* or right determination or *tattvaruci*, a disposition to realise the truth and *caritra* or character-formation.[9] Even for the acquisition of ordinary indirect knowledge through sense-perception and also in the methodology of the modern scientific knowledge the desire to know the true nature and the structure of an object and fixing the mind on that specific object to the exclusion of all others, are needed as preconditions, but there is no need felt for the refinement of moral character.[10] But in the attainment of direct knowledge, the triune of perception, knowledge and character progress simultaneously, because this higher knowledge is revealed in the soul only through the destruction of the concealing agents which are formed from the *pudgalas* or subtle particles of matter. This requires occluding the inflow of such particles into the soul through the sense-apertures and catharsis of the accumulated ones. It is a task that calls for uncommon power of will and necessitates strict discipline, till perfect knowledge is attained. *Śrutajñāna* informs one that unlike indirect one, the direct knowledge is perfect and unlimited and is, in fact, the very nature of the soul, revelation of which is impeded only by the clinging of the *karmic* matter that veils it. Moreover, it is said that this knowledge can be acquired only in the human body for though the soul has

progressed through many un-organic and multi-organic casements, it is in this specific body with five sense-organs that the plugging of fresh inflow of karmic matter and working out of the accumulated *pudgalas* which arose due to blind action done in many previous bestial existences and the consequent complete release from the final vestiges of karmic matter is possible. *Śrutajñāna* assures one that perfect knowledge, unending happiness and complete autonomy are realizable goals, for which one has to adopt a specific non-discursive methodology that illumines the inner layers of consciousness.

Jain thinkers maintain that the soul is of the nature of infinite perception. knowledge and happiness, but its essential nature is veiled by layers of karmic matter which being opposite in character, could be gradually eliminated from it, so that its intrinsic infinite knowledge and perception may be restored. It is stated that the soul and the karmic matter are both beginningless, so is their correlation. Therefore, the question how could matter that is of opposite nature from the soul be correlated with it is dismissed as irrelevant. In fact, there are some metaphysical questions—how the one becomes many?, how the infinite assumes finitude?, how the ever-free absolute being that is conscious of its infinity be subjected to conditions that bring about its bondage?—are treated in all philosophical systems as irrelevant because one remaining within the limits of finitude and conditioning, can never comprehend the nature of that which is absolute, infinite and unconditioned. However, many systems including that of the Jains endeavour to show the way of stepping out of the conditioned existence and attaining unconditioned and unbound pure consciousness, perfect perception and bliss.[11]

Avadhi or clairvoyance and *manaḥparyāya* or telepathic knowledge are the intermediate stages on the way to *kevalajñāna* or perfect knowledge. The former two occur when the soul through stopping the sense-channels from outside influences attempts to focus its faculty of perception on itself. When the discrimination between the conscious soul and the unconscious matter attains sufficient degree of clarity, a part of the karmic matter falls off leaving the soul freer, lighter and capable of perceiving things distant in space and time. *Avadhijñāna* is subject to the limits of physical form of objects, but *manaḥparyāya* penetrates further to the very heart of living beings. And *kevalajñāna* bestows on one the infinite perception and knowledge where the limits imposed by time, space and the outer form of objects do not obtain. Regarding this type of knowledge, Alexis Carrel states: "Clairvoyance and telepathy are primary datum of scientific observation. Those endowed with this power grasp the secret thoughts of other individuals without using their sense-organs. They also perceive events more or less remote in space and time...It brings to them knowledge which is more certain than that gained through the sense-organs. A clairvoyant reads the thoughts of other people as easily as he examines the expression of their faces. But the words "to see" and "to feel" do not accurately express the phenomena taking place in his consciousness. He does not observe, he does not think. He knows...The clairvoyant may also perceive at a great distance a scene, an individual, a landscape, which he is capable of describing minutely and exactly...Thus, knowledge of the external world may come to man through other channels than sense-organs...These facts, which belong to the new science of metaphysics, must be accepted just as they are. They constitute a part of the reality. They express a rare and almost unknown aspect of ourselves."[12]

An attempt is made here to formulate the logic behind extra-sensory-perception and knowledge gained through it. The soul is of the nature of pure being or substance with absolute consciousness. This true nature of soul is concealed by adventitious *pudgalas* or material particles. Perception and knowledge are the two modes in which consciousness of the conditioned soul manifests itself in organized form.[13] The physical body and the mind or subtle body which are the casements for the gross and subtle sensorium or sense-apparatus, may be used by the soul as channels for the manifestation of perception and knowledge, but they cannot be said to be indispensable for that purpose. The soul, when

purified, elevated and freed from the material agencies that obstruct its perceptive power, can perceive and acquire knowledge of things independent of its afore-said material outfit.

It may be argued that though knowledge can be admitted to be an organized form of consciousness, the form invariably accords with that of the objects given externally in space. This contention is admitted but at the same time it is stressed that the external object existing "there", in the outer space does not enter directly into the formation of knowledge. It is only its psychic image formed on the basis of the data received in the mind through the medium of senses, that becomes the raw material in the formation of conceptual knowledge. Moreover, knowledge presupposes, apart from the image of the object, the process of assimilation which, in turn, involves necessarily coordination, correlation, integration and interpretation which is carried out in mind. This fact establishes predominance of subjective factor in knowledge. This conclusion is further confirmed by the need of the employment of language in the process of formation of knowledge. Language is admittedly a system of phonetic signs—an ordered symbolical method of representation—which is used as conveyance for the sense-data to the mind. In other words, objects presented to the sense, are represented to the psyche by means of words. The process of formation of knowledge is, therefore, essentially a process of formation of linguistic units in a consistent and meaningful way. Evidently, it is in the human psyche that this momentous process of formation of knowledge occurs. It should be clear, therefore, that if the psyche is not clear, undistracted, neutral and unveiled like a mirror, the sense-data represented to it will be interpreted in a distorted manner. This is how the very process of empirical knowledge, which is supposed to reveal the true nature and structure of an object, as it is in itself, and as it stands in relation to the total general objective order, does not strictly speaking serve its avowed purpose. It, on the contrary, picks up objects or group of objects arbitrarily from the general objective order, which are considered immediately useful, and shows them in distorted light because the very standpoint and perspective from which they are perceived, render their knowledge relative, onesided and of little use, so far as true form of knowledge of the world is concerned. This relativity of every standpoint is made clear in the logic of *naya* of Jainism.

The Jain thinkers do admit limited utility of empirical knowledge but at the same time suggest a way of arriving at *kevalajñāna* or perfect knowledge which can be directly gained by the soul, without the mediacy of any channels which might distort it, and, therefore, is free from doubt and erroneous cognition. Before the perfect knowledge is acquired, one normally passes through two intermediary levels of higher knowledge, namely, *avadhi* or clairvoyance and *manaḥparyāya* or telepathy.

Umāsvāti in his T.S. I.27 states that the *avadhijñāna* or clairvoyance is natural to deities and superhuman beings but for human beings it is consequent upon two factors, namely, *kṣaya* and *upaśama*,[14] that is, dropping of those *karmas* or material particles which cause *jñānāvaraṇa* or concealment of knowledge and quiescence or tranquillity of mind achieved by the practice of *śukladhyāna* or meditation on the pure and effulgent nature of the soul. It is stated already that so far as the constitution of human beings is concerned, it is the psyche in which formation of knowledge takes place. The psyche of ordinary human beings is normally covered by such karmic *pudgalas* or material particles which were brought in and accumulated due to passion arising from attachment and aversion. By stopping the fresh inflow of karmic particles through adopting a well-regulated way of life and causing the already accumulated particles to drop from the soul by austerity, observance of vows and meditation, the psyche becomes free from the concealing factors and gradually assumes more and more clarity and stillness, which help gain for it uncommon power of insight and perceptiveness enabling it to see things that are distant in time and place.

T.S. I.28 reads: *rūpiṣvavadheḥ* "*avadhijñāna* has for its object all those substances which have form". Clairvoyance reveals objects that are situated at any distant place or

time, but it finds its limit in their physical surface. Moreover, it apprehends only the *sāmānya* or general outline and the genre to which it belongs. But the *manaḥparyāya* has no such bar. T.S. I.29 states: *tadanantarabhāge manaḥparyāyasya*, "the telepathic cognition penetrates beyond the physical form of objects and reaches to their interior part, and grasps the infinitesimal particles." It apprehends the ever-shifting states of the other's mind and through inference can ascertain the objects about which that mind thinks. It also encompasses the *viśeṣas* or the distinctive attributes of an object which confer on it separate identity, although belonging to a class. Thus *manaḥparyāya* has for its object even those entities that are formless, but the field of its operation is limited, so far as, it functions at human level, superhuman entities being beyond its reach. *Kevala* or perfect knowledge encompasses all substances, their changing states and attributes. T.S. I.30 avers: *Sarvadravyaparyāyeṣu kevalasya*, "*kevalajñāna* has for its object all substances and their paryāyas." The commentary makes this explicit by stating—*kevalaṁ paripūrṇaṁ samagraṁ asādhāraṇaṁ nirapekṣaṁ viśuddhaṁ sarvabhāvajñāpakaṁ lokālokaviṣayaṁ anantaparyāyam*, "*kevalajñāna* is absolutely unitary, perfect and encompasses the whole (i.e., both *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*), is uncommon, independent (of senses and mind), free from defects (such as doubt or erroneous cognition), comprehends all levels and modes of this world and the world beyond and grasps infinite modifications."

Unlike modern science which aspires to omniscience and accordingly strives to construct "the theory of everything" or "the theory of unified field" through the recognized scientific method of observation and discursive thought, the Jain thinkers maintain that omniscience is a viable intellectual ideal to be achieved through gradual increase in human capacity of perception aided by simultaneous ethical refinement. This is to be accomplished by freeing human psyche—the centre of perception—of all the obscuring and obstructing factors.

The psyche, according to Jung, is made up of two parts: Conscious and unconscious which mutually reinforce each other. The unconscious again has two parts: personal and collective. The former contains repressed and interiorised bits of personal experience and the latter fossilized impressions of racial life and also dangerous remnants of animal propensities in the form of powerful instincts acquired in earlier bestial existences. The sense-based experiences of the conscious mind tend to be introjected and those of the unconscious, in turn, tend to project themselves on to the conscious mind and determine its character and movements.

According to Jain thinkers man is a network of interiorized material objects and events, attitudes and prejudices, assimilated—in the form of psychic images—to an inner focal point of consciousness which while attracting selected outer sensible factors from amongst the myriads existing in space, individuates itself with the help of those alien material factors. The inflow (*āsrava*) of such factors is determined by personal interest formed on the basis of attachment and aversion. This process of individuation is beginningless and constant one, but can be ended by occluding (*saṁvara*) fresh inflow of *pudgalas* or material particles and destruction (*nirjarā*) of accumulated ones through appropriate technique of catharsis.

The Jain thinkers, therefore, advise the neophyte aspirant after omniscience to render the psyche clear, undistracted and neutral like a mirror so that it may reflect the world of objects together with the general objective order as actually they are in themselves. He is further advised to be prepared to subject himself to a regimen of self-discipline for a specific period of time, in the same spirit in which a student aspiring for a higher degree in engineering or medicine willingly subjects himself to certain restrictions regarding physical and mental movements, diet, hours of sleep and the like. It is comparatively easy to make the contents of the conscious mind oriented to a single point, but it is indeed difficult to grasp, tackle, resolve and transcend the contents of the unconscious mind. In fact, even entry into it, which Jung calls "descent into the unconscious", can be effected only after the psychic energy—used up in the kinetics of the constant succession of thought-images that

arise in the mind, independent of one's will or control—is totally freed and is turned inward. In other words, real inner perception does not start operating unless the mind is sufficiently trained to leave the outer influences outside and direct its faculty of perception to itself or its unconscious layers wherein are stored the impressions in the form of fossilized psychic images of personal history and racial history, in short, the whole history of earlier lives from the hypothetical beginning of soul's career as a distinct being. In this dark region of unconscious, one, first of all, encounters one's own shadow, then the complexes of anima-animus formed around libido or sex-energy, then at a still deeper level lie the archetypes or the symbols of divine or devilish forces, formed in the past in the collective unconscious of the race[15] and expressed in the myths of all ethnic groups of the world. Ultimately one faces the image of the Self which is non-different from God-image[16] into which the finite ego is destined to lose its separate identity.

Jung calls this process "individuation" or recognition of our wholeness or completeness, a task imposed upon us by nature.[17] He says further that in 'Alchemy' sea,[18] cave and night are the symbols of the unconscious. This cartographic presentation of the unconscious by Jung is based on his study of dreams of many people. But the oriental thinkers, especially Indian sages including Jains who attained Self-knowledge through self-discipline, self-criticism and self-transcendence, emphasize the need for vertical search into one's own psyche and not the horizontal search into the minds of others. According to them, one entering into the unconscious need not necessarily encounter the images and levels mapped out diligently by Jung. In fact, the interior region of the unconscious has no levels. It is a constellated group of fossilized thoughts strung onto the first thought "I" which on inquiry disappears—rather merges—into the absolute one Being that is conscious of its unity and infinity. It is in this Being-consciousness that the world-order, beginning from the "I" thought to the concrete matter, is reflected as in a mirror. On realizing this, the idea of inner and outer also vanishes as it is seen to arise due to the physical body. Such a realized one may employ his subtle psychic body for knowing subtle entities as easily as he employs his physical sense organs for knowing the surrounding objects. Sri Aurobindo, in this regard, states: "The mind takes direct impression primarily of thoughts, but also of form, sound, indeed of all things for which it usually prefers to depend on the sense organs. The full development of this sensitiveness of the mind is called in our yogic discipline *sūkṣmadṛṣṭi* or subtle perception of images. Telepathy, clairvoyance, clairaudience, presentiment, thought-reading, character-reading and many other modern discoveries are very ancient powers of the mind..."[19]

The omniscience of Jainism is of the form of one infinite Being-consciousness, encompassing and reflecting the totality of objective existence, as if, in the eternal present moment. It is attained by *kevali* and is characterized as infinite perception, knowledge and bliss.

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8. Walther Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, Motilal B., Delhi, 1962, p. 153.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 142.
10. Alexis Carrel, in this regard, states: "In biological research we have not given so far to moral

activities the importance that they deserve. Moral sense must be studied in as positive a manner as intelligence...Without any doubt, moral activities are located within the domain of scientific research."

—Alexis Carrel, *Man the Unknown*, Wilco Pub. House, Bombay, 1959, p. 128

11. Jaini, Jagmanderlal, *Outlines of Jainism*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 17.
12. Alexis, Carrel, *ibid.*, pp. 123-24.
13. Cf. "The spirit must not be viewed as epiphenomenon, but as a principle *sui-generis*, as a formative and therefore the highest principle through which "Gestalt", an organized structure, is psychologically and perhaps also physically possible."
—Jolan Jacobi, *The Psychology of C.G. Jung: An Introduction*, Kegan Paul, London, 1942, p. 64
14. *dvividho'vadhiḥ bhavapratyayaḥ kṣayopaśamanimittaśca*, "Avadhi is of two kinds, inborn and generated by destruction of actions veiling knowledge and quiescence of mind".
—Kapadia, H.R., Ed., *op. cit.*, p. 95
15. Cf. "The collective unconscious is the mighty spiritual inheritance of human development, reborn in every individual constitution."
—Jolan Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 33
16. "AION: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self", by C.G. Jung, *Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, Ed., Read Herbert, Tr. Hull, R.F.C., Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1959, p. 39.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
18. Cf. *aṇoraṇiyān mahato mahiyān ātmā'sya jantornihito guhāyaṁ*, "Subtler than atom, greater than the greatest, the Self rests in the cave (heart) of this creature".
—Kaṭhopaniṣad, I.2.20
Also the *Ṛgveda*, iv.58.1 speaks of mysterious "Samudra", ocean full of sweet billows, symbolizing the heart wherein the everblissful immortal Self should be searched with the help of Agni symbolizing the ever-increasing inner awareness.
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7

Some Educational Implications of Jain Philosophy

Harshad V. Vyas

Jain philosophy as a major philosophical tradition in Indian philosophy has received considerable scholarly attention both in India and abroad. Clearly, the comprehensive nature of this philosophical system has implications beyond the conduct of philosophical argumentation and exposition. It is not the intention of this contributor to attempt to add to this. Rather, there is a very limited objective of selecting some salient features of Jain philosophy and develop an argument for their relevance to educational practice. The broader objective is to open up an area of research and development.

Any discussion dealing with educational practices has to begin by drawing a distinction between education and schooling — the latter being a more limited concept in relation to the former. This distinction is particularly important in the present-day context in that there is an almost universal movement towards formal schooling in societies and countries — rich as well as poor, industrial as well as pre-industrial. In view of this, a consideration of the educational significance of Jain philosophy is not merely a theoretical exercise. Rather, it is an opportunity to bring theoretical ideas to the realms of practice.

Growth of schooling and development of educational system in Europe as well as the United States has been characterized by a move towards universal secular education system at the same time allowing scope for parochial schools to function unhindered. There have been small differences in the secular education movement in different countries in relation to their particular national histories. The point that needs to be made in this regard is that conditions have always been created to allow secular and parochial schools to flourish. This phenomenon has been strongly linked with development of democratic, social institutions with parochial schooling representing parental rights to religion-based schooling.

These remarks lead to a consideration of the Indian context. The establishment of the Indian Union as a secular state provided direction to the governmental policy in education to the extent that the system was kept secular. This combined with the inheritance of the British model of education system meant that religion did not have a place in the education system and it was not seen as a source for educational philosophy. At the level of students and teachers, the disregard of own religious beliefs and values has the effect of alienation from religion or from education or from both. While religious practices and beliefs are the clearest manifestation of people as a whole, a generation going through the entire process of schooling with this major dimension missing in their formative years can certainly turn them into a disadvantaged generation. The main argument of this contribution is that religion can provide a basis for an educational philosophy which can mould and guide the process of schooling. Some of the key concepts from Jain epistemology are used to illustrate this contention.

Jain religious beliefs provide guidance for day to day living for the laity. This is a precise code of social and moral behaviour which is inculcated through socialization as well as

explicit instruction. Not only does this remain at the level of personal behaviour, formal schooling is seen as discrete from it. This separation is artificial to say the least and it goes against current thinking in education as well as the social sciences.

In the Western tradition, education was seen as a predominantly moral activity for a considerable time and schooling aspect—literacy instruction—remained a relatively minor component. The ancient Indian tradition was also more or less similar. The divergence came about in the wake of the phenomenal growth in science and technology in the Western world. Schooling meant more than literacy as expansion of knowledge meant growth and refinement in school curricula. The mainstream of Indian education had two challenges—to preserve the basis of own ancient educational traditions and to keep up with refinement in school knowledge. All the debates about the quality of school education in India and about educational standards indicate that the second challenge has been so overwhelming as to totally undermine the first.

Modern educational practices have evolved from what is known as teacher-centred approaches to student-centred approaches. Knowledge is not seen as parcels of information to be stored but as a process of understanding the surrounding world or the empirical reality in philosophical terms through a process of discovery, trial and error even. In this context, the teacher becomes a guide, an aide, and a resource and the responsibility for learning falls squarely on the shoulders of the learner. This is precisely in line with elements in Jain epistemology as will be seen a little later. This development of the learner is seen as a long process with qualitatively different stages in line with the learner's maturational growth. Briefly, modern educational theories have been in the direction of student autonomy in learning and of a hierarchy of stages in student development.

Jain epistemology asserts three main elements: 'the knowledge', 'the knower', and 'the known'. In educational terminology, the first can provide the curriculum. The second element concerns the learner characteristics. The third element acts as a guiding principle determining the *level* at which knowledge is to be gained. Two examples (Bloom[1] and Meeker[2]) will illustrate how close this interpretation is to educational thinking. The educational objectives movement initiated in the 'fifties by Benjamin Bloom and his associates sought to explain school knowledge as occurring in three domains of mental activities: cognitive, affective, and psychomotor. Jain epistemology asserts five forms of knowledge as under:

mati-jñāna (perceptual cognition)
śruta-jñāna (verbal)
avadhi-jñāna (extra-sensory)
manaḥ-paryāya-jñāna (thought-reading)
kevala-jñāna (absolute or perfect)

According to Bloom, the development in cognitive domain proceeds from knowledge (as expressed in recognition and recall) followed by Comprehension (simple understanding), Application (simple use of ideas and concepts), Analysis, Synthesis, and finally, Evaluation. *Mati-jñāna* and *śruta-jñāna* are the two inclusive concepts which cover all the elements of Bloom's cognitive domain. However, the last element in the cognitive domain—Evaluation—is particularly interesting in that the way to attain *kevala-jñāna* is through a process of discrimination and evaluation. Clearly, Jain epistemology is taking a student way beyond the final point of Bloom's cognitive domain.

The Affective domain is concerned with attitudes, value system, and feelings. In Jain epistemology, the soul is the *jñātā* or the 'knower' and is also *kartā* the 'doer'. The activities of

the *jñātā* are as much in the areas of feelings and emotions as in the development of right attitudes. Bloom's third domain—psychomotor—is concerned with how mental processes are implicated in physical and motor actions. Jain epistemology asserts that increasingly deeper knowledge of one's own desires and motivations acts as a guide to one's own actions—both physical and spiritual.

The remarks made earlier about following religious beliefs as a matter of personal choice may be recalled in relation to the second illustration. School knowledge leads to development of the person—maybe in a professional/vocational sense, and therefore, at best in a limited development of the self. Jain epistemology asserts development from *mati-jñāna* to *kevala-jñāna*—in other words, from empirical reality to perfect knowledge. In other words, the progression implied is well beyond termination with vocational/professional development. Jain epistemology implies coordination of different forms of *jñāna* in order to reach the stage of *kevala-jñāna*. This principle is also illustrated in empirical work about development of school knowledge by other researchers following Bloom's original formulations.

Meeker's work on the Structure of Intellect (SOI) is a good illustration of this. She and her associates put together extensive amount of research evidence in support of three coordinating elements in human cognitive behaviour. Briefly, the Structure of Intellect model suggests that there are three elements in every cognitive function: Operations, Contents, and Products. In reciting a poem, for example, the Operation is verbatim reproduction (called Convergent production), Content is the poem itself (called Symbolic because language is a symbolic system), and Product is singing or reciting (called Class because it is a different category from a paragraph or a lecture). This example illustrates the complexity of a supposedly simple task. Jain epistemology makes the point about the complexity of mental function through the classification of *jñāna*. The understanding of the coordinating principle as illustrated here is of use in a number of ways—in understanding student needs and abilities, in making curriculum decisions, in determining teacher's own ability and competence to teach and many others. Although the examples are from educational practice, it is important to realize that current thinking in psychology and sociology is also converging gradually towards some of the main features of various Indian philosophical traditions. One reason for this may be that Western view of the individual and his/her place in society/universe has historically remained at analytical level whereas the Indian philosophical approach has emphasized both the analysis and synthesis leading to a comprehensive view. This is a possible hypothesis which cannot be taken up further in the present discussion. The limited objective of this contribution has been to open up this direction of thinking. It is possible to develop a whole book from these preliminary remarks. However, if this leads educational researchers to explore the possibilities further, that will be one desirable outcome.

References

1. Educational Objectives movement owes its origin to Bloom's work. The objectives deriving from the three domains have been used to help teachers and training personnel to plan their teaching and instructional strategies and programmes. The subject is not entirely without controversy both from educational and philosophical point of view. The supporters of the movement have largely cited evidence from psychology and school effectiveness research. The following are the basic texts:
   Bloom, B. et al., *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.* Handbook 1. *Cognitive Domain.* Handbook 2. *Affective Domain.* New York: D. McKay, 1956.
2. Meeker has provided research evidence for the Structure of Intellect model which was developed by the psychologist J.P. Guilford. Meeker goes much further than the original

conceptualization, especially by making explicit the application of psychological principles in instructional and training contexts. As remarked earlier, the main strength of both Guilford's and Meeker's contribution is in using the coordinating principle to understand cognitive behaviour. The following are basic references:

Guilford, J.P., ***The Nature of Human Intelligence.*** **New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.**

Meeker, Mary Nacol, ***The Structure of Intellect: Its Interpretation and Uses.*** **Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969.**

8

DOCTRINE OF KARMA AND JAINA ETHICS

H.M. JOSHI

Jaina ethics is essentially strict and rigorous in its principle of action, orientation of practice and vows of physical, life-controlling, mental desires and ideas. In Jainism ethics is an integral part of its metaphysics. According to Jaina metaphysics the quality of consciousness pervades in all bodies and organisms in varying degrees. As the body and soul are inextricably related by the link of moral chain, the normative principle of *karma* plays a significant role in building up the positive union. Jaina philosophers have propounded the principle of causation which is the pillar not only of natural events and phenomena but that of human activity also. '*Karma*' in Jaina philosophy is not only physical and material, but it is psychical and normative too. At the outset it may be mentioned that the doctrine of '*karma*' in Hinduism and in Jainism are not identical and that their connotations are different in both the philosophies. '*Karma*' in Jain philosophy and in ethics is apparently a part of the personality and empirical self. However, as an aim and ideal of individuality it admits of self-discipline, control and gradual elimination in the ascent of transcendent self.

All the forces of nature whether physical or psychical obey the law of cause and effect. Every action of our body, speech or mind is the result of certain force or power which is its cause. At the same time that which is an effect of some cause becomes in turn the cause of some other effect and thus the chain goes on extending its field. There are two principles as regards causation and causality in Indian philosophy, they are (1) *satkāryavāda* and (2) *asatkāryavāda*. According to *satkāryavāda* the effect is lying implicitly in the cause. Whatever develops in nature and in the world at large is the result of previous internal power and agency known as cause. On the other hand *asatkāryavāda* holds the view that effect is the new beginning and novel event and it is not internally related with the cause. At times this is called '*ārambhavāda*' according to which the production of the event is the new beginning and it does not depend upon previous event in an internal manner. Jain epistemology and ontology support both the views. It attempts to observe truth in both the principles of cause and effect. In its metaphysical view Jainas believe in two fundamental principles such as *jīva* and *ajīva*, living and non-living entities. *Jīva* is a general term for all living beings, both liberated as well as bound. Human beings or persons form only one category of the souls that are bound. This conception of soul implies that persons have in themselves the inherent capacity to realise their immense potentiality of knowledge, intuition, power and bliss.

Jaina thinkers do not regard this universe as a mere aggregate of six substances set together by certain supernatural authority. They hold that it is a system in itself, subject to certain definite laws inherent in its own constitution. Jainism regards souls to be real and indefinite in number. Each soul possesses certain individual characteristics different from others. The doctrine which gives us certain explanation of our individual characteristics, that is some satisfactory answer to the factors of our individuality which we have at present and tells us how these factors were produced as the result of the forces generated in the past, is known as the doctrine of *karma*.

According to Jaina philosophy every individual soul possesses infinite intuition, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss. All these attributes belong by nature to every soul in its perfection. Mundane souls are not perfect because their knowledge, energy are found to be limited. They are not perfectly free to enjoy complete knowledge and unrestrained bliss. What is the reason of this restriction? Is it a check on their innate faculty of knowing? Jainas reply that they are infected by something foreign which veils their natural faculties. This foreign element is known as '*karma*'. Jainism does not mean by *karma* 'work or deed'. According to Jaina conception *karma* is an aggregation of material particles which are very fine and are imperceptible to the senses. The aggregate enters into the soul and produces charges in it. It is a form of matter which produces certain conditions in the mundane souls that are suffering from the shackles of birth and death from beginningless time.

The entire world is full of that kind of fine matter which can become *karma*. Through the actions of body, mind and speech the fine matter gets into the soul and is tied to it according to the modifications of consciousness consisting of *kaṣāyas*, i.e., anger, pride, deceit and greed. Therefore there is an influx of *karmic* particles and then there occur certain activities of mind which are responsible for the actual bondage. In the state of bondage, soul and *karma* are very much mixed like milk and water. Once matter enters the soul, it causes various kinds of effect on it. The bondage is of four kinds, according to its nature, duration, intensity and quantity. The activities of thought, speech and body are responsible for the nature and quantity. The duration and intensity result from attachment and aversion. *Karma* may remain latent in the soul for a definite period without emerging into appearance. When the moment for its enjoyment arrives, it becomes apparent and releases itself.

Bondage and Its Kinds

As has already been mentioned, the soul has been eternally infected by matter which means that its association with *karma* has no beginning. Moreover it is gathering new matter every moment. The liberation of soul from matter is possible by certain means in which the moral vows and the will of the individual have a vital role to play to remove '*leśyās*' and '*kaṣāyas*' which are parts of mind-body complex in the individual *jīva*. The *jīvas* are infinite in number and are of different kinds such as (1) *nityasiddha* or ever perfect; (2) *mukta* or the liberated and (3) *bandha* or bound. The second kind of jivas will not become embodied. They have achieved their purity of character and consciousness and they are in a state of supermundane perfection not related with worldly affairs. To get liberation from *karma* is the ulterior aim of the individual *jīva*. There is an influx of *karma* already flowing in one's body and vital life if one introspects within. The soul must stop the influx of new *karmas* and eliminate the acquired ones. Through this two-fold method, it can attain the ultimate goal, that is, emancipation. All obstacles which obstruct the manifestation of its true nature are then automatically overcome because it is released from the foreign domination of *karma*. This being the situation, when liberation is attained it can undisturbedly make manifest its innate knowledge which is infinite.

There are four kinds of bondage according to the atoms which have become *karma*, they are: (1) according to their nature (*prakṛti*), (2) according to duration (*sthiti*), (3) according to their intensity (*anubhāga*) and (4) according to their quantity (*pradeśas*). When *karma* penetrates the soul, it is changed into eight kinds of *prakṛti* which make up the '*kārmaṇa śarīra*'. These eight kinds of *karma* include the '*jñānāvaraṇīya*' or that which obscures the unborn knowledge of the soul producing different degrees of knowledge or ignorance and '*darśaṇāvaraṇīya*' or that which obscures right intuitions, *vedanīya* or that which obscures the blissful nature and produces pleasure, pain and '*mohanīya*' or that which disturbs the

right attitude of the soul with regard to faith, conduct, passions and emotions and produces doubt, error and other mental disturbances. The other four deal with the status of an individual being such as '*āyuṣka*' or that which determines the length of life in one birth; '*nāma*' or that which produces various circumstances or elements which collectively make up an individual existence, the body with its general and specific qualities; '*gotra*' or that which determines the nationality, caste, family and social standing of an individual; and '*antarāya*' or that which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and prevents the doing of good even when there is a desire for it.

Each of the above species is divided into a number of sub-species with the result that the entire number of *karmas* is exceedingly large. However, the significant nature of *karma* is its natural inflow into the soul and its deformation. Jaina philosophers hold the view that *karma* is an external factor spoiling the purity of the soul. There is the *bhāvakarma* along with the *dravyakarma*, which constitutes the complexion of gross as well as subtle activity. It is the *bhāvakarma* which is imperceptible to the eye. Such '*karma*' or activity has a moral bearing in so far as it involves subtle discipline for control and channelising towards purity of consciousness. The state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the *karma* with which it is associated. To enumerate various types of '*bhāva*' and '*dravyakarma*' is essential so that it may be possible to control the influence and remove it for the purity of soul. The '*ajīva*' in Jaina philosophy consists of five entities of which four are immaterial, *amūrta*, such as space, time, *dharma*, *adharma* and *pudgala* is material or *mūrta*. These five categories constitute the world or *loka*, and that which is beyond is called *aloka*. The concept of *pudgala* requires elaboration as it is constituted both by material as well as conscious particles according to Jainism.

Nature of 'Pudgala'

Before we discuss the nature of '*bhāva*' and '*dravyakarma*' and its bearing on self-discipline, it would be proper to expound the principle of *pudgala* and show its significance in Jaina theory of *karma*. Jaina philosophers attribute motion to atoms and they hold that space, *dharma* and *adharma* are responsible for bringing change in atom and consequently in the material world and cosmos. Primary atoms are indeed static and immobile but later when they join with *dharma* and *adharma* of conscious organisms they become dynamic and change into *pudgala*. If a distinction is made between atom and molecule, then '*pudgala*' is molecule. It is material but it is consisting of numerable, innumerable and indefinite parts according to our consideration of molecular combinations. *Pudgala* is homogeneous combination of different matter such as earth, water, light and air. In this sense *pudgala* is neither conscious nor entirely material. It is unconscious in so far as it gathers the qualities of matter and carries forward to the '*jīva*'. *Pudgala* is having 'form', as it can be touched, tasted, seen and smelt. It is '*rūpin*'.[1] Although *pudgala* is *ajīva*, it accumulates the *karmas* of the person and carries them to the next birth, when the soul gets embodied. With the concept of *pudgala* Jaina realism marks out new shade in Indian realistic school, as Jainas do not divide reality into spirit and matter, but they propound 'unconscious' which is neither material nor spiritual. In the entity called 'unconscious' certain immaterial substance is included also. It paves a new direction in the school of 'Panpsychism' also as there is distinct category of 'unconscious' entity in which the *karmas* of the individual are gathered and constitute the reality to be treated by the moral agent for the endeavour to achieve liberation.

'Tattva' and Ethical Relationship

'Padārtha' is classified in the canons and later philosophical works into nine categories in Jaina philosophy. In *'Sthānanga sutra'* as well as in *'Samayasāra'* of Kundakundācārya we find there are nine categories as, *'jīva, ajīva, puṇya, pāpa, āsrava, bandha, saṁvara, nirjarā* and *mokṣa'* described. The whole world is divided into *jīva* and *ajīva* and it is held by Jainas that the rest of the seven categories are meant for preparing and achieving the goal of liberation. The essential characteristic of a *jīva* is consciousness, purity and bliss but through the beginningless chain of *karmas*, bondage is there and the *jīvas* enjoy weal (*puṇya*) or woe (*pāpa*). *Puṇya* is produced by our auspicious *bhāvas* (activities). The auspicious *bhāvas* are said to consist of freedom from delusion, acquirement of right faith and knowledge, practice of reverence, observance of five vows, etc. *Pāpa*, on the other hand, is produced by inauspicious *bhāvas*. These *bhāvas* consist of delusion, wrong faith and knowledge, violence and falsity, stealing, indulgence, attachment, anger, pride, deceitfulness, greed, etc. Some writers like Umāsvāti and others have expressed the view that there are seven categories as against nine described above and they have said that *pāpa* and *puṇya* are not separate categories. These two were included by them under *'āsrava'* and *'bandha'*. It has been observed by Umāsvāti that *puṇya* and *pāpa* are nothing but the auspicious and inauspicious influx of *karmas*.

Āsrava has two divisions as *'bhāvāsrava'* and *'dravyāsrava'*. That modification of soul by which *karma* gets into it, is to be known as *'bhāvāsrava'* whereas *dravyāsrava* is the *karmic* matter itself which enters a soul. In other words *bhāvāsrava* is nothing but activities, while *dravyāsrava* is a peculiar type of matter. That conscious state by which *karma* is bound with the soul is called *bhāva-bandha*, while the interpenetration of the *pradeśas* of *karma* and the soul is called *'dravya-bandha'*. How does this *bandha* (bondage) come into existence? It comes into existence on account of the modification of consciousness consisting of *'kaṣāyas'*, i.e., anger, pride, deceit and greed by which *karmas* are tied to the soul. It is attachment and aversion which constitute the fundamental cause of *bandha*. *Bandha* and *āsrava* are intimately related as it is the not-self which binds the self to the influx of *karmas*. In Jaina ethics there is significance of all the three aspects of *darśana*, *jñāna* and *caritra* in case of the comprehensive self. The connection of the self with what it is not, i.e., with *ajīva*, literally the inflow of the not-self into the self is known as *āsrava*. It is also the *'bandha'* or the state of the self's bondage. The unhappy state of our empirical life is due to *āsrava*. The self is associated with a body (*kāya*), the internal organ of mind (*manas*) and function of speech (*vāk*) all of which are modifications of matter or material energy. These three are mostly in continuous states of activities which are peculiar to each of them. The self is essentially different from matter and material phenomena but as it is closely associated with them from the beginningless past, it remains embodied in them and has a tendency to receive in itself these foreign materials. In Jaina psychology the term *'yoga'* is used in a special manner. When one's body, speech and mind are active, his self has a sort of automatic vibration set up in itself which prepares it for receiving the inflow of matter. This preparedness for or proneness to receiving the material inflow, on the part of the self, is called *'yoga'*.

***Āsrava* and *Yoga*: Their Control**

Āsrava is caused by wrong belief (*mithyādarśana*), non-renunciation (*avirati*), carelessness (*pramāda*), passions (*kaṣāya*) and actions set up in the soul through mind, body and speech (*yoga*). *Mithyātva* is simply taking a thing for what it is not, while inflow and bondage are the results of wrong *karma*. Stoppage and shedding are owing to proper type of conduct. The distinction between *bhāva* and *dravya* is found constantly among the activities. In as much

as the vibrations occurring in the *pradeśas* of the soul by reason of the activity of speech, body and mind synchronise with the inflow of *karmic* particles the *āsrava* is the *yoga* entering the soul. At times the endeavour of the soul is also called *yoga*. *Yoga* is called the *karmic* matter drawing towards the soul. The whole responsibility and burden for the attraction of *karmic* particles towards the soul devolves upon *yoga*. On this account there have been different types of *bandhas* which are shown above.

The *āsrava* may be considered from various standpoints. It is either good (*śubha*) or bad (*aśubha*). In the former case it introduces the '*puṇya*' or the meritorious activities and in the latter, the '*pāpa*' or the vicious activities. It would be seen that *yoga* modifies the soul in a specific manner. In order that soul is adequately related with passions and gets affected it is coloured by '*kaṣāyas*' and such actions are called '*samparāyika*'-*āsrava* or the inflow which keeps them down within the mundane sphere. While the soul awakes and it attempts to shake off the passions they have the '*iryā-patha*', which though a mode of inflow is the most meritorious and is immediately succeeded by the blissful emancipation. The mundane inflow is said to be of thirty-five forms of expressions. The Jaina thinkers point out that there is a difference in the *āsrava* in different persons even when it is caused in them by the same form of activity. The material energy which is made fit for assimilation to the self is called *karma*. It is the *karma* which limits the free state of the self for the time being. The *āsrava* is made possible by corresponding fitness both in the receiving self and in the incoming not-self; it introduces the foreign matter into the self and culminates in the '*bandha*' or bondage of the latter.

In Advaita Vedānta the nature of *māyā* may be compared with the nature of *karma* in Jaina philosophy. *Māyā* in Advaita Vedānta is that which limits the nature of the self. However *Māyā* is conceived as belonging to the self. It is held to be a *śakti* not only of the self but that of "Reality". It may be true that this is a part of ignorance and illusion but it is indeed thought to be a part of individual and Brahman. Whereas in Jaina philosophy *karma* is of purely material form, it is foreign to the psychical essence. Again in Advaita Vedānta *māyā* is thought of having two aspects called as *āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa*. In the first aspect the real nature of the self is covered or enveloped, while on account of the activity of the *māyā* which is called *vikṣepa* the self appears as different from what it really is. The Jaina conception of the *ghātiya* (destructive) and the *aghātiya* (undestructive) forms of the *karma* can be compared with the two powers of *māyā* in the school of Advaita Vedānta. While the essential nature of the *karma* is to limit the infinitude of the self, its four *ghātiya* forms destroy the four essential attributes of the soul and the *aghātiya* present it in various modes of finitude.

It may be noted here that the influence of foreign elements into the soul causes its bondage. It is *āsrava* which serves as the channel for the inflow of those foreign elements. It is to be observed that the soul cannot be subjected to bondage even if it comes in closest contact with things of sense, unless it is already in a weakened state. This is a recognition of the fact that there is an empirical self which is subject to vital forces of the nature of greed, desires, passions, envy, dullness, weakness of will, inward mental conflict and openness to external sensuous vibrations. The datum of empirical self as against transcendent self requires to be taken cognizance of in Jaina ethics. Kundakundācārya has taken cognizance of this datum in his well-known work *Samayasāra*. The self or the soul is understood in two ways—really and phenomenally. Even Kundakundācārya thinks that the 'fall' is due to the *karmic* shackles, the result of which is the empirical existence. As it is pointed out in Sāṁkhya and Vedānta philosophies *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* work in conjunction and help either in progress of human personality or in its downfall. All the *karmic* elements cannot be foreign to the self. In the personality of the individual the vital, physical and mental layers of consciousness are at times inviting the regressive course of mind and inner being of the individual.

Kundakundācārya recognises three kinds of self—the *bahirātmā*, the *antarātmā* and *paramātmā*—the outer self, the inner self and the transcendent self respectively. The first kind of self on account of ignorance identifies himself with the body and other external objects. The second kind recognises that his true nature is quite different from material objects. This initiates him further in the investigation of the self (*ātmavidyā*). In the course of such a search the person remains either bound or becomes liberated. The third is the case of *paramātma-svarūpa* which refers to the perfect being the realisation of which comes through *tapas*. This transcendent self is beyond all relational aspects representing the highest nature of reality and the goal of life. Jina *Śāsana* is the discipline in which there is 'discriminatory knowledge of the self' or the personhood. A person who is lacking in discriminative knowledge is *apratibuddha*—the unenlightened person. The empirical *jīva*, whatever may be its kind—*ekendriya*, *dvindriya*, etc. owing to the bodily differences, is interpreted from the practical point of view. The spiritual nature of the person is that which is 'unattached'.[2] The *paramātman* or the highest spiritual entity is one who is beyond comprehension or descriptive levels. One who has crossed the cycle of births and deaths because he is a unity intrinsically 'unassociated'[3] with anything else. Hence he is called the '*svasamaya*', 'self-in-itself'.

Kundakundācārya holds that it is *mithyātva* or perversion which is adverse to right belief. The constituent elements of right belief are, (i) *nisśaṅkā* or doubtlessness, the doubtless is free from fear, fear relating to life, fear relating to future life, fear of being without protection, fear of disclosure of what is kept in secret, fear of pain, accident and death; (ii) *niṣkāṅkṣā* or desirelessness, he is free from desire for pleasure resulting from *karmas*; he is free from desire for all qualities of things; (iii) *nirvicikitsā* or without abhorrence, he does not exhibit any disgust towards unpleasant situations in life and environment; (iv) *amūḍhadṛṣṭitvam* or quality of non-delusion, he is free from delusion as to the nature of things; (v) *upagūhana* or the charitable concealment of defects—he forbears all kinds of defects in others, especially the defects of helpless persons such as children and invalids due to their ignorance and incapacity; (vi) *sthitikarana* or firmness in faith, there is no wavering in the believer since he is endowed with steadfastness; (vii) *vātsalya* or attitude of love and devotion—this attitude sustains the person in the right path to *mokṣa*; (viii) *prabhāvana* or proclaiming the truth — this emphasises the social aspect of religious faith. A person, who is equipped with knowledge of reality, should place the benefit of his achievement of self-realisation at the disposal of society.

It may be observed that the unenlightened person is one who does not have the thoughts of the omniscient but says that he lives because of himself; he makes others live, again because of himself. In the same way he is happy and makes others happy due to his own self. Similarly he is miserable and makes others miserable, all because of him. However the truth remains that life, happiness, misery, death are due to their respective *karmas*[4] and not due to the person himself. To identify oneself with these is a false notion, an erroneous belief and an illusion. The essential attributes of the self, such as knowledge and perception, are known as '*upayoga*' in Jainism. These are based upon the real nature of the self whereas all other characteristics or impure emotional states are not intrinsic to the nature of the self and therefore they are accidental to it. The power that makes it possible is the discriminative knowledge between *āsrava* and *nirjarā* which carry the moral agent and individual towards the recognition and realisation of the aim of life. An individual who has this discriminative knowledge which is pure and free from error is not burnt by *karmas* howsoever one may try in one's own way. Kundakundācārya compares it with gold which even if heated does not lose its intrinsic purity.[5] This issue of the relationship between knowledge and '*karma*' is a crucial one and it seems that Hindu doctrine of '*karma*' has certain significant contribution in this respect. In the first instance a distinction should be made between '*karma*' and '*kriyā*' in as much as *karma* is substantial and it is attached to

self or soul for long time as '*pāpa*' or '*puṇya*' whereas *kriyā* is a continuous activity being performed by self on different parts of personality. It is in this sense that '*kriyamāṇa*' activity can be stopped by moral agent by becoming 'non-attached' as advocated in Bhagvadgītā. However '*sañcita*' and '*prārabdha*' *karmas* cannot be avoided by the soul in spite of the hard efforts by the soul. At the most such past actions may be changed into attitudes of endurance and joyful activities. If one looks into the biographies of great saints and *yogins* one would observe this point that past *karmas* are irrevocable and have to be endured by the person concerned. However the future actions may be done in the way of a '*jīvanmukta*'.

When Jainism holds all actions done by empirical self to be checked and controlled and eventually to be dried up by austerities and rigorous vows, it bypasses two significant points about (i) notion of *karma* as positive association of self and (ii) self as detached consciousness involving as 'psychic self' in 'action'. Kundakundācārya emphasises the necessity of right knowledge and awareness along with observance of austerities and vows in order to control the manifold actions in past and present. What is right knowledge and awareness? Jainas do not hold the view that knowledge burns the actions and activities done by the moral agent. In spite of the knowledge of good and bad actions the moral agent gets fallen and becomes subject to undesirable passions and desires. According to Jainism it is the character and will-power which are more protective and directive to the soul of the individual. Knowledge and awareness consists of wide span of mental and psychic disposition chalked out by methodical ascent and seeking of purity of mind, vital force and physical behaviour in the steps of *āsrava, saṁvara* and *nirjarā* leading finally to liberation of the individual.

Awareness alone cannot check the past *karmas* and its accumulation either in previous birth or specially for this present birth in order to purify consciousness. It is the firm determination of the will in the individual not to allow outside flow of action to enter the consciousness of mind and psychic disposition which can help the individual soul to maintain the virtues of individual character. This point of total purification of will and consciousness involves two pertinent questions: (i) is it possible to resist past *karmas*? and (ii) what about collective responsibility and liability as in railway, steamer, community and group living? Such and similar questions are bound to arise and they demand answer which is beyond individual effort, will and character.

Karma and Action-Oriented Approach

So far we have observed that in Jaina ethics the term '*karma*' as in Vedic school and in Jaina philosophy is understood differently. In Vedic school '*karma*' is understood as part of the self and it is regarded as its store. However in Jaina philosophy '*karma*' is understood as an alienated force entering the self from outside and an entity to be resisted by soul-force. With regard to its doctrine of liberation Jainas hold the view that so long as there is single iota of '*karma*' attached to the soul, it cannot qualify for liberation. *Karma* is regarded as '*ari*', an enemy to be vanquished as in a battle waged by the soul against external dispositions. In this context it is held that '*pudgala*' is the store-house of actions and mode of activity pertaining to self of the individual. It is a pertinent question as to how can *pudgala* which is material become store-house of psychical activities done by the individual? Moreover, it is held in Jainism that '*pudgala*' is the carrier of the soul to the next birth along with its store of past *karmas* performed so far by the individual. At times '*pudgala*' is said to be psychical portion of the individual soul also. The question is whether '*pudgala*' which is said to be partly material and partly psychical can become the custodian of the '*karmas*' and activities of the individual and carry forward in the next birth of the soul of the individual.[6]

In recent times Acharya Tulsi has attempted to bring innovation in Jaina ethics by bringing the doctrine of '*aṇuvrata*'. He has enunciated twenty points which ought to be followed by layman who is usually busy with empirical life and aspiring for higher spiritual life. The *mahāvratas* according to which truth, non violence, chastity, non-possession and non-stealing are to be practised absolutely are difficult for layman and even for householder. Non-violence is the most significant virtue and Jainism has made the most unique contribution in this regard and raised it as a principle of total life on universal religion. Mahatma Gandhi in present century stood as the most glorious illustration of non-violence and he in his life attempted to practise this virtue not only in personal life but showed how it can be made effective in national life. The gap between *aṇuvrata* and *mahāvrata* requires to be minimised by bridging the gulf between individual and collective life. Jaina ethics shows the direction in which the virtues of moral life are to be followed in public life in spite of major hurdles.

References

1. '*Rūpiṇaḥ pudgalaḥ*', *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, V.5.
2. '*Samayasāra*', Kundakundācārya, 150.
3. *Samayasāra*, 3.
4. *Samayasāra*, 250-261.
5. *Samayasāra*, 184.
6. In one of his lectures during Paryushanavyākhyānamālā in 1953 in Bombay, the late Shri Paramananddas Kapadia expressed this view after reading Sri Aurobindo's *Life Divine*, especially the chapter on 'Philosophy of Rebirth', he said that Jaina view of '*pudgala*' as the carrier of the *karmas* from one birth to the next birth requires rethinking. It may be mentioned that according to Sri Aurobindo it is the 'Psychic Being' which carries the *karmas* of the individual from one birth to the next birth.

9

The Regional Tradition of Early Medieval Sapta Mātṛkā Sculptures in Western India (Rajasthan and Gujarat)

Shivaji K. Panikkar

The *Purāṇic* sources describe the Mātṛkās, Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Vārāhī, Nārasimhī, etc., as embodiments of the feminine potentialities of the respective Brāhmanical gods. Hence they are differentiated from the female consorts of the male gods. The Mātṛkā worship and the related manifestation in plastic arts are a pan-Indian phenomenon, the antiquity of which is considered to be as old as the concepts of Śiva and the fertility goddesses. The distinct, ideational, literary, visual and ritualistic manifestations of Mātṛkā concept are interconnected with the totality of Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanic religious tradition.

The great impetus for the inception and development of the Sapta-Mātṛkā tradition during late 4th and subsequent centuries has been derived from the Brāhmanical Śakti cult and is part and parcel of it. However other diverse sources are ingrained into the composite fabric of Mātṛkā tradition. The most important element amongst these is the pre-Gupta *bālagraha* beliefs. These can be defined as the worship of the personified elements related to the conception, birth, diseases and protection of children. The sculptural evidence indicates the concentration of this tradition in the Kuṣāṇa period. Obviously, this had its bearing upon the realm of popular religion which is said as having evolved from the non-Brāhmanical sources. However widely distinct the cultic import may be, the traditions of the Kuṣāṇa Mātṛkās and the later *Purāṇic* Sapta-Mātṛkās are welded together. Elements such as the goddesses in a group, the emphasis on the maternal and protective, the co-existence of benevolence and malevolence, are common to both the traditions.

The Kuṣāṇa Mātṛkā sculptural tradition can be described as the stage of assimilation of a variety of concepts related to Mātṛkās, in varying contexts. As a result, there is a multiplicity of differing, yet interrelated manifestations. The *bālagraha* tradition with the pantheon of Skanda and the female spirits, Harinegameṣin and the female counterpart, Śrī Lakṣmī, Hāritī and Kubera are all significant components in this multi-faceted phenomenon. However, it may be kept in mind that the Kuṣāṇa Mātṛkā tradition is fundamentally distinct from the proper Sapta Mātṛkā tradition of *Purāṇas*. Inherently, the Mātṛkā concept in the *Purāṇic* tradition has a dichotomous ambiguity. Though feminine goddesses overtly, their identity and attributes are entirely in conformity with the respective male deities. In other words they are feminine manifestations (*śaktis*) of the male gods, and hence imply a co-existence of the two principles in one. Further Mātṛkās of the *Purāṇic* myths are militant, ferocious, blood drinking goddesses of battle-fields, assisting either Śiva or Devī in their battle against Asuras. At the same time in the sculptural portrayals, with the exception of

Cāmuṇḍā, who is the only *devī śakti* among Mātṛkās, they are depicted as benevolent, compassionate and even aristocratic. Their motherliness is accentuated by the playful attitudes towards the children, with whom they are portrayed in many examples. It is significant also to note that Mātṛkās in groups embody syncretism between various principal sectarian cults and other Brāhmanical godheads. Yet Mātṛkās are primarily affiliated to Śaiva cults and form a significant component of the iconographical layout of Śaiva caves and structural temples.

The formative stage of Sapta-Mātṛkā cult and iconography unfolds at the end of Kuṣāṇa period and during the Gupta period. The 5th and 6th century sculptures of Mātṛkās, hailing from Badoh Pathari, Udayagiri, Besnagar and Deogarh in Madhyadeśa, Śāmalāji, Tanesara and Mahudi in Western India, and Elephanta and Aihole in Deccan, belong to the early experimental phase and show a stage by stage progression, from the vague and flexible to the concretisation of the basic tenets of Mātṛkā iconography. The pace of the change is rapid and the Mātṛkās as the feminine potentialities of male gods emerge with appropriate attributes. Along with this a certain iconographical fixation, namely, the order, the number, and the *āyudhas* and *vāhanas* of Mātṛkās, also set in. From the 7th century onwards Sapta-Mātṛkās assume wider prevalence in different regions, acquiring a pan-Indian significance. The regional developmental patterns and their characteristic features are distinct from each other, and give rise to many typological variations, enabling a study of mutual interaction and assimilation.

The present paper deals with the advanced stage in the iconography of Mātṛkās in Western India wherein the specific *vāhana* and the *āyudha*, the multiple hands and heads associated with each specific goddess get standardized. The iconography of individual goddesses, like that of Cāmuṇḍā, assumes definite form, distinct from the earlier representation. The 5th and early 6th cent. representations of Cāmuṇḍā in Western India noticed at Śāmalāji, Tanesara and Tintoi present her as a beautiful, robust goddess though her malignant and uncouth personality also gets due visual interpretation in the dangerous *āyudhas* she holds, the snake she wears, the enlarged belly, the protruding fangs, and the skull adornment on the forehead. The iconography of this goddess in the contemporary examples in Madhyadeśa at Badoh Pathari and Deogarh is distinct from the Western Indian type. The Madhyadeśa convention displays the emaciated and terrible type. Approximately, during mid 6th century the infiltration of this image type is noticed in Western India and persists through the medieval times. However, the earlier more beautiful form of the goddess continues in Deccan (at Ellora and Aihole) and in the later South Indian tradition.

The Śāmalāji Mātṛkā sculptures in Gujarat and the related materials from Tanesara, Amjhara and other sites in Rajasthan bear a special significance in the development of Mātṛkā iconography in Western India.[1] The dating of Śāmalāji sculptures however is a much disputed issue. To sum up these, U.P. Shah proposed dates between 4th and 6th cent. A.D.[2] J.C. Harle dated them to ca. 400 A.D.[3] while Pratapaditya Pal suggested ca. 500 A.D.[4] Joanna Williams disputes the early dating and maintained second quarter of 6th cent.[5] Keeping in view Williams dating, Sara Schastok assigns dates between c. 520 and 540 A.D.[6] On the basis of certain iconographical and stylistic considerations the seventeen Mātṛkā images and the associated images of Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya can be divided into four distinct groups belonging to a period approximately between mid 5th to late 6th cent. A.D. Considering the iconographical stages and stylistic features as concomitant to each other and also in comparison with the Madhyadeśa developments, the present study has envisaged this re-consideration of the chronology and dating. The Mātṛkā images without *āyudhas* and *vāhanas* or any other specific identification marks along with the specific type of robust Cāmuṇḍā mentioned above also represent the certain archaic stylistic features compared to the later more classic examples. Two groups of Mātṛkās (A and B) at Śāmalāji show the early stage which is discussed elsewhere.[7]

The third group of Mātṛkās from Śāmalājī (group-C) includes six goddesses and the images of Śiva and Gaṇeśa.[8] The six goddesses include Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Āgneyī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā. Except the figures of Cāmuṇḍā, Śiva and Gaṇeśa, the rest of the figures are mutilated badly. In all of them the animal *vāhanas* are preserved, which are represented in rather large dimension behind the standing figures. They occupy almost the whole of the length of the pedestal on which the goddesses stand. The bull vehicle enables the identification of Māheśvarī. Some fragments of a child are still intact on the left of the goddess. Vaiṣṇavī's vehicle Garuḍa is in the bird form which probably had a human head, now broken off. Vārāhī has boar *vāhana*, while broken parts of a child are seen on the left hip. Indrāṇī and Āgneyī have elephant and stag as their vehicles. The emaciated four-armed Cāmuṇḍā holds a trident in the upper right hand (Pl. 1). The handle of a broken sword is in the lower right hand. The lower left and upper left hands hold what probably was a skull cup and a severed head respectively. She also carries a *śakti* between her folded normal left hand. The goddess has *jaṭājūṭa* and wears *muṇḍamālā*. She has pendulent breasts, and wears a tiger skin as her lower garment. The broken parts of a coiling snake are present on the right side between the breast and the arm of the goddess. She has what looks like a lioness as her vehicle. The four-armed Śiva holds *akṣamālā*, *triśūla* and a snake in the lower right, upper right and upper left hands. His lower left hand is kept in *kaṭyāvalaṁbita* position. The god has *jaṭājūṭa*, the third eye and the *urdhavaretas*. Over the usual *dhoti* he has also worn a tiger skin. The bull vehicle stands behind. Gaṇeśa is two-handed. The right hand is broken off and the left hand is resting on the shoulder of a *gaṇa*. A cobra emerges between the chest and the right hand. Considering the evolved iconography of Śiva and Cāmuṇḍā, this group can be dated to the third quarter of 6th century A.D.[9]

The image of Indrāṇī from Dungarpur might have belonged to a large Sapta Mātṛkā group.[10] The sculpture has very close stylistic similarity with the Śāmalājī sculptures discussed above (Pl. 2).

Two separate groups of Mātṛkās hail from Amjhara. The group-A figures are highly mutilated, with fragments of only three Mātṛkās and Vīṇādhara Śiva. Due to the bad state of their preservation it is not possible to evaluate their iconographical significance. The lower portion of a figure with a bird behind it is similar to the Śāmalājī Brahmāṇī of group-B. Sara Schastock has identified this fragment as that of Kaumārī.[11] The image of Cāmuṇḍā from this group is relatively well preserved. The four-handed emaciated figure is similar to the Śāmalājī Cāmuṇḍā of group-C discussed above. She holds a severed head and a skull cup in the lower and upper left hands. The other hands are missing. The *muṇḍamālā* and the *jaṭājūṭa* is also comparable to Śāmalājī Cāmuṇḍā mentioned above.[12]

The induction of the more common type of Cāmuṇḍā iconography, replacing the original ingenious type in Western India could be interpreted as an absorption of the outside sources. Exactly when and why this has occurred are open questions. The emaciated type of the goddess as evident from the examples at Badoh Pathari, Deogarh etc. continued to persist in the centuries to follow in Madhyadeśa. This type was preferred in the east and north eastern regions as well. Significantly the early Deccani tradition at Ellora (Caves 14 and 21) and Ravulaphadi and the later Dravidian tradition have their sources deriving from Śāmalājī, Tanesara and Tintoi. A comparable shift in the iconographical type occurs also at Ellora as evident from Caves 22, 16-B and 16. However, it may be noticed that the group-C Śāmalājī image is a striking example of this type.

The group-B of Amjhara comprises of seven goddesses, Vīṇādhara Śiva and Gaṇeśa. The two-handed Brahmāṇī is seated in *pralambapādāsana* in an upright posture.[13] A *haṁsa* attends on the left side of her feet. Her left hand is broken off and the object held in the left hand is badly mutilated. On the left shoulder *mṛgacarma* is delineated which is in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa* description of the goddess. Her *jaṭājūṭa* is

a further evidence for the identification as Brahmāṇī. Kaumārī is seated on a high pedestal in a crossed legged posture turned towards the right side (Pl. 3). The broken peacock vehicle is in front of her legs. Both the hands are broken. The two-handed Vaiṣṇavī is seated in *lalitāsana* on a hybrid Garuḍa with the body of bird and the human head, which is comparable to the Garuḍa of Śāmalājī group-C. In her left hand she holds a child who is partially mutilated. The object held in the right hand is probably a lotus. Only the lower portion of the Vārāhī image is preserved, in which the *vāhana* of the goddess is a varāha, similar to the Śāmalājī Vārāhī of group-C.[14] The image of Māheśvarī which is broken off above the waist, is shown seated in *lalitāsana* on Nandi. The image of Āgneyī is also preserved only below the waist and she is shown seated on her ram vehicle. The remaining portion of child is seen on the right thigh of the goddess, supported by her right hand. The broken image of Indrāṇī has elephant as her vehicle. The four-handed Vīṇādhara Śiva is seated on Nandi in *lalitāsana*. Stylistically and iconographically the sculptures of this group are akin to the Śāmalājī group-C sculptures and hence could be dated to third quarter of 6th century A.D.[15]

A fourth group of Mātṛkās Śāmalājī (group-D) includes Brahmāṇī and Kaumārī. An image of Vīṇādhara Śiva is stylistically akin to that of Mātṛkās and hence also belongs to this group. The sitting posture of Kaumārī is similar to that of the Kaumārī of Amjhara group-B and yet much different stylistically. For the first time in Western India we notice a three-headed Brahmāṇī (Pl. 4). The Kaumārī and Śiva are four-handed. Brahmāṇī holds an *akṣamālā* in the lower right hand, which is intact. Kaumārī holds a *śakti* in the lower right and a staff in the upper right hands. Rest of the hands are broken off. Śiva holds a *vīṇā* in the lower left and right hands and is seated on a bull. The peacock and swan vehicles of Kaumārī and Brahmāṇī are quite similar to each other. While Śiva and Brahmāṇī have *jaṭājūṭa*, Kaumārī is attired with *śikhandaka* type of hair. Considering the stylistic and iconographic peculiarities this group can be dated to late 6th century A.D.

The early 7th century rock-cut relief Mātṛkā sculpture hailing from Mandor (Rajasthan)[16] is of great iconographic significance, in the study of Western Indian Mātṛkās. The Mātṛkās dealt till now, and those yet to be discussed, belonging to this region, have come to us as loose sculptures, and hence a study of their original order and number is not possible. Mandor representation of Mātṛkās shows a different approach from the prevalent tradition in Madhyadeśa. How much possible light the Mandor Mātṛkā group can throw on the prevalent practices in this region is, however, an open question. Further this is the earliest example of dancing Mātṛkās from this region (though not all of them are in dancing postures), along with dancing Gaṇeśa and Śiva. The placement of dancing Śiva in the centre of the Mātṛkās establishes a close link with the similar example from Deccani Mātṛkā relief hailing from Ravulaphadi cave at Aihole, which belongs to an earlier date than the Mandor group. Joanna Williams notices that "the early Mātṛkā sets from Udayagiri, Besnagar, etc. are all seated and the Mandor standing Mātṛkās open the way to very distinctive regional iconography." Further, "this relief shows the artists of Rajasthan using pan-Indian stylistic forms to represent local currents of belief."[17]

The four-handed Gaṇapati is in *lalita* posture of dancing and holds a bowl full of *modaka* in the upper left hand. His lower right hand is in *dolā hasta*. The *āyudhas* in the other hands are not discernible. The standing two-handed Brahmāṇī holds a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand and the right hand is in *abhaya hasta*. Next figure is the four-handed Vaiṣṇavī. She holds a *śankha* and a staff like *gadā* in the lower left and upper right hands. The other *āyudhas* are obliterated. The fourth figure is the two-handed Māheśvarī whose bull vehicle is shown standing behind the goddess. Next to her is the four-handed Śiva, whose *āyudhas* are mutilated. The lower right hand is in *dolā hasta*. Next to Śiva is seen Kaumārī's vehicle. In one of the two hands Kaumārī holds a *śakti*. The next figure which is badly damaged,

might have been four-handed Vārāhī. The eighth figure is the two-handed Indrāṇī, whose elephant vehicle is seen behind the goddess. The last figure is that of six-handed emaciated Cāmuṇḍā who has a human corpse as her *vāhana*. Her *muṇḍamālā* is clearly discernible but the *āyudhas* are mutilated.

Certain aspects of Mandor Mātṛkās point out that this representation may belong to the transitional phase. It may be noted that Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī (?) are devoid of *vāhanas*, though having certain distinguishing iconographical elements. This aspect would relate them with the transitional phase. At the same time the four-handed Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī and the six-handed Cāmuṇḍā bring forth elements of mature phase. Stylistically the sculptural group belongs to the early 7th century A.D., or at least within the first half of 7th century A.D.[18]

The peculiar order in which the Mātṛkās and the Śiva is arranged is unique, which is not noticed in any other similar example except in the Ravulaphadi cave at Aihole. The significant alternatives which are employed in Mandor are seen in the placement of Śiva in the middle of the panel and also in the shifting of the positions of Māheśvarī and Vaiṣṇavī. Māheśvarī, instead of occupying the second position in the order of Mātṛkās as has been the practice from other regions, takes the third place next to Śiva. Vaiṣṇavī in turn occupies the second position which is normally occupied by Māheśvarī. The Śaiva dominance is thus established by shifting Vaiṣṇavī, as the dancing Śiva takes the central position.

Mention should be made of the four Mātṛkā images hailing from Kotā in eastern Rajasthan which belong to early 7th century A.D., in this context. These dancing goddesses other than Mandor example are the earliest representation of this type from this region. All of them are shown in *kṣipta* position with the right feet in *kuñchita*. Brahmāṇī is four-handed, of which the two lower hands are broken off. The objects held in the other two hands are not distinct. The head is also missing. The lotus flower depicted on the pedestal with incised lines is a speciality, which other sculptures of the same group do not have and this is the only identification mark for the figure as Brahmāṇī. Kaumārī is two-handed and holds what must have been a *śakti* in the right hand. The left hand holds an indistinct object, probably a flower. Near to the right foot of the goddess is her peacock vehicle. Indrāṇī holds a *vajra* in the right hand. The left hand folded and held near the shoulder holds what looks like a flower. The elephant *vāhana* is shown behind the goddess. The emaciated Cāmuṇḍā is four-handed. In the lower right and the upper right hands, she holds a skull-cup and a knife respectively. The left normal hand is held near the shoulder identical to Indrāṇī and Kaumārī. The upper left hand holds a *khaṭvāṅga*. A *muṇḍamālā* adorns the goddess. The spokey hair is tied together on the top of the head and a snake is shown in the middle. The slight sideways tilt of the heads of the figures accentuates their swaying dancing postures. At the same time their half closed eyes impart a meditative quality. The arrested movements of the dance are enhanced by the curving contours of the body smoothly merging into one another.

A Mātṛkā group comprising Brahmāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Vīṇādhara Śiva and Gaṇeśa was obtained from Koteśwar.[19] In terms of their seated positions these Mātṛkās related to the earlier examples from Śāmalājī and Amjhara. Yet, iconographically they are more elaborate. The seated positions and the disposition of limbs of these Mātṛkās also relate to a number of Mātṛkā sculptures belonging to 8th-9th centuries. Stylistically the Koteśwar figures are clumsy and crude compared to more sophisticated late Mātṛkās and hence, first quarter of 7th century would be an appropriate date for these images.

Brahmāṇī image from Koteśwar is seated on a *haṁsa* similar to the Śāmalājī Brahmāṇī of group-D. The two-handed goddess holds *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* in the right and left hands. Above the three heads she has an elaborate *jaṭājuṭa*. Vaiṣṇavī has four hands. With the left hand she holds a child and the right hand touches the lower part of the left breast.

In the upper right and left hands she holds a *gadā* and a *cakra* respectively. The absence of *vāhana* is noticeable. Vārāhī has a boar's head. The child which is held by the lower right hand touches the snout of the goddess's head. She holds a *gadā*, *cakra* and *śankha* in the upper right, upper left and lower left hands. An elaborate *vanamālā* adorns her. The goddess has no *vāhana*, but a pair of snakes are seen under her feet, suggesting *pātāla*, which is similar to the Varāha images. Indrāṇī is seated on a crouching elephant and holds a child in a similar fashion as Vaiṣṇavī. In her upper right and left hands she carried *vajra* and *gadā* respectively. The emaciated Cāmuṇḍā is seated on a human corpse and wears a *muṇḍamālā* (Pl. 5). In the lower right hand she holds a skull cup and the little finger of the lower left hand touches the mouth suggesting the blood drinking aspect of the goddess. The objects in the upper hands are indistinct. The four-handed Vīṇādhara Śiva is seated on Nandi. In the upper right and left hands he has *triśūla* and snake. Gaṇeśa too is four-handed and holds *akṣamālā* and *paraśu* in the upper right and left hands.

A stylistically similar group of Mātṛkās hail from Mataria (Gujarat). The group comprises of Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Vāyavī and Aṁbikā (?) in the company of Kāla Bhairava.[20] It is difficult to determine whether these images were carved before or after the Koteśwar images discussed above. Iconographically this group has a lot of peculiarities which are dissimilar to the earlier Mātṛkā groups. On the stylistic grounds these sculptures can be dated to mid-7th century A.D.

Brahmāṇī is preserved only partially. The *akṣamālā* held in the right hand is the only possible identification mark. The left hand and the portion below the waist are missing. Māheśvarī is seated on her bull vehicle, and she carries a mirror and a mango twig in the left and right hands. A playful child is seen clinging on to the right waist of the goddess. Kaumārī is seated on a cushion in a manner akin to the Amjhara (group-B) and Śāmalāji (group-D) Kaumārī images. She fondles a child with two hands. No other *āyudha* is represented. Her peacock vehicle is seen on the left side of the seat. The figure is slightly bent forward, enhancing the beauty and grace. Vārāhī has a boar vehicle, similar to the Śāmalāji (group-C) and Amjhara (group-B) examples. The goddess is represented as having a human face. She is represented as suckling a child, who is placed on the left thigh. Indrāṇī is seated on a crouching elephant. She has a child seated on her left thigh and is shown as being fed with the right hand. Vāyavī has a stag as her vehicle. The goddess is seated with wide open legs while the child is placed horizontally in the lap. The hands of the figure are broken. The figure identified as Aṁbikā is seated on a human figure. She holds a child with the left hand and the right hand holds a mango twig. The accompanying emaciated figure of Kāla Bhairava is four-armed and wears a *muṇḍamālā* and a snake. The upper right and upper left hands hold *triśūla* and a *daṇḍa* respectively. The lower right hand carries a skull cup upto his lips and the corresponding left hand holds a severed human head. The presence of Kāla Bhairava, Vāyavī and Aṁbikā are unusual features. The absence of Vaiṣṇavī from this group is conspicuous.

A most significant iconographical component in the Mataria group of Mātṛkās which continues in the later periods as observed at Vadaval and Kārvan, is the inclusion of Kāla Bhairava. The earliest instances of such a convention are noticed at Elephanta and Ravulaphadi cave at Aihole during mid-6th cent. The tradition continues till 8th cent. at Ellora in Caves 14, 21, 22 and 16, where the god is accompanied by Kālī also. The Western Indian practice of the inclusion of Kāla Bhairava, thus, might have been derived from the earlier Deccani tradition. According to K.V. Soundara Rajan the Sapta Mātṛkā cult itself was spread to Western India from Chalukyan region.[21] Such a possibility is however ruled out, in the light of the extant sculptures of Mātṛkās from Western India during 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

The three seated Mātṛkās, Kaumārī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā, discovered at Mt. Abu, might have belonged to a complete group. Stylistically and iconographically these figures can be

dated to the second half of 7th century A.D.[22] Kaumārī is two-handed and holds a *śakti* and a child in the right and left hands. A peacock is represented in the front. Seated in *paryankāsana* on a human figure, Vārāhī is four-handed and boar-faced (Pl. 6). In the upper right and left hands she holds *gadā* and *cakra*. With the lower hands she supports a child. The four-handed emaciated Cāmuṇḍā is seated on a human corpse. She holds a severed head and a *khaṭvāṅga* in the lower and upper right hands. Her lower left hand was probably touching the mouth. The upper left probably holds a sword. These images show stylistic similarity with the earlier examples from Koteśwar and Mataria, especially noticeable in the postures.

The three Mātṛkā images of Brahmāṇī, Kaumārī and Vārāhī, hailing from Malagon (Sirohi,Rajasthan) can be dated to early 8th century A.D. Brahmāṇī seated on lotus seat in *lalitāsana* has three faces and four hands (Pl. 7). A *haṁsa* is represented on the right side of her seat. In her upper right and upper left hands, she holds a *śruk* and a lotus respectively. The lower right hand is in *varada mudrā* and a child is supported with the lower left hand who is seated on the left thigh. Kaumārī is seated in *lalitāsana* on a peacock. The two-handed goddess holds a *śakti* and a cock in the right and left hands. Vārāhī is four-handed and is similarly seated on a buffalo. She holds a *śankha*, *gadā* and *cakra* in lower right, upper right and upper left hands. A child is seated on the left thigh of the goddess who is held by the lower left hand.

The images of Mātṛkās, Māheśvarī and Indrāṇī hailing from Devangan (Sirohi, Rajasthan) on the stylistic grounds can be dated to mid-8th century. Seated on a bull in *lalitāsana*, the goddess Māheśvarī holds a *triśūla* and a snake in the upper right and left hands (Pl. 8). The child held in the lower left hand is depicted as suckling. The two-handed Indrāṇī is seated on an elephant. She holds a child in the left hand. The right hand is mutilated. The heavy jewellery and an increased preference for decorativeness point out to the early medieval qualities.

A number of broken images of Mātṛkās, tentatively assigned as belonging to Modi (Mandsor, M.P.) are housed in Yashwant Rao Holkar Chatri Museum, Bhanpura.[23] On the basis of representational details, they can be grouped into two different sets. First group comprises of dancing images of Śiva and Māheśvarī. They are grouped together on the basis of the similarity in dancing postures and the details of ornamentations. Dancing in *svastika pāda*, Śiva's body is in *atibhanga*. He is eight-handed. The normal right and left hands are in *nṛtta hastās*. The uppermost two hands are in *urdhavamaṇḍali hasta* and hold a snake horizontally. The second left hand holds a *triśūla*. The other *āyudhas* are mutilated. The *jaṭājūṭa* preserves a *chandrakalā*. The bull *vāhana* is shown behind the deity. Only the lower portion of the Māheśvarī icon is preserved (Pl. 9). The *vāhana* Nandi is represented behind the dancing goddess. The remaining part of the left palm is held in *nṛtta hasta*.

The broken and dispersed second group of Mātṛkās have survived with six identifiable images. Stylistically they are very close to the first group mentioned above. Considering the decorativeness, both the groups appear to belong to the middle of 8th century A.D. Brahmāṇī of the second group is seated in *lalitāsana*. A small *haṁsa* is delineated on the pedestal. Only the lower right hand is preserved in which the goddess holds an *akṣamālā*. The Māheśvarī is shown seated on the bull *vāhana*.[24] The image of Kaumārī is better preserved (Pl. 10). Seated in *pralambapāda*, a child is stretched across her lap, who is caressed by the lower right hand. The child's head and part of lower left hand are lost. The *āyudha* in the upper right hand is partially mutilated, but seems like a *śakti*. In the upper left hand she holds a flower. On the left side of the pedestal is a peacock. A very badly damaged upper part of a Vaiṣṇavī torso also belongs to this group. The elaborate hair ornamentation of this and that of Kaumārī are similar to each other. Vaiṣṇavī seems to have been a four-armed figure, and the *cakra* in the upper right hand is the only remaining

āyudha. Vārāhī is seated in a similar fashion as Māheśvarī and holds a child in the lower left hand. The upper right hand holds a *cakra*. The goddess has boar's face which is carved in profile. Instead of any *vāhana*, a snake with human head and folded hands is shown below the left leg of the goddess. Indrāṇī is seated similarly. The upper portion of the figure from the waist is lost. Surviving portion of the left hand is shown as holding an *ankuśa*, near to which an elephant's head is also visible.

A group of dancing Mātṛkās from Kārvan include images of Śiva, Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kaumārī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Vāyavī, Cāmuṇḍā and Kāla Bhairava. In their present scattered condition it is difficult to speculate on the original site they belonged and the number and original order of the Mātṛkās.[25] However, the available material points out certain iconographical peculiarities which are of our interest in the present context. Kaumārī is preserved only below the waist. She is shown dancing in *suchi pāda* in *kṣipta* posture. A peacock is seen near the feet. The lower left and upper hands, the left leg, and the head are mutilated in the image of Māheśvarī (Pl. 11). In the upper right and left hands she probably held a snake and a *triśūla*. The broken lower left hand is probably in *kaṭyāvalambita*. The left leg is folded up in dancing posture. She is accompanied by her bull vehicle. The four-handed Indrāṇī is also damaged making it difficult to identify any of her attributes (Pl. 12). She is dancing in *catura* posture, in front of her elephant vehicle, left foot in *suchi pāda*. Similarly, the emaciated figure of Cāmuṇḍā is mutilated (Pl. 13). The head and three hands are lost. Her lower right hand holds a sword and is shown dancing over a human corpse in *catura* posture in *suchi pāda*. A *muṇḍamālā* and a necklace of snakes adorn the figure. The broken image of Vaiṣṇavī has Garuḍa as her vehicle. An interesting addition to this group is that of Vāyavī, whose stag vehicle is clearly discernible (Pl. 14). The broken upper portion of Vārāhī with the missing head is identifiable by the particular hair style (Pl. 15). The lower portion of a dancing figure with buffalo as *vāhana* in the Sindhvāī Mātā temple, most probably, is of this Vārāhī image (Pl. 16). The figure of the emaciated Kāla Bhairava too is in mutilated condition (Pl. 17). His head and *āyudhas* are lost. His lower right and left hands hold a *khaṭvānga* and a severed head (?). The bend in the left leg gives an impression that this figure was also in dancing posture. The figure of Śiva is also preserved with only the lower portion. It is to be noted that this group of Mātṛkās was in the group of eight, with the inclusion of Vāyavī as the eighth goddess. The general decorative quality and the iconographical peculiarities enable a dating to second half of 8th century A.D. A better preserved image of Kaumārī in the shrine adjacent to the Ekādaśaliṅgeśvara temple at Kārvan belongs to a different group of Mātṛkās, so evident from the smaller size of this image compared to the above group (Pl. 18). Sadly only this figure is available at the site which could have been part of a large group of Sapta or Aṣṭa Mātṛkās. However, an image of Māheśvarī, hailing from Kārvan, in the Baroda Museum belongs to this group of Mātṛkās.[26] Kaumārī is dancing and is represented with the right leg in *kuñchita pāda*. The lower two hands are in *kaṭisama* posture. The upper two hands are broken off. The peacock vehicle is seen on the left side of her leg. The image has a majestic import, accentuated also by the slanting head position.

The Sapta Mātṛkā group alongwith images of Vīṇādhara Śiva and Kāla Bhairava hailing from Vadaval[27] (Banāskānthā, Gujarāt), in more than one way exemplify a climax in the development of Mātṛkā iconography in this region. All the images are standing, and with the exception of Kaumārī and Gaṇeśa all are four-handed. The respective vehicles are portrayed behind the deities.

The two-armed Gaṇeśa is shown in *abhaya* pose, with the left elbow resting on the head of a standing male attendant. The right hand, which is in *kartarihasta*, presumably holds a flower. The *vāhana*, mouse, is represented on the right side of the image. The standing four-armed Vīṇādhara Śiva wears a *jaṭājūṭa*. In the upper right and left hands, he holds a

triśūla and a snake, and the two lower hands hold a *vīṇā*. The bull vehicle is seen behind the god and a short male devotee with *añjali mudrā* is shown on the left side of the god. Soundara Rajan points out that the image of Śiva was the central figure in the group, similar to Aihole and Mandor examples.[28] This conclusion is, however, conjectural. Brahmāṇī is four-handed and stands in *dvibhaṅga*. The three-faced goddess is attended by a female figure who stands on the right side. The *haṁsa vāhana* of the goddess is represented on the left side of the goddess. She wears a *jaṭājūṭa* and holds *śruk* and *kamaṇḍalu* in the upper right, upper left arms, assuming *varada mudrā* by the lower right, while carrying the child with the left hand. The figure of Māheśvarī is unusual (Pl. 19). The beautiful nude goddess stands in subtle *tribhaṅga*, with the feet of the left leg placed sideways. All the four hands of the image are broken. The lower hands which might have held the *daṇḍa*, which is placed horizontally, are broken. Soundara Rajan mentions that this *kaṅkāla daṇḍa* is associated with Bhairava, who had to carry the skeleton of Viśvaksena in atonement of his sin, and points out that this Māheśvarī has been identified with this aspect of Bhairava. The nudity of the goddess is probably deliberately emphasised to ensure its importance for the Śāktās.[29] A male figure is shown seated to right side of the goddess. A grinning animal, whose identity is difficult to specify, is similar to the animal vehicle in the Cāmuṇḍā from Śāmalāji. Kaumārī is two-handed and holds a *śakti* in the right hand. In the left hand she holds a cock but a peacock is also present on the left side of the figure. Vaiṣṇavī is four-armed and stands in *tribhaṅga* posture with crossed legs. The lower right and left hands carry a child. The upper hands hold a *gadā* and a *cakra*. The Garuḍa mount is not shown, but a female attendant is shown on the right side. Vārāhī's boar face is represented in profile. The child held by two hands is raised touching the snout of the goddess as if in a kiss. The right upper arm, instead of carrying any *āyudha*, is held in *abhaya hasta*. The left upper arm holds the hem of her *uttarīya*. The right leg is extended backwards and is kept in *kuñchita* position. A female attendant stands on the right of the figure. The buffalo vehicle is placed behind the goddess.

Indrāṇī also stands in a similar posture as Vārāhī. The upper right and left hands hold a flower and a thunderbolt. The child who is held in the lower hands, tries to reach out to grasp the flower which is in the hands of the goddess. The elephant mount is shown behind the goddess. The four-armed Cāmuṇḍā is emaciated and stands in *samabhaṅga*. The *jaṭājūṭa* is tied with a *nāgabandha* and she wears a necklace and a girdle of snakes. The *muṇḍamālā* reaches below the knees. only two hands are intact. The lower left hand is held at the shoulder level and the small finger of the same hand indicates the gesture of blood drinking. She is shown standing on a human corpse. An animal with gaping mouth is standing nearby. The Kāla Bhairava is also four-armed. He is emaciated and gruesome. He also wears a snake girdle. A human corpse is depicted behind the god. A gaping animal similar to that of Māheśvarī is rearing near its hind legs. First half of 9th century is the acceptable date for these sculptures.[30]

An image of Brahmāṇī, located at Varman (Sirohi, Rajasthan), has three faces and probably is in a dancing posture (Pl. 20). The hands and lower parts of the legs are broken off. Alongwith the surviving portions of the lower left hand there are visible fragments of a broken hand of a child, who is shown touching the left ear ornament of the goddess. The heavy decorative ornamentation and the highly glossy surface are aspects of later phase. The sculpture is datable to c. 900 A.D.

Conclusion

In retrospect, it becomes evident that the Mātṛkā iconography in Western India goes through a chain of evolutionary processes, beginning from a rather undifferentiated and amorphous

iconographical stage to a standardized and complex system of representation. The constituent aspect of Western Indian regional tradition, though broadly conforming to the concepts and pattern evolved at other centres, asserts its autonomy and independence in terms of style and iconographical peculiarities. These aspects discernible in the total sculptural tradition as a whole and Mātṛkā sculptures in particular owe largely to the creativity of the artists. The creative ingenuity of sculptors manifests itself in researching and inventing continuously into the possibilities of ever fresh representational means.

The Mātṛkā theme devoid of the narrative possibilities as such is essentially iconic motifs. Perhaps, due to this the scope for creative innovativeness was limited. Yet, within such confinement, the artistic genius invents variations in terms of formal and compositional principles. With regard to the possibilities in postural variations, standing dancing and sitting modes occur. Variations were also employed in the kind of relations between the goddesses and their respective *vāhanas*. The manners in which the *āyudhas* are held also provided ample scope for innovativeness.

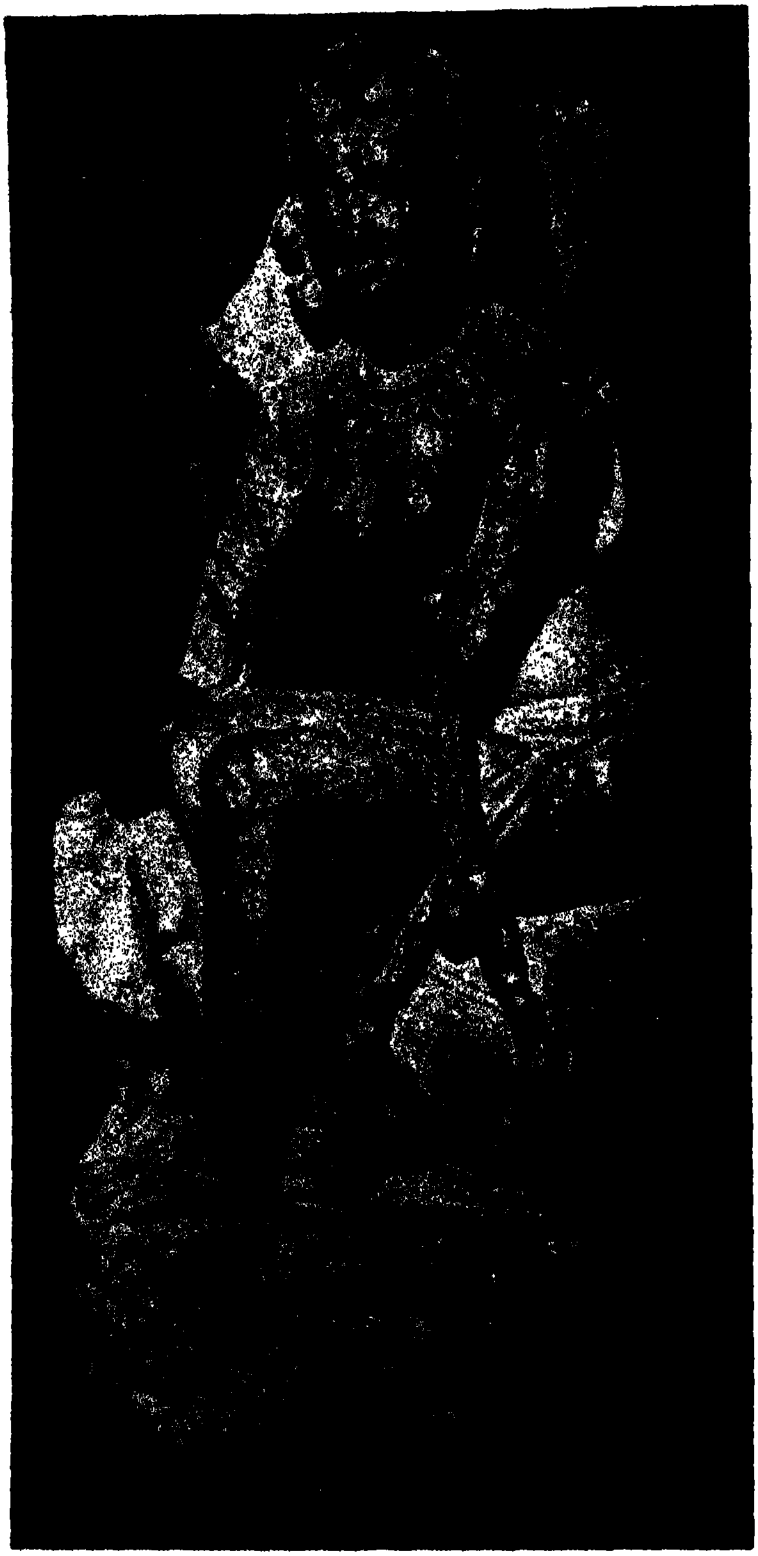
The variations in postures, the disposition of hands and attributes, the nature of relation between the goddesses, and *vāhanas*, all have a certain bearing upon the period and region the sculptors belonged to. Largely the Kuṣāṇa Mātṛkās are seated in *godohikāsana*. The few instances of standing Mātṛkās are also rigid and frontal. The 5th and 6th cent. A.D. Madhyadeśa sculptor's preference was for seated positions in *ardhaparyankāsana* or in *pralambapādāsana*. Their frontality and staticity probably derive from Kuṣāṇa prototypes. Though evolved and refined, the later period Mātṛkās from Madhyadeśa preserve the strict and rigorous frontality.

Western Indian sculptures on the other hand right from the early period onward exhibit a preference for graceful standing postures. Mātṛkā images from Śāmalājī, Tanesara and Vadaval have a certain informality and naturalness, distinct from Madhyadeśa tradition. This relative avoidance of rigid frontality is greatly enhanced also by presenting the Mothers in psychologically pertinent moments in the company of children, whom they carry on the hips, hold by hands or try to control the pranks of the toddler. Some of the most striking images are such which are relieved of the austere iconic rigidity and achieve naturalism and a touch of humanism.

The Western Indian tradition of Mātṛkās also emulates naturalness, in the way they relate themselves to their respective *vāhanas*. The placement of *vāhanas* in relation to each goddess appears to have provided ample scope for the sculptors for ingeniously devising fresh compositional patterns. In the standing or dancing Mātṛkā representation the respective animal vehicles appear behind the goddesses. Their animated and alert postures echo the rhythmic flow of the leg positions and body flexions of the goddesses. In the seated positions Mātṛkās would be mounted directly on their *vāhanas*, which is in contrast with the convention found elsewhere. In the Ellora Mātṛkās (Caves 14, 21, 16), for instance, the *vāhanas* are presented more symbolically and mechanically, who appear on the seats of the goddesses. The logical and organic relationships are further enhanced by the positions of the goddesses. In some cases they would be seated in sideways position, that is, instead of legs protruding in front, they would be placed towards right or left. Such examples seen at Śāmalājī (group-D), Koteśwar, Amjhara, Devangan etc. are truly Western Indian innovations. As such the seated positions offer much more possibilities than the standing positions. In each case a certain rhythmic movement in leg positions and body flexions gets orchestrated due to clever handling of the posture. Similarly the sculptors also explored the possibilities in the hand positions and the manner of holding *āyudhas*. The sculptors, when introducing the children in the iconographic ensemble alongwith each Mātṛkā image, saw the possibility of how to place or relate the child to the Mother, either on the lap, or clinging to the legs. Sometimes even the head positions, glances and neck inclinations are given variations, imparting aristocratic vanity or gentle maternity.



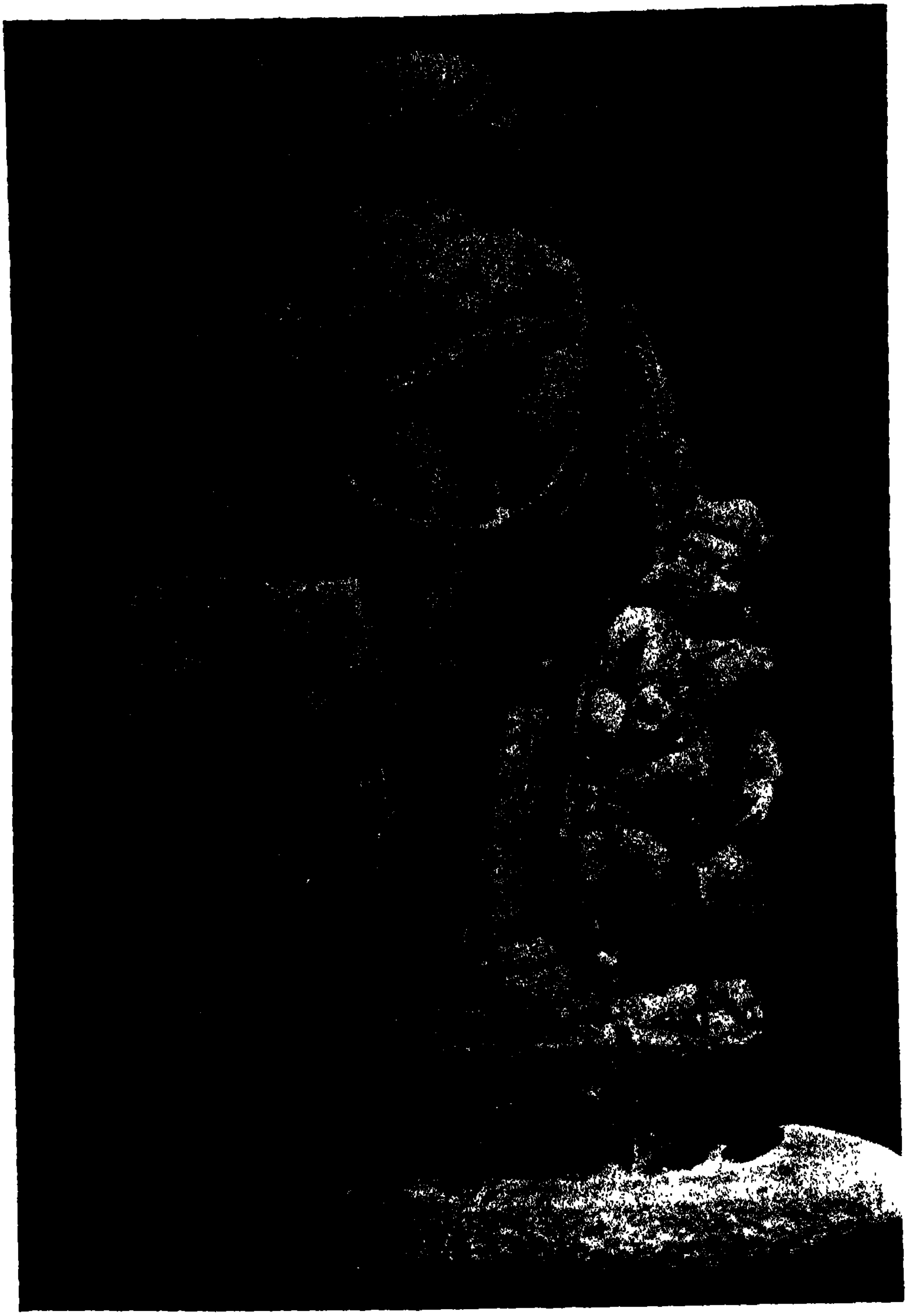
Ch. 9, Pl. I Chāmuṇḍā, Samalaji (North Gujarat) Group-C, Ca. 3rd quarter of 6th Cent. A.D. Çoll.: Baroda Museum.



Ch. 9, Pl. III Kaumārī, Amjhara (Dungarpur, Rajasthan) Group-B, Ca. 3rd quarter of 6th Cent. A.D. Coll.: Dungarpur Museum.



Ch. 9, Pl. IV Brahmāṇī, Samalaji (North Gujarat) Group-D, Ca. Late 6th Cent. A.D. Coll.: Baroda Museum.



Ch. 9, Pl. II Indrāṇī, Dungarpur (Rajasthan) Ca. 3rd quarter of 6th Cent. A.D. Coll : His Highness, the Ruler of Dungarpur.



Ch 9, Pl. V Chamuṇḍā, Koteswar (North Gujarat) Ca. 1st quarter of 7th Cent. A.D. Coll : Baroda Museum.



Ch. 9, Pl. VI Vārāhi, Mt. Abu (Sirohi, Rajasthan) Ca. 2nd half of 7th Cent. A.D. Coll : Mt. Abu Art Gallery, Mt. Abu.



Ch 9, Pl. VII Brahmānī, Malagon (Sirohi, Rajasthan) Ca. Mid 8th Cent. A D



Ch. 9, Pl. VIII Māheśwarī, Devangan (Sirohi, Rajasthan) Ca. Mid 8th
Cent. A.D. Coll.: Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.



Ch. 9, Pl IX Māheśvarī, Modi (Mandasor, M.P.) (Group-A) Ca. Mid 8th Cent. A.D Coll.: Yaswant Rao Holkar Chatri Museum, Bhanpura.



Ch. 9, Pl. X Kaumārī, Modi (Mandasor, M.P.) (Group-B), Ca. Mid 8th Cent. A.D. Coll.: Yaswant Rao Holkar Chatri Museum, Bhanpura.



Ch. 9, Pl. XI Māheśvarī, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai Mātā Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch. 9, Pl. XII Indrāṇī, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai Mātā Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch 9, Pl XIII
Chāmuṇḍā, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai Matā Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch. 9, Pl XIV
Vāyavī, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai Mātā Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch. 9, Pl. XV Upper Part of Vārāhī, Karvan (South Gujarat)
Kāśiviśwanātha Temple Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.

Ch. 9, Pl. XVI
Lower Part of Vārāhī, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai
Mātā Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch. 9, Pl. XVII
Kāla Bhairava, Karvan (South Gujarat) Sindhvai Mata
Temple Compound Ca. Early 9th Cent. A.D





Ch. 9, Pl. XVIII Kaumārī, Karvan (South Gujarat) Ekādaśalingeśwara temple, Ca 9th Cent. A.D.



Ch 9, Pl XIX
Māheswari, Vadaval (Banaskantha, Gujarat)
Ca. 9th Cent A.D Coll: Museology Dept
M S University, Baroda



Ch. 9, Pl XX Brahmāni, Varman (Sirohi, Rajasthan) Ca 900 A.D
Coll.: Govt. Museum, Jaipur

The physical beauty in some archetypal visualizations is also contrasted with the extreme grotesque types as in the case of Cāmuṇḍā and Kāla Bhairava images. Even in the composite images as in the case of Vārāhī images the sculptor could not only integrate so organically the animal head with the feminine body but also give it an aristocratic elegance and feeling of maternal love and profundity.

In a sculptural programme of limited creative potentialities, the Western Indian sculptor at his best came up with many creative possibilities. This fact needs to be recognized. If most of the Indian sculptural output may be looked at from the point of view of cultic classifications, then the Western Indian Mātṛkā sculptures are a very significant segment in the total Indian sculptural tradition.

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2. Shah, U.P., *Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda*, Baroda, 1960.
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6. Sara Schastok L., *The Samalaji Sculptures and 6th Century Art in Western India*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983, p. 5.
7. Ref. footnote no. 1.
8. (a) Shah, U.P., *op. cit.*, 1960, p. 58, recognized Māheśvarī, Āgneyī, Indrāṇī, Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī as belonging to a single group.
(b) Sara L. Schastok, *op. cit.*, p. 7, Figs. 4 to 11, in addition to U.P. Shah's figures, includes the images of Cāmuṇḍā, Śiva and Gaṇeśa in this group.
9. Sara L. Schastok, *op. cit.*, dates the group to ca. A.D. 525.
10. Agrawala, R.C., 'Some More Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan', *Lalit Kalā*, 10, 1961, Fig. 1.
11. Sara L. Schastok, *op. cit.*, Fig. 62.
12. *Ibid.*, Figs. 62, 63, 72, 73, 74, p. 80, does not consider the first two as part of the others, yet dates the sculptures to ca. A.D. 530.
13. (a) Agrawala, R.C., 'Some Unpublished Sculptures from South Western Rajasthan', *Lalit Kalā*, 6, 1959, Fig. 20, identified the figure as Kaumārī.
(b) Sara L. Schastok, *op. cit.*, Figs. 66 to 71, identified the figure as Brahmāṇī, but opines that perhaps this sculpture does not belong to this group. There is a very close stylistic closeness between these figures and hence are to be considered as belonging to one group.
14. Agrawala, R.C., 'More Sculptures from Amjhara, Rajasthan', *Arts Asiatique*, XII, 1965, pp. 176-77, Figs. 1, 2, 3 published Indrāṇī, Vārāhī and Māheśvarī.
15. Sara L. Schastok, *op. cit.*, ascribes ca. A.D. 530 date to this group.
16. (a) Agrawala, R.C., 'A unique Mātṛkā Relief from Rajasthan', *J.B.R.S.*, XLIII, March-June, 1957, Parts I & II, pp. 111-14, mentions that in the below to one side of the relief rock-cut step-well, an inscription is noticed, dated to Vikrama year 742 (=685 A.D.). Author mentions that perhaps the images of Mātṛkās were hewn out at the time of the opening ceremony of this step-well.
(b) Joanna G. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74, Fig. 265, mentions that the bearing of the inscription on the images is certain, and ascribes a date between 600-650 A.D.
17. Joanna G. Williams, *ibid.*
18. *Ibid.* The figure type is still relatively heavy, and the legs are not repetitively splayed. Thus these figures are fully abreast of general early medieval stylistic developments.
19. Shah, U.P., 'Mātṛkās and other Sculptures from North Gujarat', *B.M.P.G.*, Baroda, Vol. XIV, 1962, describes Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Brahmāṇī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and Gaṇeśa.
20. Sonawane, V.H., 'Mātṛkā Sculptures from Mataria and Ardhanārīśvara from Tarsang (Panchmahals)', *J.I.S.O.A.*, New Series, Vol. IX, Dr. Moti Chandra Commemoration Volume, Part II, pp. 42-49, and plates.

21. Soundara Rajan, K.V., 'Some Iconographic Elements of Pre-Medieval Temples', *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8, 1960, p. 22.
22. (a) Shah, U.P., *op. cit.*, 1960, Figs. 6, 7 and 8, pp. 18 and 118.
(b) Shah, U.P., 'Some Early Sculptures from Abu and Bhinmal', *B.B.M.P.G.*, Vol. XII, 1955-56, p. 44 and plates, assigns a date between c. 600-700 A.D.
23. As per the *A.I.I.S.*, Varanasi, Photo-documentation records, these sculptures are doubtedly mentioned as hailing from Modi.
24. Brahmāṇī is mentioned in the *A.I.I.S.* records as hailing from Indragarh (Mandsore, M.P.) and Māheśvarī is mentioned as belonging to Lotakheda (Mandsore, M.P.). The details of the design of the girdles in the images of Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī (doubtfully mentioned as hailing from Modi) are identical with those of Māheśvarī and Brahmāṇī. Hence they would all be belonging to one group.
25. These images were found scattered in the courtyard of a recent Sindhvāi Mātā temple on the eastern side of the village. The Kāśī Viśvanāth Temple in the village has the broken upper portion of Vārāhī, which belongs to this large group.
26. (a) Shah, U.P., 'Ancient Sculptures from Gujarat and Saurashtra', *Journal of Indian Museums*, Vol. VIII, 1952, Fig. 12, dates the sculpture of Kaumārī to the Gurjara-Pratihara rule in c. 8th century A.D.
(b) Shah, U.P., 'A few Brahmanical Sculptures in Baroda Museum', *B.B.M.P.G.*, Baroda, Vols. X-XI, 1953-55, pp. 20-21, published the dancing Māheśvarī (Fig. 5) and dated it to c. 8th-9th century A.D.
(c) Soundara Rajan, K.V., 'A Magnificent Sapta Mātṛkā Group and Pārvati from Vadaval', in *Glimpses of Indian Culture, Architecture, Art and Religion*, Delhi, 1981, p. 229, refers to Kārvan Mātṛkās as a source for Vadaval Mātṛkās group and also mentions that Kārvan sculptures show Cālukyan influence. The article is originally co-authored with R.T. Parikh published in *P.W.M.B.*, No. 7, 1959-1962.
27. Soundara Rajan, K.V., *ibid.*, p. 227. The original sites of these sculptures are not known. It is also not known how they came to the Vadaval village. Soundara Rajan speculates that the images might have come from either Sabarkantha area of the neighbouring border area of Sirohi or the vicinity of Jagat. These sculptures are made of fine quality sandstone, unlike the earlier sculptures from Śāmalāji and Amjhara, which employed schist.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 225.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Jaina Sculptures from Rohtak

Devendra Handa

Rohtak (28°54' N Lat. and 76°35' E Long.), situated about 70 kms north-west of Delhi on the Delhi-Bhatinda section of the Northern Railway, is the headquarters of the district and tahsil of the same name in Haryana. The antiquity of the site is witnessed by numerous literary references and a large number of antiquarian remains obtained from the old mound of Khokhrakot which covers an extensive area on the northern side of the city.[1]

More than a century back, Rodgers had seen some very fine Jaina images in the monastery of the Nātha sect at Asthal Jogian in the vicinity of Rohtak.[2] In 1939, B.C. Bhattacharya referred to and illustrated an image of standing Pārśva from the *Jogion kā Maṭha*.[3] In 1959, Dr. Y.D. Sharma also noticed some Brahmanical and Jaina images in the Asthal Bohr monastery.[4] But for some casual references to one or two of these images by the subsequent writers and scholars of Jaina art they have remained neglected.[5] So we propose to describe and discuss here the Jaina sculptures from Rohtak.

As far as Jaina literature is concerned, Rohtak finds mention in the *Vipākasūtra*. According to the Jaina tradition accepted by the Śvetāmbaras, *Vipākasūtra* is the eleventh of the total twelve *Aṅgas* which are regarded as the core of the Jaina canonical literature. R.N. Mehta ascribes *Vipākasūtra* to the later part of the ninth century A.D.[6] The *Vipākasūtra* refers to Vesamaṇadatta (Vaiśramaṇadatta) and Pūsanandi (Puṣyanandi) who ruled from Rohidiya (Rohitaka = Rohtak).[7] The same text refers to the shrine of Dharaṇa-Jakkha in the Pudhavivaḍaṁsa (Pṛthvyāvataṁsa) Udyāna of Rohida (Rohtak).[8] Dharaṇa is the *yakṣa* of Pārśvanātha. The *Vipākasūtra*, thus, indicates the popularity of the worship of Pārśva at Rohtak in the ninth century A.D. if not earlier. References to the lay worshippers (*śrāvakas*) of Rohada (=Rohtak) in the *Kharatara-Gaccha-Bṛhad-Gurvāvalī*[9] indicate that Jainism continued to flourish at Rohtak during the Cāhamāna and the subsequent periods and the city had a substantial population of enthusiastic lay Jaina worshippers.

The image of Pārśvanātha from Asthal Bohr, Rohtak referred to and illustrated by Bhattacharya (Fig. 1) is made of buff sandstone and measures 132 x 40 cms. The Jina stands in the *kāyotsarga* posture on a lotus seat placed in the centre of the middle projection of the *triratha* pedestal. The right arm of the Jina is broken just below the shoulder. Pārśva stands under the canopy of the seven-hooded snake but all the hoods are unfortunately broken. Five coils of the snake behind the body of the pontiff may be seen clearly. The tīrthaṅkara wears a diaphanous *dhoti* only up to the knees. The *dhoti* is held in position by a cord with a central knot shaped like an arch from which fall the central folds in a wavy pattern. There are beautiful semi-circular *valli*-shaped folds on the left thigh.

The face is broad, the nose is damaged and the eyes are elongated. The upper eyelids are drooping indicating blissful meditation. The lower lip is thicker and the double-chin is pointed. The cheeks are plump. The elongated earlobes touch the shoulders. The torso is modelled beautifully having broad shoulders and a well-developed chest with a lozenge-

shaped *śrivatsa*. The waist is attenuated and the navel is marked by a deep groove. The hair on the head are arranged in schematic curls with an *uṣṇīṣa* on top. The extant left arm hands down up to the knee (*ājānulambabāhu*). The Jina seems young and energetic having a pleasing countenance as prescribed by Varāhamihira.[10] He is flanked by male fly-whiskers, female figures and *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*. The *Cāmaradharas* bear beautiful *karaṇḍa-mukuṭas* adorned with jewels. They wear ear ornaments, bejewelled necklets, pearl necklaces, sacred threads, beaded bracelets, long garlands and under-garments. Standing in graceful triple-flexion poses they hold a fly-whisk in the hand towards the pontiff, resting the other on the respective thigh.

Two female figures are shown standing before them.[11] They both wear exquisite dress and ornaments. The one on the proper right hand side of the Jina holds a snake each in her two hands and the other on the left hand side holds a sword in her right hand and a water-vessel in the left. They may thus be identified with the *vidyādevīs* Vairoṭyā and Mahāmānasī respectively.[12] Seated in front of them are the pot-bellied *yakṣa* Sarvānubhūti holding a *nakulaka* in his left hand and the *yakṣī* Ambikā holding a mango-twig in her right hand and supporting a child on her left lap.

On the two sides of the serpent canopy are shown the divine musicians (the proper right hand side figure being broken), the garland-bearers and elephants with full trappings and rider couples, inverting pitchers of water held in their trunks to perform the *abhiṣeka*. The divine drum-beater is depicted on the top of the triple umbrella in the centre.

Shah felt inclined to place this image of Pārśva from Rohtak slightly later than an inscribed bronze dated Saṁvat 744 (687 A.D.) and another undated one from Vasantgarh on the basis of the style of the *dhotī*.[13] Tiwari has dated it to *circa* seventh century A.D.[14] Later, Shah assigned it to *circa* eighth-ninth century A.D.[15] He, however, seems to have slightly mistaken in comparing the style of *dhotī* of the Rohtak image with that of Vasantgarh. The former has got a short *dhotī* hardly reaching the knees whereas the latter has got a long one reaching the ankles. Also there is no zigzag pattern of the central fold between the legs in the former. If at all the style of the *dhotī* can be compared with other images they are those of Neminātha from Narhad (Rajasthan) in the National Museum, New Delhi[16] and Muni Suvrata now preserved in the Jaipur Museum,[17] which may be dated to the twelfth century A.D. We may also point out that the type of the *graiveyaka* shown around the necks of the fly-whiskers in the Rohtak image appeared popularly in the sculptures of the region in the eleventh-twelfth centuries. The girdle of our image is simpler than that of the Narhad image and the facial expression too is beatitudinous, not stiff and stylized as in the above-mentioned Neminātha and Suvrata images. So we feel inclined to date it to the early twelfth century A.D.

The Asthal Bohr monastery possesses another similar image (Fig. 2) of buff sandstone, 136 x 39 cms, which differs from the preceding one only in the manner of mutilation and the number of the hoods of the serpent canopying the Jina. Instead of seven, five hoods have been shown and unfortunately all of them are broken. The triple umbrella, the divine musician near the left shoulder of the pontiff, his nose and left arm, the heads of the *vidyādevī* Mahāmānasī and *yakṣī* Ambikā have also suffered mutilation. The style of carving and the details of even the subsidiary figures resemble so much that it seems to have been carved simultaneously, if not by the same artist, with the Pārśva image described above. No *lāñchana* has been represented on the pedestal.

Shah had rightly observed that "Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, is also represented with a canopy of snake-hoods overhead which often renders it difficult to differentiate between images of Pārśva and Supārśva in the absence of an inscription or the cognizance on the pedestal. Usually Pārśva is shown with coils of snake behind his body, while in the case of Supārśva only the snake-hoods overhead are carved or painted."[18] The

conception of the two images, carving of five coils behind the body, the depiction of the divine musicians, garland-bearers, elephants anointing the Jina, the drum-beater on the top and the fly-whiskers, *vidyādevis* and *yakṣa-yakṣī* are so similar that one feels tempted to identify even this second image as that of Pārśvanātha but the number of snake-hoods is five which is prescribed for Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara.[19] No doubt that images of Pārśva with five snake-hoods are also known[20] but they are all from South India. Shah had rightly observed that "in northern, eastern and western India Pārśva was always shown with seven and not five snake-hoods."[21] The image under discussion may, therefore, be identified as that of Supārśva. In the iconography of the Tīrthaṅkara, however, it is the first image to show the coils of the serpent behind the body of Supārśva like that of Pārśvanātha.

Shah has referred to another image of Pārśvanātha from Rohtak.[22] Preserved in the *Jogion kā Maṭha* at Asthal Bohr, it is made of the buff sandstone and measures 119 x 68 cms. It shows Pārśva seated in *padmāsana* on a lion throne (Fig. 3). Behind his head is a very exquisitely carved halo. The hair of the Jina have been arranged in schematic curls with a top-knot. He has elongated quasi-closed eyes with arch-shaped eyebrows. Left eye, nose, mouth and chin are damaged but the serenity of the broad face may still be made out. The conch-like neck, the broad round shoulders, robust chest with *śrīvatsa* mark, slim waist, deep round hole of the navel and long arms are the notable physical features. Both the hands placed one over the other in the lap and the right leg of the pontiff are also damaged. A flourish of the *dhotī* is seen in the centre of the seat clearly indicating it to be a Śvetāmbara image. The Jina is flanked on either side by well-dressed and ornamented elongated male *cāmaradharas* standing on lotuses while the extreme projections behind them show female figures, elephant heads and leogryphs leaping outwards. On either side of the head of the Jina are the *vidyādhara* couples in flying postures, the male ones holding long garlands. The uppermost register shows elephants anointing the pontiff by inverting pitchers of water held in their trunks. Two Jina figures in *kāyotsarga* posture, wearing *dhotis* and having round gloricles behind their damaged heads, may be seen behind the elephants on the extreme top corners. In the centre just above the serpent hoods is the triple umbrella with a divine drummer upon it. Leaves of *Dhātakī* tree (*Grislea tomentosa*) may be seen at the back of the trefoil umbrella. The space between the raised elephant trunks and the *prabhāvalis* of the standing Jinas is filled with celestial musicians and dancers. A cloth hanging on the pedestal shows small half-snake and half-human figures of Dharaṇa *yakṣa* and his queen in profile in *añjali-mudrā*, flanking a beautiful *kīrtimukha* spewing strings of pearls which form an exquisite pattern of loops and pendents on the cloth hanging. The pedestal shows outward moving facing lions, with one paw raised up, and two deer in profile flanking a *cakra* in the centre. On the extreme projections of the pedestal are carved the *yakṣa* and the *yakṣī*. The pot-bellied Sarvānubhūti holding a *nakulaka* in his left hand (right hand is broken) has a beautiful roundish hairdo serving as his gloriole. Ambikā on the other side holding an *āmralumbī* in her right hand, too, has been carved carefully. Just above the *yakṣa* and the *yakṣī* are shown the donor couple in profile in adoration. The image may be dated to the twelfth century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

The *maṭha* houses another Jina figure which has unfortunately been spoiled by indiscriminate strokes of the black paint on the chest and belly (Fig. 4). The Jina shares most of the physical features with the preceding examples and is shown seated in *padmāsana* under the triple umbrella which is surmounted by the divine drummer. The Jina is seated on a lion throne on the pedestal of which are depicted as usual the outward moving lions and inward looking deer flanking a wheel in profile in the centre. An exquisitely carved round lotus-petalled halo may be seen behind the head of the pontiff. Leaves of the *caitya-vṛkṣa* hang down stylistically from above and below the umbrella. The backslab shows on either side elephants in profile facing outwards, leogryphs, garland-bearing *vidyādhara* couples

and elephants with riders from bottom upwards from about the middle of the torso of the Jina. The trunks of the elephants are broken, so it is difficult to say with certainty whether they were inverting pitchers of water and anointing the Jina or not. On the proper right hand side top corner may be seen a female parasol holder. There was probably another one on the corresponding other side. The face, top-knot, left arm, elephants and their riders and the pedestal have suffered mutilation. There is no *lāñchana* on the pedestal. Made of the same type of sandstone, the image measures 109 x 69 cms. The figure, though slightly earlier than the preceding one, is not far removed in date from that. The Jina may be identified as Śāntinātha.

Another pedestal showing two lions and two deer flanking a wheel is fixed in a wall of the *Jogion kā Maṭha* at Asthal Bohr (Fig. 5). On the cloth hanging are carved three *kirtimukhas* spewing pearl strings which form four loops and three pendents. The lions are shown with their backs towards the centre and have been carved facing as usual with one paw raised. The wheel in the centre is 14-spoked with a fillet coming out of its hub. Two miniature figures of deer flank the wheel facing towards it. This pedestal, too, may have belonged to an image of Śāntinātha as no other cognizance is carved on the pedestal. Stylistically, it may be assigned to the same age as the above-mentioned figures.

A small piece showing the corpulent *yakṣa* Sarvānubhūti is fixed alongwith the pedestal described above, but on the wrong side. The *yakṣa* may be recognised from the *nakulaka* held in his left hand.

An image of Śāntinātha from Rohtak is now preserved in the Lahore Museum, Pakistan (Fig. 6).[23] The Jina is seated in *padmāsana* on a cushioned seat placed on a lion throne. There is an elegant eight-petalled halo behind his head. The right arm and a part of his folded right leg are gone. The schematic curls and the top-knot, long earlobes touching the shoulders, broad serene face with elongated meditative eyes, conch-like neck (*kambu-grīva*), rounded shoulders, broad chest with *śrīvatsa* mark, attenuated waist with a deep groove representing the navel etc. are the features which very much resemble the Jina figures described above. The nose, as in other images, is broken. A flourish of the *dhoti* at the crossing point of the legs is visible on the cushioned seat.

Just behind the head of the tīrthaṅkara may be seen a ribbed staff supporting the trefoil umbrella above. On the top of this *chattra* is the drummer as seen in other images also. Flanking the Jina are the male fly-whiskers standing on lotuses emanating from below the pedestal. They stand facing in triple flexion posture holding the *cāmara* in one hand towards the pontiff and other resting on the respective thigh. Each of them bears a beautiful *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, ear ornaments, pearl necklet, sacred thread, armlets, bracelets, anklets, nether garment and a long garland. Just above them are carved the celestial musician couples against the background of clouds. On either side of the trefoil umbrella may be seen elephants with usual trappings and *howdahs* on their backs. The cloth hanging on the pedestal is bedecked with two *kirtimukhas* spewing pearl strings which form four loops and two pendents. The two outward moving lions and the wheel flanked by two deer are the usual features of the pedestals. On the extreme projections of the pedestal are depicted the *yakṣa* and the *yakṣī*, Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā, as noted in the Śāntinātha image described above. Sarvānubhūti sits in ease with a cushion under his folded left leg, wearing ear ornaments, pearl necklet, armlets, *dhoti* and anklets, holding *nakulaka* in the left and *bījapūraka* in the right hand. Ambikā holds an *āmralumbi* in her right hand and supports a child with her left. Interestingly, her vehicle, lion, is also carved under her folded left leg. The simplicity of the halo and ornamentation indicates this image to be a creation of the tenth century A.D. Bhattacharya had observed that "A clear representation of Pārśva Yakṣa's figure may be seen in the statue of Pārśvanātha from *Jogion kā Maṭha*, near Rohtak town."[24] Referring to this image, M.C. Joshi has noted that "An icon of the elephant-headed

Yakṣa Pārśva, who is the nearest parallel to Gaṇeśa in Jainism, has been noticed at Rohtak."[25] There is, however, no image of the elephant-headed yakṣa Pārśva in the said *maṭha*, or even anywhere else in Rohtak.

Also housed in the *Maṭha* is a beautiful image of a four-armed goddess seated in *padmāsana* on a *viśvapadma*, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in her normal left hand and an *akṣamālā* in the *varada* right (Fig. 7). The upper two hands are broken. She wears a high bun bedecked with pearl strings, ear ornaments, necklet and pearl necklace, *vaikakṣyaka*, armlets, multiple beaded bracelets, *dhoti* secured with a waist-band, anklets and rings in her thumbs and some other fingers. A long garland coming from behind her shoulders forms a semi-circle in front on the lotus seat. The goddess has a broad plump face with long drawn meditative eyes. The nose is damaged. The breasts are round and rotund. There is a small and simple eight-petalled halo incised behind her head on the semi-circular top of the rectangular backslab. The donor couple is depicted on the pedestal in adoration. There are two female fly-whiskers on the sides. On the pilasters on either side of the main figure are small female figures holding a lotus in the right and a water-vessel in the left hand. The extreme projections of the backslab show *gaja-mukhas* and *vyālas*.

In the absence of a miniature Jina figure on her head or on top of the figure, it is difficult to say with certainty that this image belongs to a Jaina deity. The probability, however, cannot be ruled out. In case of its being of Jaina affiliation, it is difficult to identify her properly in the absence of the cognizance and the attributes in the two broken upper hands. The two images and a pedestal of an image of Śāntinātha provide the possibility of her being Śāntidevī (or Nirvāṇī or even the *vidyādevī* Mahāmānasī but with much lesser probability) but certainly not Cakreśvarī as identified by Y.D. Sharma.[26]

The foregoing account makes it amply clear that Rohtak was an important centre of Jainism in the medieval period. The images described above reveal that Supārśva was popularly worshipped in the *kāyotsarga mudrā*, Śāntinātha in *padmāsana* and Pārśva in both. Iconographically important is the fact that even Supārśva under the canopy of five-hooded snake was provided with five serpent-coils at his back just like Pārśvanātha, a feature which has not been witnessed anywhere else. Also Sarvānubhūti and Ambikā were the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* carved on all the images at Rohtak upto the twelfth century A.D. The cognizances were not generally carved on the pedestals.

We find that the faces, noses in particular, and arms of most of these figures, some of which otherwise seem to be quite fresh, have been mutilated. They may have suffered this damage during an attack of the site by Muhammad Ghori during the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D.[27]

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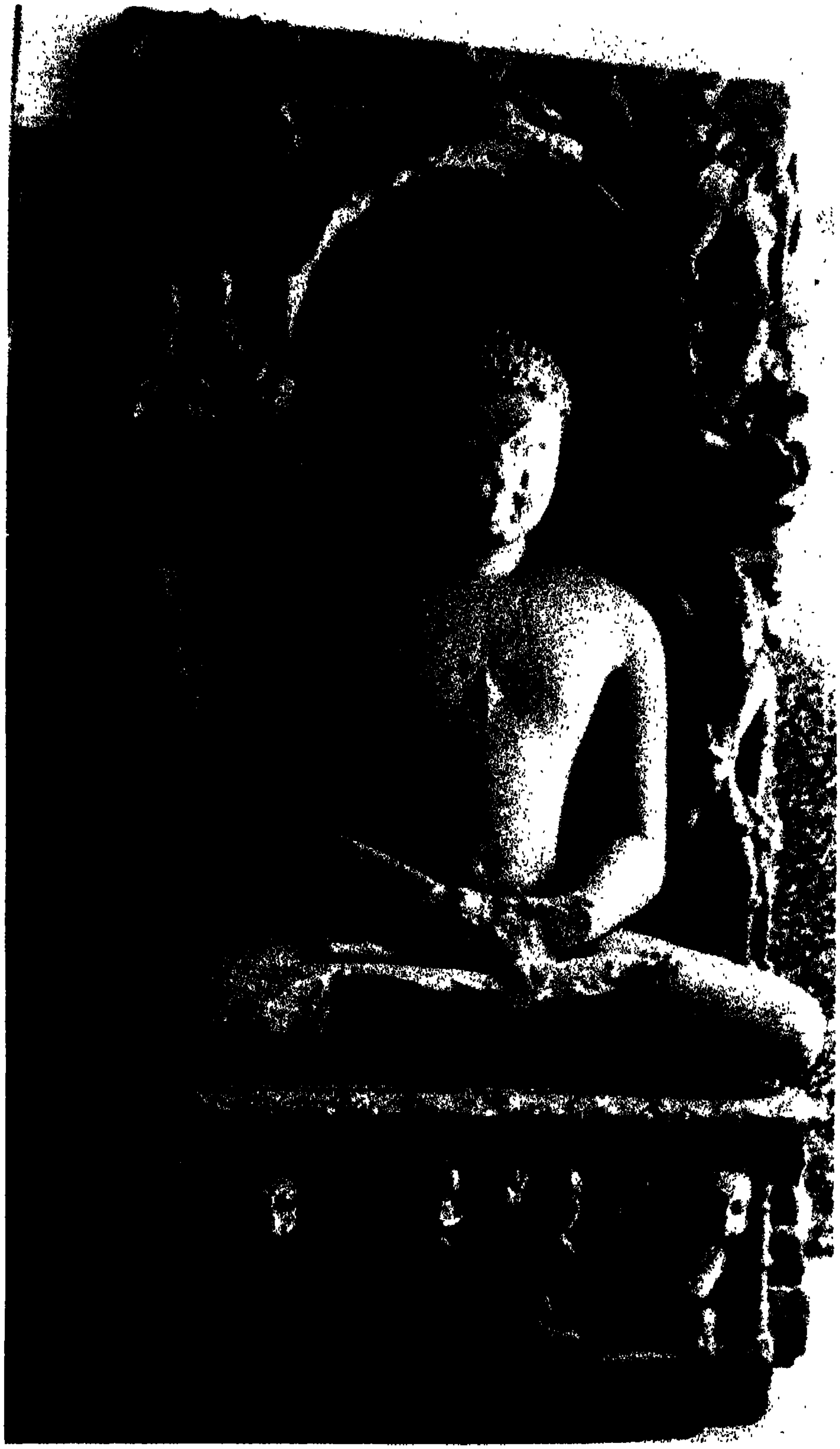
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10. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 58.45:
    Ājānulambabāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśāntamūrtiśca/
    Digvāsastaruṇo rūpavāṁśca kārya'rhataṁ devaḥ//
11. Shah (1987, *op. cit.*, p. 180) has referred to a lotus and a sword in the hands of these two female figures respectively and has left them unidentified.
12. The depiction of the *vidyādevīs* with Pārśvanātha may be seen in an image from Pindwada also. See Shah, Umakant P., *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, Fig. 49.
13. Shah (1955), *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
14. Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
15. Shah (1987), *op. cit.*, p. 180.
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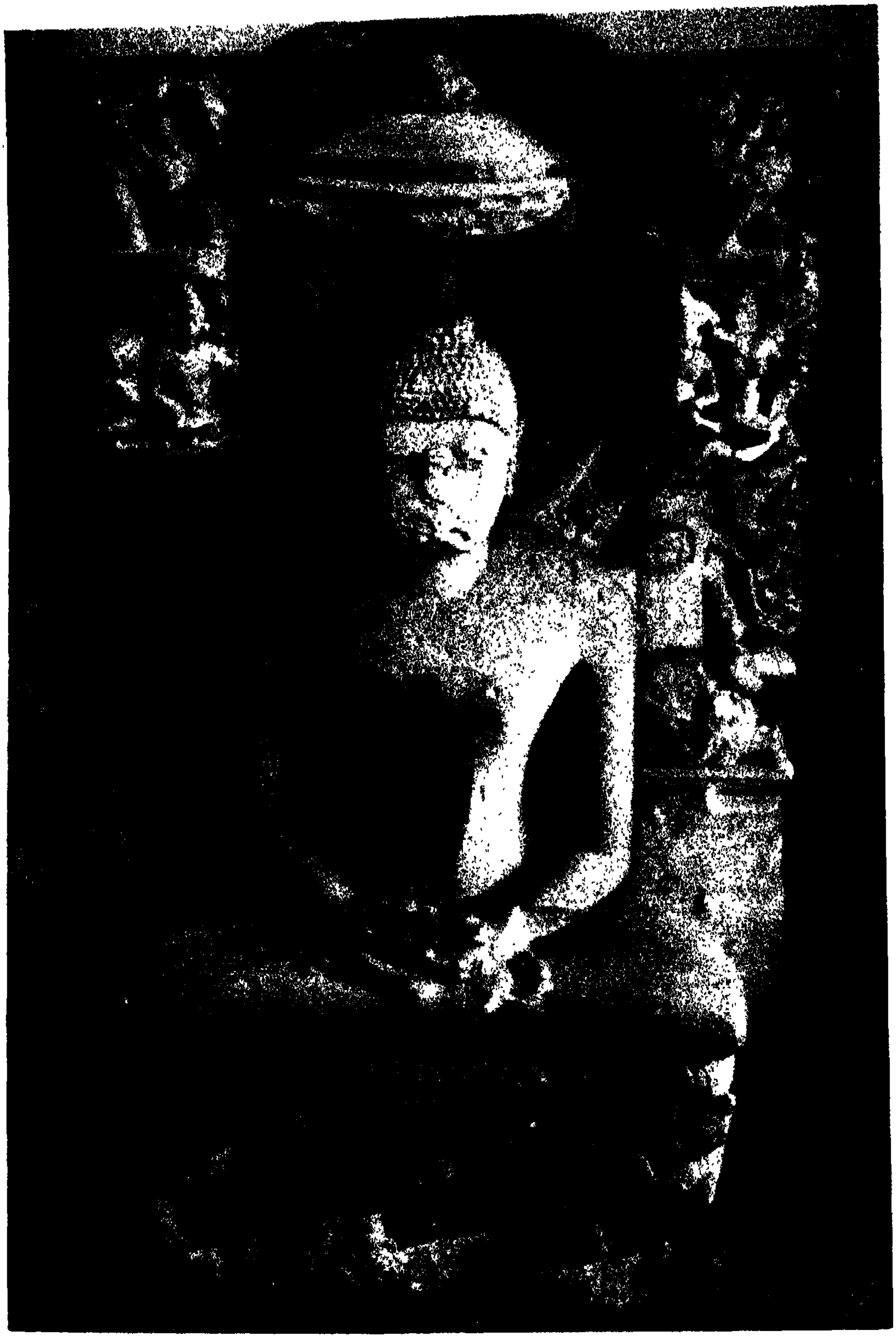
Ch. 10, Pl. I Pārśvanātha, Asthal Bohr (Rohtak).



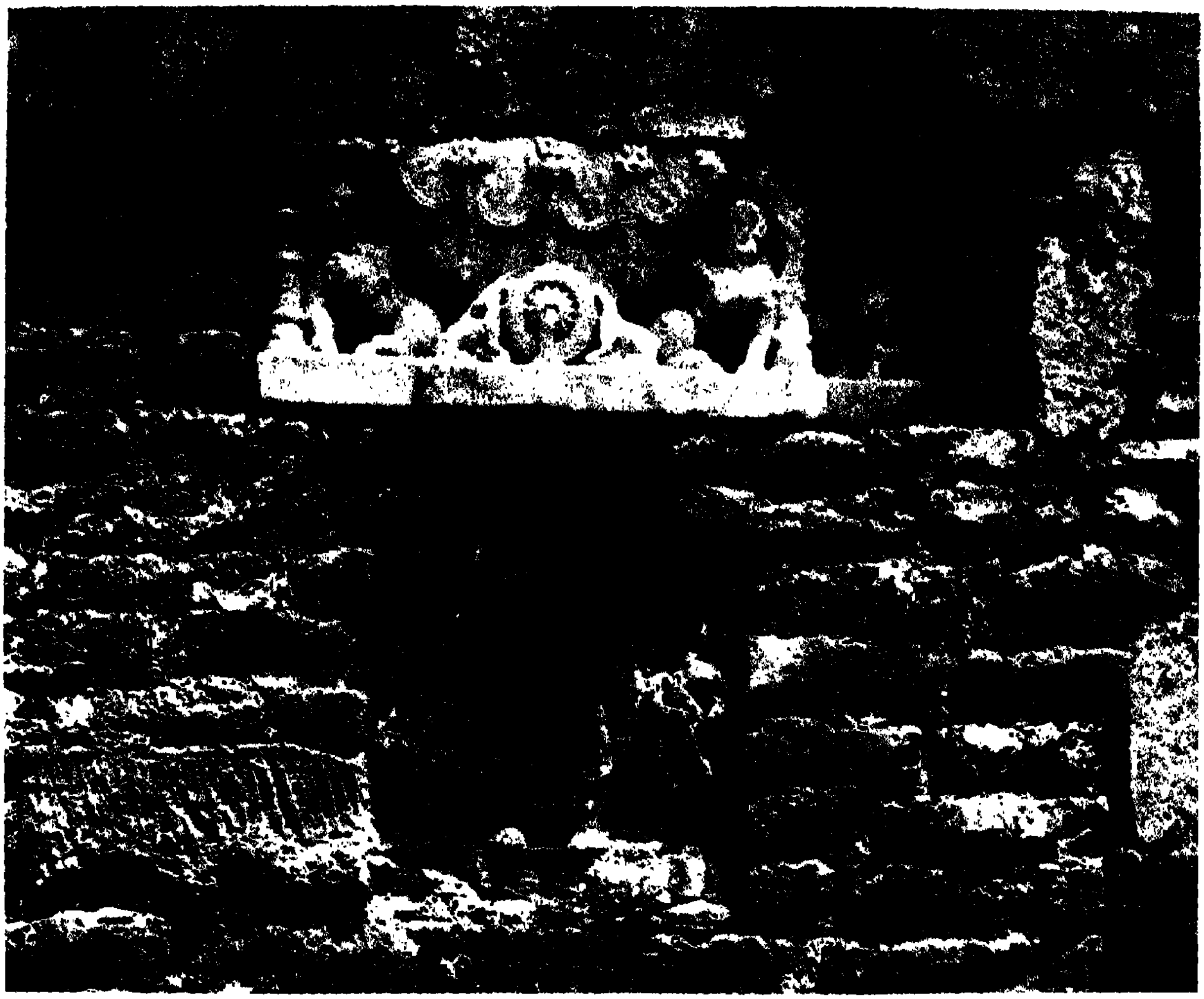
Ch. 10, Pl. II Supārśvanātha (Asthal Bohr).



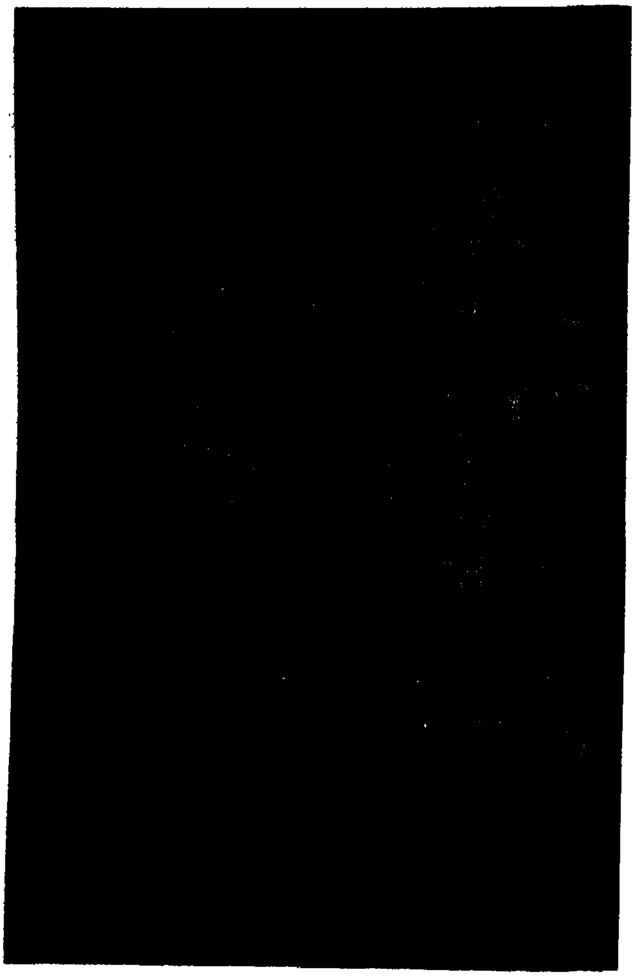
Ch. 10, Pl. III Seated Pārśvanātha, Asthal Bohr.



Ch. 10, Pl. IV Śāntinātha, Asthal Bohr.



Ch. 10, Pl V Jaina pedestal, Asthal B



Ch. 10, Pl. VI Śāntinātha, Rohtak, Lahore Museum.



Ch. 10, Pl. VII Jaina deity, Asthal Bohr.

II

A Rare Marble Sculpture of Naminātha from Bhatinda, District Bhatinda, Punjab

D.R. Gehlot

There were twin marble Jaina images found buried under the ploughed field in the vicinity of Bhatinda town, Punjab which were personally inspected and studied by me some time back.

These images were carved out of white marble stone which is readily available in the neighbouring state of Rajasthan. One of these sculptures is identified as *Namināthа*, the 21st Jaina Tīrthaṅkara (Pl. 1) on the basis of his *lāñchana* the lotus bud (*Nilotpal*). The second is an inscribed one identified as the 22nd Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha. It is presumed that these sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras might have been imported from the neighbouring region for installation in a temple and at a later date buried in the fields to safeguard them from the onslaughts of the invaders especially during the 13th-14th centuries. Alā-'d-Dīn Khilji was one of them who crumbled the strongholds of the age-old Hindu rulers of Rajasthan and Gujarat and destroyed numerous shrines in Western India.[1]

The present sculpture from Bhatinda which is identified as Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is shown as youthful in appearance, seated in *padmāsana* in *dhyānamudrā* on a legged pedestal over a lion throne (*simhāsana*) alongwith a highly decorated *parikara* (Pl. 2). They are in five parts, carved separately and placed together which includes the principal image (Jina). The prominent *lāñchana* i.e. lotus bud with stalk is placed horizontally at the centre of the legged pedestal. He carries the *śrīvatsa* symbol on his chest which is a distinguishing feature of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara besides elongated earlobes and the *uṣṇīṣa* on his head. He is flanked by two standing *chāmaradharas* of royal birth, in royal attire. The triple umbrella adorns his head with a beautiful *ābhāmaṇḍal* (halo) in lotus design flanked on either side by a pair of heavenly musicians playing on ritual musical instruments. Above it, elephants on either side are lifting upwards the vessels of holy-water. Above the triple umbrella on both sides *divya-dundubhi vādakas* (celestial musicians) with a central figure in *añjali mudrā* (?) are depicted. The entire border of the arched *parikara* is decorated with a row of flying *vidyādharas*.

The lion throne (*simhāsana*) is very richly carved, in the centre of which a seated, four-armed goddess known as *Sarasvatī* or *Vidyādevī*[2] (a goddess of learning) flanked by elephants, lions and *Yakṣa-Yakṣiṇī* is depicted. The female goddess has stylistically quite close resemblance to the *Sarasvatī* found from a temple of Pallu in Bikaner of Rajasthan, presently displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi. The goddess is seated in *sukhāsana* posture with four arms, the left upper hand holds a *vīṇā* (lute) and the lower hand holds a manuscript. The right upper hand holds a *padma* with a stalk and the lower right hand is in *varadahasta* (boon-giving) pose. Beneath the goddess the *dharmacakra* (Wheel of Law) is attended by a pair of deer which is a common feature in Jaina sculptures

of Western India and must have been borrowed from Buddhist iconography. On the left and right extremities of the lion throne a *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣiṇī* of the Jina are depicted. According to the Jaina pantheon *śāsanadevatās* (governing deities) are always associated with the particular Tīrthaṅkaras. As per the tradition the Yakṣa "*Bhṛkuṭī*" and the Yakṣiṇī "*Gandhārī*" of Naminātha have not been shown here. In their place a four-armed seated *Kubera* or *Sarvānubhūti* and *Ambikā* with child on her lap, who is also called as *Kushmāndinī* and *Dharmadevī* in the Digambara School are depicted on the right and left corners of the *siṁhāsana*. There is a legend about the origin of the name Naminātha, that while the Jina was in the mother's womb, the enemies of his father bowed down (*praṇām*) in submission and hence the name Naminātha.[3]

The sculptural depiction of Naminātha in Jaina religion appears to have been rare. So far very few sculptures of his were reported e.g. one image of Naminātha from a Parsvanatha Temple, Kumbharia (Gujarat) of 1179 A.D. and the other seated image of this Jina from Lunavasahi, Mount Abu of 1233 A.D.[4] In the case of the latter the name Nami was also mentioned in the label inscription and *Sarvānubhūti* and *Ambikā* are also shown as *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī*. Another seated Naminātha sculpture is known from Khandagiri,[5] Puri, Orissa datable to 12th-13th century A.D. and yet one more reported from Nidikonda,[6] Dist. Warangal (A.P.), now in Birla Museum, Hyderabad. He is shown as one of the Jinas depicted around the *Mūlanāyaka* Mahāvīra datable to 12th century A.D.

The second loose sculpture under discussion is Neminātha found devoid of any *parikara* (Pl. 3). He is in a meditative posture (*dhyānamudrā*) seated on a pedestal in *padmāsana*. The hair is curly with a protuberance on top of the head. The image is prominently carved with half opened eyes and elongated ears, touching his shoulders. The *śrīvatsa* symbol is shown on the chest. The frontal part of the pedestal is having some floral motifs, the *śaṅkha* (emblem) is in the centre and the back contains an inscription in 3 lines in Devanagari characters (Pl. 4). The image (*Jina-bimba*) was consecrated on the 6th day of *Śuklapakṣa* of *Āṣāḍha* month in the year Samvat 1236, corresponding to 1180 A.D., by one Shri Virupan Puriya, probably the name of the donor.

The sculpture of Naminātha from Bhatinda exhibits a rare feature in the Jaina idiom, i.e., having a piece of cloth (*Cīvara*) on his right shoulder. However, in some cases the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras were shown wearing a *dhotī*. The earliest image showing a *dhotī* on the person of a Jina, so far discovered, is a big brass or bronze Ādinātha in the Akota hoard of Jina bronzes now in Baroda Museum assigned to the late 5th century A.D.[7]

Another metal image of Tri-tirthi of Śītalanātha[8] (*circa* 11th century A.D.) in Southern Karnataka style (Swali Collection, Bombay) was shown with *Sanghati* below the right breast represented by two incised lines. But the sculpture of Naminātha from Bhatinda is shown with a small piece of cloth on the right shoulder. Such kind of depiction of scarf as on the Bhatinda sculpture is rare and so far not encountered on any of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. But a painting of two *Gaṇadharas*[9] from a paper manuscript of *Kalpasūtra* in the collection of the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad may be mentioned here datable to 15th century A.D. exhibiting the typical scarf or *Cīvara* as shown on Naminātha of Bhatinda. Another depiction of the scarf can be observed on the two donors of unidentified bronze images of Jina from Cambay,[10] datable to *circa* 11th century A.D.

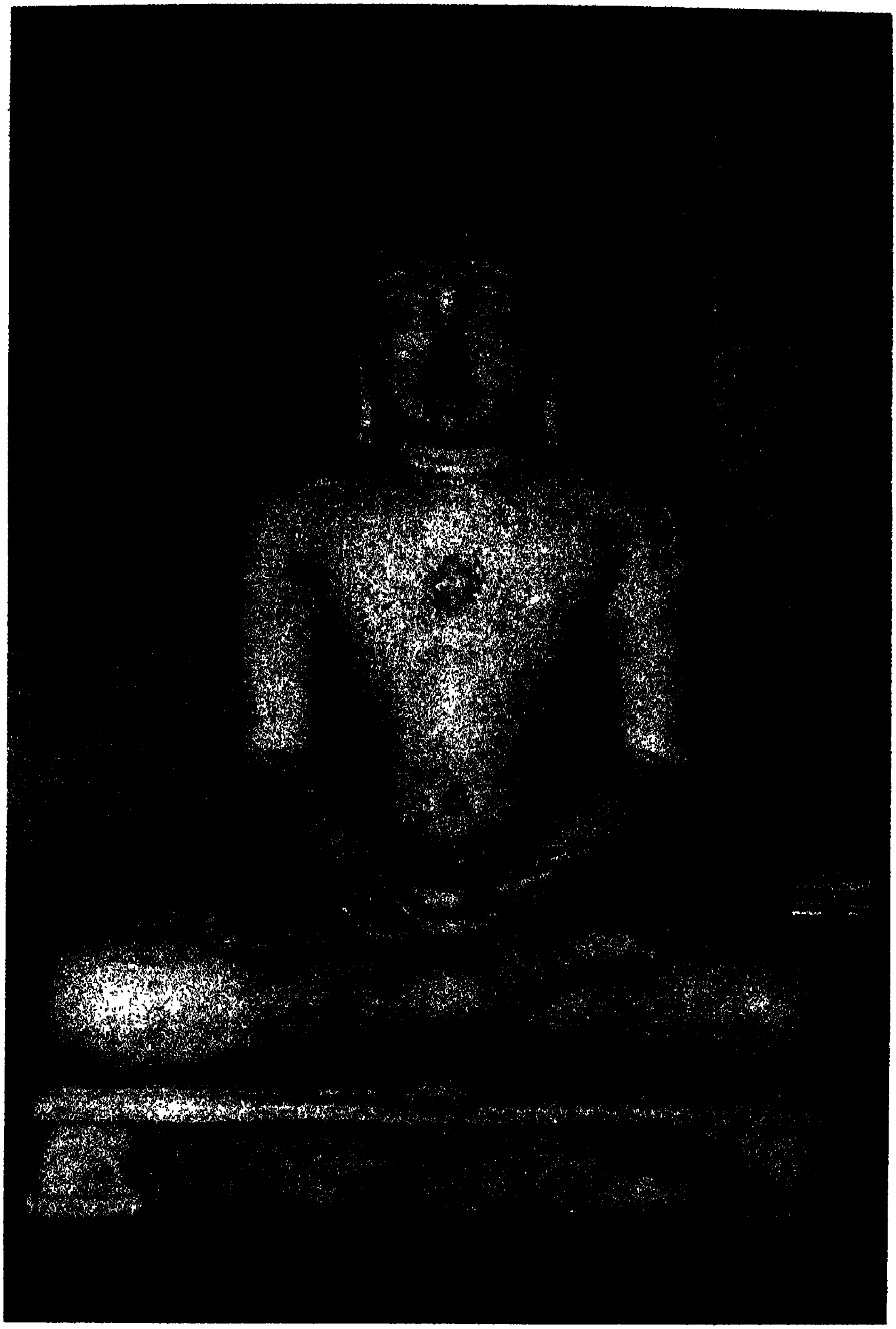
While contradicting the identification of a sculpture from Aihole Shri U.P. Shah states that "the difference between a Buddha image and a Jina image is that there is no upper garment nor a piece of cloth on the shoulder of a Tīrthaṅkara image."[11] But keeping in view the presence of the scarf on the right shoulder of Naminātha from Bhatinda, the above statement given by Shri Shah requires review. To substantiate another example of metal image of Tri-tirthi from Swali Collection, Bombay, already mentioned above, was clearly shown with *Sanghati* in two incised lines. Hence in the light of the above evidences

especially the image from Bhatinda, we can say that there had been delineation of upper garments in Jina images attributed to the Svetambara sect.

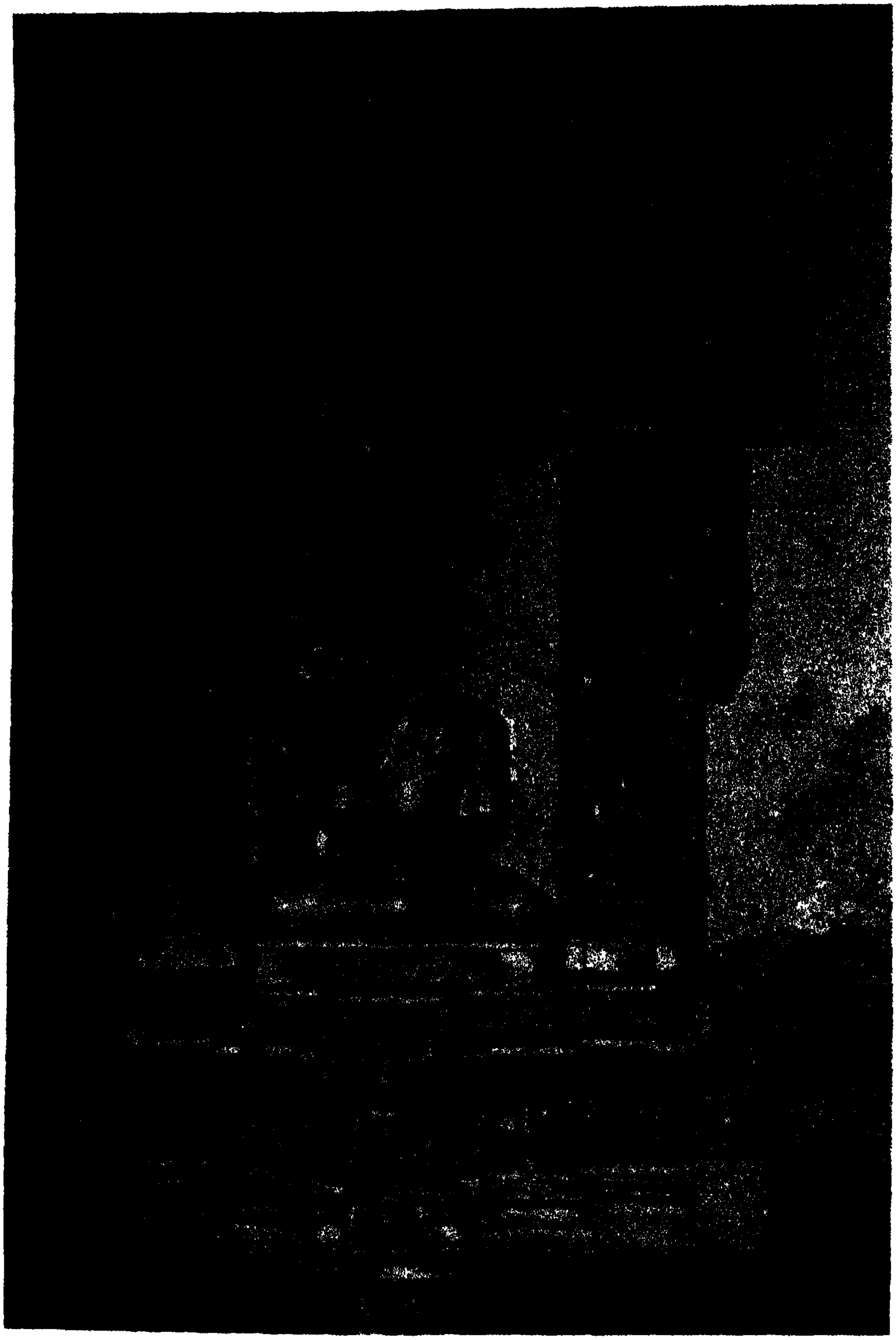
The two sculptures of Naminātha and Neminātha from Bhatinda look alike in their art style and appear to be a product of the well-blended sculptural orders of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Jaina communities of Western India are mostly of Svetambara persuasion. The Jaina patrons used to import the finished images of marble from Rajasthan, which is the most reputed centre for marble carvings. The rear side of the Neminātha sculpture gives the date Samvat 1236 i.e. 1180 A.D. On stylistic grounds also both the sculptures can be dated to the same period and may be assigned to the Cahamana dynasty, as the elegant modelling of the figures with prominent facial features reflects the Cahamana art. Cahamanas of Nadol being the feudatories of the Chalukyas (Solankis) of Gujarat were more intimate with Jainism. Asvaraj of Nadol branch of Cahamanas was himself a Jaina.[12]

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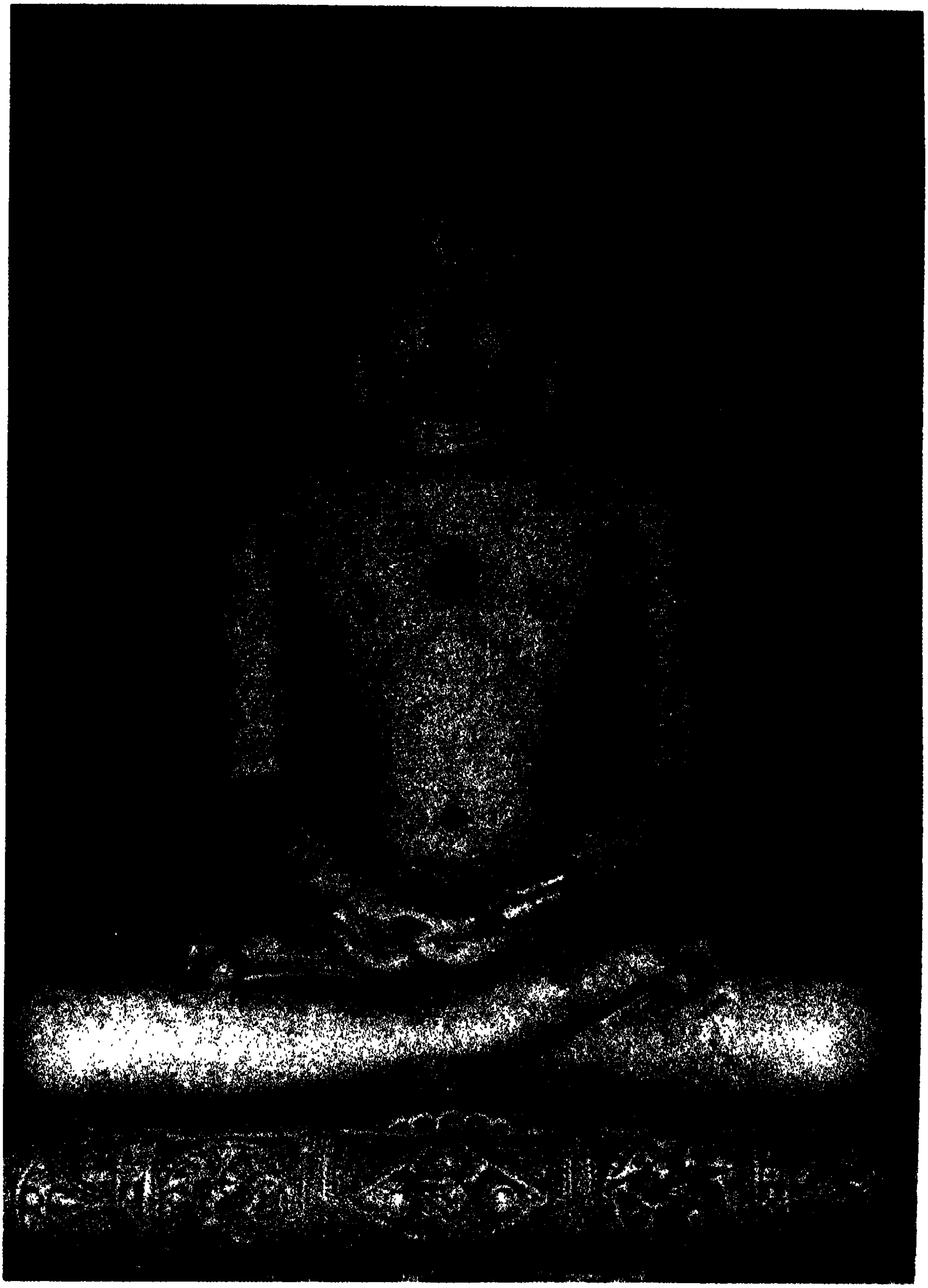
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4. Tiwari, Maruti Nandan, *Jain Pratima Vigyan.*
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9. Shastri, A.M. & Others (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 204.
10. *Lalit Kala*, No. 13, New Delhi, Plate XIII, fig. 4, p. 33.
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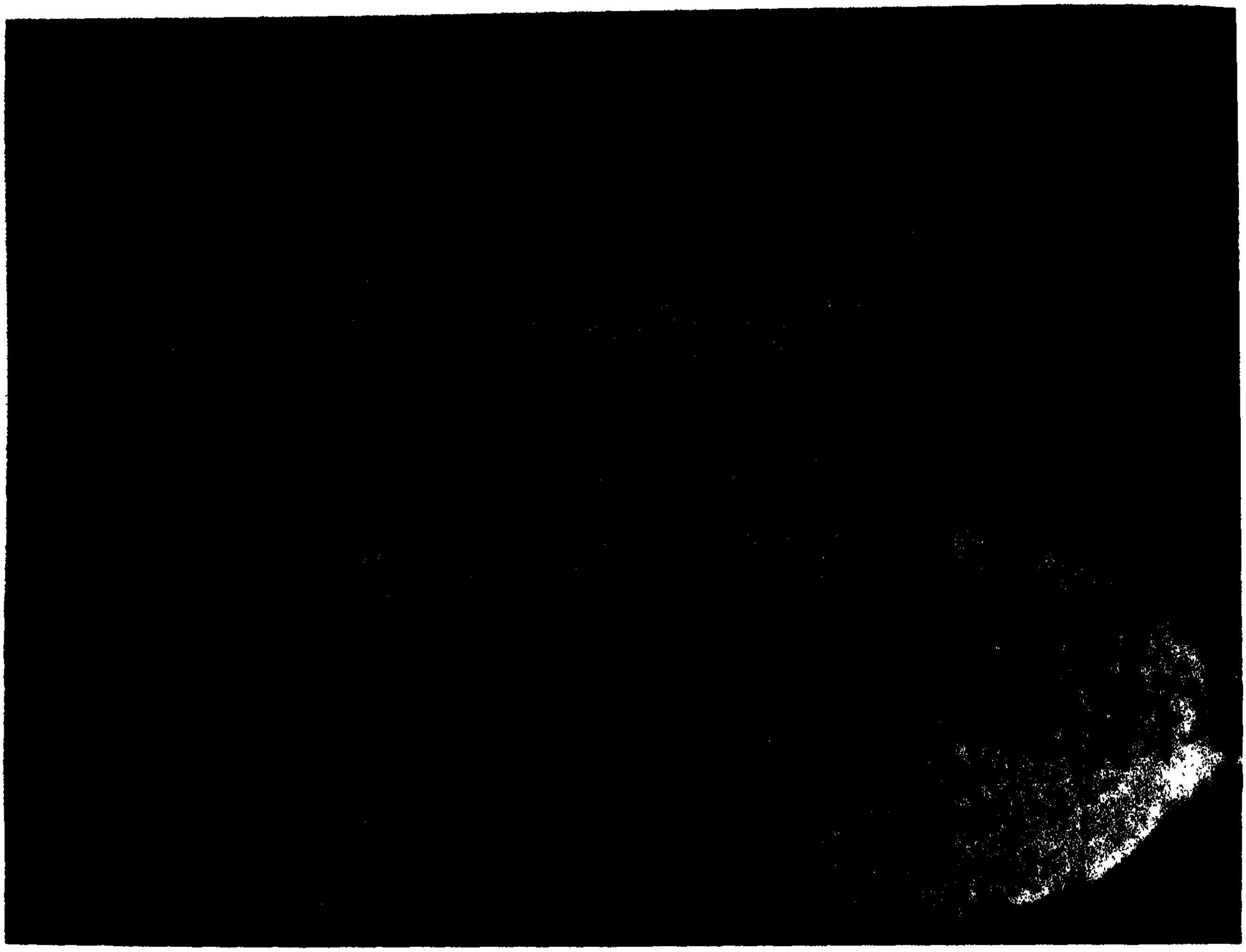
Ch. 11, Pl. I Close view of Naminātha from Bhatinda, Punjab.



Ch. 11, Pl. II Naminātha with Parikara, Bhatinda, Punjab.



Ch. 11, Pl. III Neminātha from Bhatinda, Punjab.



Ch. 11, Pl. IV Inscription on back of the pedestal of Jina (Neminātha) from Bhatinda, Punjab.

12

INDIAN CAVE-TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE: AN ASSESSMENT

K.D. BAJPAI

The cave-temple architecture represents an important feature of Indian art. It has its distinct beginning in the Maurya period, when several rock-cut caves were prepared at Barabar in the Gaya district of Bihar. These were carved out of stone rocks. Several of them assumed the form of a *parṇaśālā* (hut of wooden pillars covered with leaves). Numerous references to *parṇaśālās*, made for habitation, are found in ancient texts. Their representation can be seen in the stone art at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura and some other early sites. Tradition of *parṇaśālās* is preserved till the present day. Their prototypes can even be seen at Thanjavur and several other places in Tamil Nadu.

In Orissa the rock art is found at Udaigiri, Khandagiri and at several other places. During the Sātavāhana period, western India came to occupy an important place in the field of rock art. This art, in a developed form, can be seen at sites like Bhaja, Karla, Kanheri, Bedsa, Nasik, Ajanta and Ellora. Further south, it spread in Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

The carving of rock-cut caves, originally meant for habitation of recluses and others, assumed a much wider purpose. *Caityas*, temples and other religious edifices were prepared out of rocks in different parts of the country during the period between the 2nd century B.C. and 12th century A.D. The extant shrines and the examples of sculptural art bear an eloquent testimony to this.

There are valuable and interesting references to rock art in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Tamil and other literatures. It would be worthwhile here to glean through some of them briefly.

The usual words for rock-shelter in ancient Indian literature are: *guhā*, *kubhā*, *gahvara*, *girivivara*, *kandara* or *kandarā*, *nirdara*, *dari* and *bila*. The great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who had a very clear idea about some rock-shelters in his time, gives significant terms for them. These are *giryāśrama* (*Meghadūta*, I, 1; II, 33), *darigṛha* and *śilāveśma*. The last word *śilāveśma* (or *śilāgṛha*) became current in ancient times. The present word *silaharā* is still used in some parts of south-eastern Madhya Pradesh.[1]

The dark rock-shelters of the Himālayas, referred to by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasaṁbhava* (I, 10 and I, 12), are more appropriately applicable to the shelters in the Betwa-Narmada valleys of Madhya Pradesh. The poet does not forget to mention the rock-shelters in the lower hillocks of Vidisha, which were known for the amorous dalliances of the youthful citizens.[2] These were located in the southern hill, opposite of the well-known Udaigiri on the north.

The work *Amarakoṣa*, composed in the Gupta period, gives the terms for rock-shelters and also makes a distinction between the man-made and the natural caves. The terms for the man-made (artificial) caves were *dari* and *kandara*. They were made in the form of a house by hewing the rock (*kṛtrimasya gṛhākārasya girivivarasya*). The second category

was that of the natural shelters, which were called *deva-khāta* (carved by gods) and were thus non-artificial (*akṛtima*). These were known by three names: *devakhāta-bila*, *guhā* and *gahvara*.[3]

The words *darī* and *kandara* indicate that the rock was cut out by implements. The term *guhā*, apart from the meaning of 'giving protection', seems to imply its association with the *Guhas* or *Guhyakas* who inhabited these rock-shelters. The word *gahvara* signifies a deep shelter. In the Gupta period *guhā* also indicated a rock-cut shrine.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the four terms, *kandara*, *nirdara*, *guhā* and *darī* are mentioned, possibly indicating a separate nature of each of them.[4] In the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, mountain Citrakūṭa is described as having some beautiful man-made shelters.[5] The word *nirdara* signifies the caves which were prepared by cutting out stones (*nirdarāḥ vidīrṇa-pāṣāṇāḥ*).

In the *Bāla*, *Ayodhyā* and *Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, several references are found to rock-shelters. Due to the attractive natural site of Citrakūṭa on the river Mandākinī (in the Banda district of U.P.) several caves were carved out in the hill. Some of them are still preserved there. These were in addition to the natural caves in Citrakūṭa.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also gives a vivid description of the implements and their working for the preparation of artificial shelters. At one place, *kuṭhāra*, *ṭaṅka* and *dātra* are mentioned as the implements used for the purpose.[6]

The upper part of a rock projected out in the form of a cliff, providing protection, was called *dantaka* (as it looked like a row of teeth).[7]

In the Vedic literature we come across numerous references to rock-shelters and their residents.[8] The most common word used for shelters in the Vedic literature is *guhā*. The association of some Vedic deities, like Indra, with the rock-shelters or caves is quite significant. On several Pāñcāla coins assignable to c. 2nd-1st cent. B.C. Indra is shown inside a rock-shelter.[9]

These references show a knowledge about the rock-shelters and their inhabitants (the *Kirātas*, etc.) during the early and late Vedic periods. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the active Skanda was called *Guha* on account of his stay for some time in a cave.[10]

The words *guha*, *guheśvara* or *guhāvāsī* are used for lord Śiva also, who resided in a cave.[11] Those Yakṣas who protected wealth were called Guhyakṣas. These Yakṣas lived in secluded shelters.

The two great epics, the *Purāṇas* and the classical literature contain numerous references to the rock-shelters and their inhabitants, both human beings and animals. From the literary references we also learn that some of the shelters served as shrines, where images of deities were installed for worship. Some shelters were used for entertainments where festivals and dramatic performances were held. A few others served the purpose of resorts for love dalliances.

The Purāṇas mention several sages who lived in rock-shelters.[12] Their *āśramas* were located near the shelters. The *āśramas* were centres of religious and educational activities. At one place in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 72) the residents are called *guhāśayas*. Mention here may be made of the monuments in Tamil Nadu in honour of Agastya and Vālmīki.

In some works there are references to hermitages of sages near rock-shelters. These were close to some river banks, where open air sites were preferred for putting up thatched hermitages (*parṇaśālās*). These sites were selected preferably between a hill and the river. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that the *parṇaśālā* of Rāma and Sītā was situated between the mountain Citrakūṭa and the river Mandākinī.[13]

In ancient literature there are references to rock-paintings and the colours used for preparing them. The reference in the *Meghadūta* to the preparation of painting on a rock with the help of red pigments (*dhātūrāgas*) is of absorbing interest.[14] The *Amarakoṣa* specially

mentions two kinds of colour pigments found in the hills. These were *manaḥśilā* and *gairika*.[15] When we study the rock-paintings, particularly of the Betwa-Narmada valleys, we find the use mostly of the red and ochre colours in their preparation.

In the works of Kālidāsa, we come across some enchanting descriptions of rock-shelters. It is very probable that he had to stay for some time in a rock-shelter. His representative Yakṣa could find there a bracing atmosphere for giving his love message to the cloud, the nature personified.

The rock-shelter occupied by Kālidāsa (in his mental capacity of a semi-divine Yakṣa) was, according to the poet, sanctified earlier by the stay of no less distinguished personalities than Rāma and Sītā. The place had become an *āśrama* due to its association with them. The opening verse of *Meghadūta* furnishes an excellent eulogy (*dhyāna*) to Sītā and Rāma. Scholars have generally thought that the *Meghadūta* does not open with the benedictory verse in honour of any deity, as is the case with his other works. But it is not so. The *Meghadūta* begins with salutation to Sītā and Rāma in a manner which a poet of the stature of Kālidāsa only could do. The opening verse first mentions Jānakī and then Rāma.[16] The hillock where Rāma stayed was known as Rāmagiri in the period when Kālidāsa wrote his work. The waters near that hillock were made sacred due to Sītā's having taken bath in them. In 12th verse of the *Pūrvamegha* the poet again refers to that very hill which bore the foot-prints of Rāma.[17]

Efforts have been made to identify the Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa. Professor V.V. Mirashi's contention to identify it with Rāmtek near Nagpur has generally been accepted. There is another view to equate it with a site in the Koraput district of Orissa. It seems much more plausible to identify the place with the site of Rāmgarh in the Surguja (Ambikapur) district of Madhya Pradesh. The tradition of this last mentioned site, claiming an association with Rāma and Sītā, and the archaeological relics found in the Rāmgarh area provide a strong evidence in support of this identification.

From the works of Kālidāsa it is clear that the poet had a tolerably correct knowledge about the geography of the present Madhya Pradesh. His descriptions of the rock-shelters, along with other details of the region, furnish an eloquent testimony to this.[18]

The writings of several other Sanskrit and Prākrit writers, like Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi and others, throw light on rock-shelters and the wild life of the foresters.

The epigraphical evidence bearing on the subject is significant. Several technical terms are known to us from inscriptions. The two words *guhā* and *layaṇa* were commonly used for the rock-shelters. In the Prākrit form they became *kubhā* and *leṇa*.

The inscriptions carved in the Aśokan Brāhmī script on the rock-shelters at Rāmgarh indicate that the site was used for dramatic performances in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. The names of an expert dramatist called Devadatta and of a dancing girl Devadāsī Sutanukā are given in the inscriptions. The remains of the old theatre have also been discovered there.

In the rock-shelter complex at Bhim-Baithkā in the Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh, a Mauryan Brāhmī inscription has been found in one of the caves. The inscription reads '*Siṁhakasa leṇa*' indicating thereby that the cave belonged to a person called Siṁhaka. At other rock-shelter sites in Madhya Pradesh, similar inscriptions have been noticed. Some of these give the names of artists who were responsible for the construction and decoration of the caves.

Religion played an important role in the development of Indian art, including the cave art. The Vedic-Purāṇic religions, Buddhism, Jainism and several folk cults contributed considerably to architecture, sculpture, painting and the performing arts. At the same time, it can be realised that the literary and the visual creations of fine arts owe much to talented writers and artists. The congenial atmosphere of the land during the reign of several ruling houses

in north and south India was also responsible for creation of art and for appreciation of beauty and grace in art. It was, therefore, befitting to give high respect to our poets, dramatists, architects, sculptors, painters and other artists.

Not only the ruling houses, but also the business communities and various socio-religious institutions vied with each other in patronising the growth of literature and fine arts in various ways. The contribution of the masses at large was also not negligible in this respect.

Wood and clay were the two cheap media of early Indian art. Gradually bone, ivory, stone and metal were utilized for preparing statues. Wood, clay, bricks, stones and metals were used in various forms of architecture. The word '*śilā*' (or *śaila*) was used for stone work to distinguish it from the work of the other media.

Art was an attractive and impressive medium for the development of religion, it was utilized by various faiths. The emergence of the *Bhakti*-movement in south India was responsible for the development of religious architecture and iconography. The impact of the literature of *Ālvāras* and the *Nāyanmāras* was not limited to South, but had its wide influence on the literature and art of the North. Talented artists were in great demand in different parts of the country. The artists were required to be conversant not only with the aesthetic norms but also with the socio-religious trends of their times. Some of the Buddhist and Jaina monks were expert artists and carved out excellent figures both in the plastic and pictorial forms. They were also past masters in architectural details. Some of the figures at art-centres like Mathura, Sarnath, Ajanta and Bagh were prepared by monk-artists. Mention may be made of the monk Yaśadinna, who prepared two stone images of the Buddha at Mathura during the reign of Kumāragupta-I. These two images represent excellent workmanship of the Gupta period. Good artists (*śilpis* or *śailopakāras*) were often invited to far-off places for preparing artistic statues.

Apart from the cult images and others meant for the subsidiary deities, for the semi-divine and decorative figures, ancient Indian art has an important element—viz., the symbolic representation.

The significance of the art-symbols cannot be minimised. Several symbols are known in some archaic rock-paintings, e.g., the symbols of the Sun, the Moon, the stars and the fire. These and other symbols also occur on coins, seals and sealings. At the initial stage these symbols are shown in the natural forms of the sun, moon, fire, etc. Later on they assume human forms.

A study of the cave architecture and art of the entire country would reveal certain common features. These are not only limited to various religious and secular themes, but also to decorative forms and iconographic details. The depiction of symbology, of the *sarvatobhadra*, the Gaṅgā-Yamunā symbol and syncretistic motifs and of the ornamental features was common, irrespective of different religious cults.

The geographical and socio-economic factors of different regions were responsible for the variations in art-forms. It may, however, be pointed out that the contiguous regions of India bear striking affinities with respective areas. The subject of interrelations can be studied profitably in the case of temple-architecture. Good political relations among the states were responsible for similarity and fusion of ideas. This can be discerned particularly in the history of Malwa, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

The limited Mauryan rock-cut architecture, presented at Dhauli in Orissa and at Barabar in Bihar has its own peculiar features. Some of these features are discernible at Udaigiri, Khandagiri and at some other sites of Orissa.

The rock-cut architecture is preserved, in a more profuse nature and extent, in western India at sites like Karla, Bhaja, Nasik and Kanheri. The Buddhists and Jainas used the rocks

in western India and Deccan for the construction of *caityas*, *stūpas* and *vihāras*. The followers of the Brahmanical faiths were mainly concerned with shrines of various deities.

It should be pointed out that cutting of rocks for reliefs and ornamental patterns depended largely on the smooth or hard nature of the stone.

After the Mauryas and after the age of the Mahāmeghavāhanas, the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus, the rock-cut architecture continued during the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. In Central India the most important site for the purpose was that of Udaigiri, near the ancient town of Vidisha. Other sites in that region were Badoh-Pathāri, Sindursi and a few other sites. The region of Daśārṇa (eastern Malwa) was under the occupation of the Western Kṣatrapas till about the end of the 4th century A.D. The Gupta emperor Candragupta-II conquered the extensive areas of the eastern and western Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar from the Kṣatrapas in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. His inscription dated Gupta year 82 (=401 A.D.) confirms this.

Most of the extant rock-cut shrines and statues were carved out at Udaigiri near Vidisha, probably in the first decade of the 5th cent. A.D., during the time of Candragupta-II. The lower hillock on the opposite side of Udaigiri was aptly called *nica-giri* by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*. The great poet has not referred to the rock-cut shrines and sculptures of Udaigiri. This indicates that the carvings at Udaigiri were prepared a little after the composition of the *Meghadūta*. The colossal figure of *Mahāvarāha* in cave no. V at Udaigiri may represent Candragupta rescuing his elder brother's wife Dhruvasvāmini from the clutches of the Śakas.

At Udaigiri some of the rock-cut caves have only the cella while others have a cella and portico. These shrines represent small temples (*maṇḍapikās*). At cave no. I the depiction of the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā is shown at the top of the door-jambs. Soon after these rivers are seen at the bottom of the door-jambs.

For the study of iconography of several Brāhmanical deities, the rock-art of Udaigiri furnishes important clues. Śiva is shown there in the *jyotir-liṅga* form and also as *eka-mukha liṅga*. Viṣṇu, with his usual attributes, is represented in the *samabhaṅga* posture and also as *śeṣaśāyī* (which can be called the earliest form here). The figures of goddess Durgā, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and Garuḍa show certain interesting features. Gaṇeśa is shown *ūrdhva-retasa*. The figure of Garuḍa, with a peculiar face and small wings, can be compared with several such figures on the coins of Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Candragupta-II. It may be pointed out here that three inscribed stone images of Tīrthaṅkaras, bearing the name of Rāmagupta, with his recently proclaimed title as *mahārājādhirāja*, have been discovered at Durjanpur near Vidisha. Several thousand copper coins of Rāmagupta have also been found at Vidisha and the area around.

For the early rock-cut architecture and iconography of the Brāhmanical images the site of Udaigiri is of considerable importance. Other Gupta sites, particularly for the iconographic study are Nachna, Bhumra, Khoh, Unchehra and Sindursi in Central India.

At Udaigiri, a small Buddhist stūpa was constructed before the Gupta occupation. Several relics of that stūpa have been discovered and are housed in the Gwalior Museum.

The contribution of South India to the rock-cut architecture is quite rich and varied. The rock-cut early caves in Tamil Nadu are believed to be associated with Jainism. They do not exhibit the embellishment of the Maurya-Sātavāhana caves, but are important for the Brāhmi inscriptions carved on them. The rock-cut cave at Thirumalai was regarded as a Jaina shrine. But due to the images of Śiva and Umā, found in the cella of the shrine, the same can be called a Śaiva temple.

The Jogeśvari site at Badami forms an important link between Udaigiri in Central India, Nasik in Western India and the area of Tamil Nadu in the South. A comparative study of the

techniques, ornamentation, and the architectural and sculptural devices of the monuments preserved in these areas, would be found fruitful. The geographical areas of Indian rock-art, though away from each other, were bound together by several common traits in themes and decorative patterns.

The areas of Badami, Ajanta, Ellora, Elephanta, Mamallapuram, Kaveripattanam and several others, are full of rich material for the study of rock-cut architecture and art. The dynasties of Gangas, Chālukyas, Pallavas, Rashtrakutas, Pandyas, Cholas and the Hoyasalas made rich contribution to the development of this art. During the rule of these dynasties new techniques and tools were invented for the rock-cut art. The coastal region of Tamil Nadu has preserved enormous material for an indepth study. The harmony among Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism achieved a high water-mark in South India during the period of the dynasties mentioned above. South India also played its role in the spread of Indian architecture and art in Śrī Lanka, Indo-China and Indonesia.

It is high time now that a broad-based study of the cave-art in regard to the five geographical zones of the country is undertaken with a multi-disciplinary approach. A project recently prepared by Professor Raju Kalidos of the Department of Sculpture, Tamil University, Thanjavur deserves commendation. It provides adequate guidelines for taking up a comprehensive study of the subject in the field of Art of Indian Asia. I hope that the project will be implemented in due course.

References

1. The present site of *Silaharā* in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh has several rock shelters, some of them bearing Brāhmī inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.
2. *Meghadūta*, I, 25.
3. *Amarakoṣa*, II, 1, 6.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhā, 13, 6.
5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 92, 10.
6. *Rām.*, II, 80, 7.
7. *Commentary on Amarakoṣa*, II, 3, 6.
8. A few references may be cited here: *Rv.*, X, 46, 21; *Rv.*, III, 1, 9; I, 163, 3; *Av.*, XI, 5, 10; *Vājasaneyī Saṁ.*, XXX, 16; *Tait Brāh.*, III, 4, 1, 12; *Tait. Āraṇyaka*; *Kāṭhaka Saṁ.*, XXXI, 14.
9. *Rigveda*, I, 6, 5; *Atharva Veda*, XX, 70, 1, etc.
10. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 83.
11. *Mbh.*, XIII, 17, 60.
12. E.g., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XXIII, 164.
13. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 92, 12.
14. *Meghadūta*, II, 42.
15. *Amara.*, II, 38.
16. *Megha.*, I, 1.
17. *'Vandyaiḥ puṁsāṁ Raghupati-padai-raṅkitam mekhalāsu'*, *Megha.*, I, 12.
18. Some interesting references to the rock-shelters and their inhabitants can be seen in the *Megha.*, I, 25; II, 42 and the *Kumārasambhava* I, 10, 12, 14 etc.

13

Local History and Chaitya Paripati

R.N. Mehta

Introduction

The progress of intelligence of an individual begins from his family, home and moves to street, habitat, region, state and the world. The recollection of the individual also follows the same course because when one looks at an object or hears a discourse, the action takes place at some locale. Even in all our activities, this aspect could be discerned, so, one can easily point out the importance of the local phenomenon in life.

Even though this function of a locale is obvious, it is seen in the study of past, specially history that this fact is not given its due share of importance. While understanding any activity of the past, it becomes clear that it is an exercise in analysing the spatio-temporal connotations of human or natural behaviour or a combination of these forces. This basic function of life requires understanding and emotionally it should find its place as an important constituent of history as local history.

Local History

Thus local history is the study of past human and natural activities or their combination that has taken place at some place, in temporal sequence. It is seen that archaeology, that studies human activities on the basis of material remains, always primarily functions at some place. Beginning from one place, it expands its study to different places in a region, state and over the international plane. In this natural process the interpretations project different views of the past, in which often local history is displaced. This skew-view requires a change and enough emphasis on the local history and topography be placed for a better appreciation of what happened in the past, at individual and institutional level.

Sources of Study

If this change be visualised, one has to consider the sources or basic materials of this study. As with general history, the local history is also based on the remains of the past human and natural actions. These remains are the material relics in their natural settings and the verbal testimony that is preserved either orally or in writing. The material relics are the mounds and their contents, standing monuments of many varieties; the verbal tradition is either oral recollections of past activities that are preserved in tales, verses, drama, place-names etc. or written evidences of inscriptions on stone, metals, clay, etc., as well as writings on palm leaves, paper etc. for a variety of purposes and types. They are a rich source of local history. In this small note one of them the chaitya paripati is discussed for its usefulness.

Chaitya Paripati

Chaitya Paripati belongs to the Jain traditional practice of local *Tirth Yatra*. It is known as *Chaiya Parivedi Jatta, Chaiya Parivadi, Chaitya Paripati, Chaitya Parivadi, Vaitra Pravadi* etc., as noted by Kalyanavijaya.

Pilgrimage either local or regional and travel are universal phenomena. They are considered essential for religious merit, trade, education, conquest, maintenance of relations etc. In religious sphere a visit to religious centres is ordained, and Jainism is no exception to this universal practice. This practice develops its own tradition and literature.

Historically in Jain tradition pilgrimage to the religious localities is ordained in the *Āgamas*. Visit to Jain temples or chaityas on *aṣṭami* and *chaturdasi* is recommended. This practice has developed the literary tradition of *Chaitya Paripati*. *Chaitya Paripati* describes in verse or prose the place of worship, the number of icons and their names. Sometimes some details and merits are noted. The local *Paripati* describes the *chaityas* of the locality. The meaning of the *chaitya* is extended to cover the household place of worship also, so the number of *chaityas* is increased.

Several authors write the *Chaitya Paripatis* at different times, so, they help in the study of the chaityas, their existence, disappearance, new creation etc. and incidentally form an important source of local history as indicated in the study of Ahmedabad and Anhilwad Patan. It is briefly discussed in this paper.

Chaitya Paripati of Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad and its predecessor Ashwal had considerable Jain activities, but the extant *Paripatis* exist from the 17th century. The earliest is by Lalitasagar composed in the year V.S. 1662=1606 A.D. The Mss. is preserved in L.D. Institute of Indology. Similarly another manuscript also from the same institution preserves a description of Jain samgh that went from Surat to Godia. It halted at Ahmedabad and paid a visit to the local Jain temples. The visit is recorded in this *Paripati* by Gyanasagar in V.S. 1821=1765 A.D. Similarly in V.S. 1912=A.D. 1856, Ratnasagar composed a *Paripati*.[1]

In all these *Paripatis* versified descriptions of the visit are recorded. They note the area, the name of the temple, or the number of the tirthas and sometimes the number of the icons. This list of the names of the areas of Ahmedabad, its suburbs as existing in different periods throws important light on the local history.

The *Paripati* of Lalitasagar of 1662 V.S.=1606 A.D. notes the areas of the city as Doshiwada, Fateh Mehtani Pole, Ghanchi ni Pole, Haja Patel ni Pole, Jalalpur, Jamalpur, Jawahar Pole, Panjra Pole, Patak Devasi Shah, Patak Dhana Sutar, Patak Gajipur, Patak Ishvar, Patak Kothari, Patak Kshetrapala, Patak Timbala, Latakana Patak, Sanghavi Kala ni Pole etc. Some specific areas like Gheekanta are also noted.

In the suburban areas on the east of Sabarmati, Ahimadpur, Ashaul, Baghinpur, Bibipur, Elampur, Habadipur, Kalupur with its Poles of Dhana Mehta, Doshi Jasa, Najampur, Naroda, Navapura, Prempur, Rajpur, Raktapur, Rupapari, Sarangpur etc. and on the west of Sabarmati, Kasampur, Kocharat, Madalipur, Usmanpur, Vadipur, Vazirpur etc. are recorded. Interestingly the townscape of Ahmedabad with its Puras is well-known in general in history,[3] but the data supplied by this *Chaitya Paripati* is the early record of the details that is not surpassed by other 17th century writings. It also defines the nucleus of the city and its suburban area.

Compared to it, the one by Gyanasagar Gani of Samvat 1821 is a little cursory account of the city. However it notes the continuity of some areas like Jawahar Pole, Sarangpur,

Panjra Pole, etc. and change in names such as Latakan Patak to Samala Pasa, Sanghavi Kala as Kalu Sanghavi, and indicates that Jawahar pole was divided in Nishpole, Laheria Pole etc. It also indicates the new development at Samet Sikhara ni Pole and other places.

The *Chaitya Paripati* of Ratnasagar also points to the continuity, disappearance, and new constructions in old areas as well as in other areas. The sites like Jasa Mehta ni Pole, Baghinpur etc. have disappeared and they call for a study for their identification. Some places like Patak Timbala have been altered to Mansukhbhai ni Pole etc. Inscriptions from the area and local verbal tradition help one to identify them.

Chaitya Paripati of Anhilwad Patan

If the Chaitya Paripatis of Ahmedabad pointed out the patterns of change and continuity one might find such a pattern in another city. Fortunately the *Chaitya Paripatis* of Anhilwad Patan were also available in a good study by Kalyanavijaya[2] and B.J. Sandesara.[3] They record the *Chaitya Paripati* of Siddhasuri of V.S. 1576=1520 A.D. and of Lalita Prabha Suri of V.S. 1648=1592 A.D. The one of Pandit Harshavijaya of V.S. 1729=1673 A.D. as well as that of Pandit Hiralal of V.S. 1959=1903 A.D. continue this tradition. These were utilized by Shri K.B. Dave in his work on the place-names of Patan[4] and he comes to the conclusions that are similar to those derived from the study of *Chaitya Paripatis* of Ahmedabad. However, those of Patan are of the same area, so they help one a little more for drawing some clear conclusions.

The *Chaitya Paripatis* of Patan suggest that the new Patan has been changing patterns of the areas of Jain temples, in different localities. This fact could be tabulated as follows:

Year of chaitya paripati	Existing localities	Destroyed localities	New localities	Total
V.S. 1576 = 1520 A.D.	39	-		39
V.S. 1648 = 1592 A.D.	28	11	43	72
V.S. 1729 = 1673 A.D.	48	24	09	57
V.S. 1959 = 1903 A.D.	32	25	12	54

(N.B. Field verification of the areas may alter some figures.)

These references indicate that during the Sultanate, in the time of Muzaffar II (1511-1526) in 39 localities, temples were existing but of them ten were destroyed during the confused political situation of the mid-sixteenth century. However, the period immediately after the Padashahi Conquest by Akbar saw much building activity as the number of temples and localities has risen to seventy-two. But by 1673 A.D. during the rule of Aurangzeb there is a marked decrease and destruction. New constructions were limited. This trend continued in the 18th century. However, the trend of construction shows little improvement.

Muni Kalyanavijayaji argues that due to the decrease in the faith of the Jains and their migration, the building activities were adversely affected. However, after 17th century, there is some evidence of increase of desiccation in the soil profiles around Patan. Combined with it the political disturbances also would have played their part. These require further study.

Conclusion

Thus, it becomes clear that the study of *Chaitya Paripatis* for understanding local history reveals interesting facts of the activities of the Jains and their settlements. Some of the factors of continuity and change leading to destruction, reconstruction, occupation of new areas by the Jains etc. throw much light on the local history.

When these data are compared to other ones available from other sources, it is found that the data are supported. As an example, the record of Gyanasagar of Sameta Sikhara at Ahmedabad is amply corroborated by Mirat-i-Ahmadi.[5] It also corroborates the names of the Puras, Patakas and Poles, but the details of the *Paripati* are sometimes more. These *Paripatis* begin from different points, record the toponyms that were prevalent at that time or are sanskritised and changed. Sometimes these toponyms are replaced so it requires much local information for identification. Local oral tradition, existence of the Jain chaityas, their inscriptions and other sources like the sale-purchase documents etc. give necessary information. Sometimes, the authors might miss some place and that would create its own problems that require solution, often the copyist also misspells the words or his writing may be misread and that requires correction. Geographical context could be a useful help. Thus, even though literary merits of *Chaitya-Paripati* may not be high, their value for the study of local history is similar to the *Sthala Puranas*. *Sthala Puranas* also preserve much historical data from their viewpoint, that like the one of *Chaitya Paripati* is religious.

From an examination of their data, it becomes clear that if they are compared with topography, toponymy and archaeological remains of the site, its inscriptions, etc. the *Chaitya Paripatis* and *Sthala-Puranas* are very important sources of local history. While giving good evidence of local history, their analysis helps one to understand regional and Pan-Indian traditions as used locally, and thus links up the locality, region and the whole country. If these important sources of history be neglected the studies of history will not only suffer but history would remain poor, in spite of the availability of good sources.

References

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Hayagrīva at Khajuraho

Devangana Desai

There are certain notable iconic forms at Khajuraho in Central India of which the horse-faced Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu is one. Hayagrīva's presence at Khajuraho is of added significance because of his association here with the Vaikuṇṭha cult. Two images of Hayagrīva have been found at Khajuraho. A large-sized (about three feet) image of Hayagrīva (Pl. 1) is seen in the northern cardinal niche of the Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple dated A.D. 154. Another image of Hayagrīva, smaller in size, is seen again in the northern cardinal niche of the Vāmana temple datable to A.D. 1050-1075.[1]

Before we examine Hayagrīva's place in the Vaiṣṇava *Pāñcarātra* (Kashmirāgama)[2] temples of Khajuraho *vis-a-vis* other images of the pantheon such as Matsya and Saṅkarṣaṇa placed near him, a brief mythological background of Hayagrīva will be helpful.

Hayagrīva, the horse-faced *avatāra* (incarnation) of Viṣṇu, with variant names: Aśvamukha, Aśvaśirṣa, Hayaśirṣa, was associated in Hindu mythology with the restoration of the Vedas and with learning, speech and knowledge. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 127) 'mentions a beautiful region called Badarī, the abode of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, where Aśvaśiras read the Vedas. Elsewhere (XII, 347), it describes the horse-faced Viṣṇu bringing back the stolen Vedas after killing the two *asura* thieves Madhu and Kaiṭabha.[3] The *Harivaṁśa* (Chapter 72) has a prayer addressed to Hayagrīva who kills Madhu and Kaiṭabha to rescue the Vedas.

A second tradition refers to Hayagrīva as a demon who stole the Vedas and was slain by Viṣṇu in his Matsya (fish) incarnation (*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VIII, 24). The *Mahābhārata* (I, 65; V, 30)[4] also speaks of the demon Aśvaśiras who was killed by Viṣṇu. The story of the Hayagrīva demon was well known in the 12th century in the time of Kalhaṇa who mentions a drama called *Hayagrīvavadha* by the poet Bhartṛmentha.

The two Hayagrīva traditions were combined in the *Devī Bhāgavata*.[5] In this text Viṣṇu incarnates in the hybrid form of horseman Hayagrīva in order to slay a horse-faced demon Hayagrīva, who had a boon similar to that of Hiraṇyakaśipu that he could not be destroyed either by a man or a beast.

It is in the *Pāñcarātra* Vaiṣṇavism that Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu acquires importance as the god of learning, Vāgīśvara, and is the restorer and reciter of the Vedas. He is one of the thirty-nine *vibhavas* (manifestations) of Viṣṇu in the *Ahirbhudhnya Saṁhitā* (V, 50ff; 2ff).[6] *Dhyāna-mantras* for Hayagrīva are given in the *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā* (XXIV, 35), *Pādma Saṁhitā* (*Kriyāpāda*, XXII, 2-7), *Parāśara Saṁhitā* (XXVIII, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22-23), *Īśvara Saṁhitā* (XXIV, 244-250) and other *Pāñcarātra* texts.[7] The *Lakṣmī Tantra* (XXXVI-17) states: *Ṛgvedādhyam catuṣṭikam ca pītām Hayanākṛti.*

The *Hayaśirṣa Saṁhitā*, an important *Pāñcarātra* text, is named after Hayaśirṣa which credits him with *Pāñcarātra vidyā* (knowledge).[8] According to this text the sage Mārkaṇḍeya received the science of architecture from Bhṛgu, who received it from Maheśvara (Śiva)

who in turn had acquired it from Brahmā, and Brahmā from Viṣṇu as Hayagrīva. We are reminded of the hierarchical order in which Hayagrīva, Brahmā and Śiva are represented on the central axis of the 6th century Viśvarūpa image of Samalaji (Gujarat).[9] According to Stella Kramrisch,[10] chapter 13 of the *Ādikāṇḍa* of the *Hayaśīrṣa Saṁhitā* is a source for the architectural and iconographical portions of the *Agni Purāṇa*. Several chapters of the *Agni Purāṇa* begin with the words "Hayagrīva said". This text (chapter 49) describes Aśvaśiras with four hands holding conch, wheel, mace and manuscript (Veda). His left leg is placed on the Śeṣanāga while the right is on a tortoise. A later Tantric text *Tantrasāra* gives *dhyānas* of Hayagrīva in which he holds a book, *cakra*, conch, and makes a gesture of teaching.[11]

At Khajuraho, Hayagrīva is represented in a benign mood standing in *samabhaṅga* on a lotus pedestal. He is four-armed: the lower right hand is in *varada* (boon-giving posture), the upper right hand holds a mace, the two left hands are mutilated, but the upper one seems to have carried a *cakra*. We do not know whether the lower left hand held a *śaṅkha* or a manuscript. Flanking him stand cakrapuruṣa on his left and Gadadevī on his right. The second image of Hayagrīva which is on the exterior of the Vāmana temple represents him seated in *lalitāsana*. His two preserved left hands hold *cakra* and *śaṅkha*.[12]

It is noteworthy that the north facing placement of Hayagrīva images at Khajuraho is in accordance with the prescription of the *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra* (XIII, 341).[13]

The Khajuraho Hayagrīva images are placid and not in fighting posture like the image of Hayagrīva sculpted by the artist Mallitamma on the exterior of the Hoysala temple at Nuggehalli in Karnataka.[14] Here the demon Hayagrīva is shown below the feet of the god Hayagrīva. The representation of Hayagrīva at Khajuraho also differs from that mentioned in the Kashmir text *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (III, 80)[15] where the goddess Pṛthivī supports the feet of Hayagrīva as in the case of other Viṣṇu and Vaikuṇṭha images of Kashmir. This text states that Hayagrīva saved the Vedas from the *Rasātala* (nether worlds) where the great demons had taken them away. The text describes Hayagrīva as having eight arms, carrying conch, wheel, mace and lotus, and the four hands placed on the four Vedas. It is important for us to note that this text describes Hayagrīva as a part of Saṅkarṣaṇa (Saṅkarṣaṇāṅga) in whom two of the six ideal *guṇas*, viz., *jñāna* and *bala*, are dominant.[16] T.A. Gopinath Rao states while referring to Hayagrīva that this aspect of Viṣṇu is specifically related to Saṅkarṣaṇa in the *Śakti-maya-vyūha*.

This association of Hayagrīva with Saṅkarṣaṇa is particularly noteworthy in the context of Khajuraho, for an image of Saṅkarṣaṇa is placed in a niche of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* of the Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple, not far from Hayagrīva.

Interestingly, above the niche of Hayagrīva in the Vaikuṇṭha temple is a representation of Viṣṇu Yogāsana with Matsya marked on his seat. This is a unique depiction of Matsya. The placement of Matsya near Hayagrīva is significant and reminds us of the *Pāñcarātra* text *Viṣvakṣena Saṁhitā* in which Hayaśīrṣa "comes from Fish (Matsya) who himself springs from the direct *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa".[17]

Again, in mythology both Matsya and Hayagrīva are associated with the restoration of the Vedas and saving them from the demon who had the composite form of Hayagrīva. A second depiction of Matsya, which is on the door-jamb of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, shows him as the saviour of the Vedas. The four personified Vedas are shown above the Matsya.

From his placement on the main cardinal niche of the sanctum of the Vaikuṇṭha temple at Khajuraho we can say that Hayagrīva was considered as one of the associate gods of Vaikuṇṭha along with Varāha and Narasiṁha who are represented on the southern and western cardinal niches respectively. This association of Hayagrīva with Vaikuṇṭha is further seen in the fourth (back) face of Vaikuṇṭha (now in the Site Museum) which is that of a horse.[18]

Now the fourth face of Vaikuṇṭha is generally the Kapila face shown as a fierce face in Kashmir images of Vaikuṇṭha. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (III, 44, 11-12; 85, 43-46) also mentions the Kapila as the western (i.e., back) face of the Vaikuṇṭha image.

At Khajuraho also the Vaikuṇṭha image installed by the Chandella king Yaśovarman was originally from the Kailāsa-Chamba region and was four-faced as implied in the inscription on the Lakṣmaṇa temple.[19] The inscription records a myth of Viṣṇu taking a composite form of Vaikuṇṭha similar to that of the conjoint body of "Kapila and other demons" who because of the boon of Brahmā could be killed only by one having an identical form. This definitely suggests that one of the faces of the Vaikuṇṭha image which was originally installed by king Yaśovarman, was that of Kapila, which is the fourth (western) face along with Saumya (eastern), Nārasiṁha (southern) and Vārāha (northern) faces. This four-faced image implied in the inscription is now missing like the emerald *liṅga* installed by king Dhanga in the Viśvanātha temple.[20]

But another image of the four-faced Vaikuṇṭha at Khajuraho (now in the Site Museum) has the face of a horse, as mentioned earlier, and not that of Kapila. Could it be that there was an interchange of "Hayagrīva" and "Kapila" concepts? Ramashraya Awasthi[21] suggests that the similarity in the myths of Hayagrīva and Kapila possibly led to this mixing up of the two concepts. For in both the myths, the deity assumes a form identical to the demon in order to kill him. In this context it is interesting to observe that the sage Kapila has been depicted with a horse's head (representing Sagara's sacrificial horse) in a carving on the rock of Isurumuniya (Anuradhapura) in Srī Lanka in *circa* 7th century A.D.[22] This suggests a possibility of the interchange of Kapila with the horse-faced Hayagrīva.

Similarly, the Hayagrīva demon was also portrayed sometimes with a "demonic" face (and not horse's face) like the fourth Kapila face of the Kashmir-Chamba Vaikuṇṭha. A painting from Mankot in the Punjab Hill region of *circa* 1700 A.D.[23] depicts Viṣṇu-Matsya killing the Hayagrīva demon who is shown with a fierce face like that of Kapila, the fourth face of Vaikuṇṭha. The four Vedas are shown rescued from Hayagrīva's torn belly.

One of the heads of Vaikuṇṭha images of Rajasthan and Kashmir is that of a horse. R.C. Agrawala reported a Vaikuṇṭha image from Chittor in Rajasthan with a Hayagrīva face in the centre and side faces of a lion and a boar.[24] A similar image with a horse face in the centre is also seen at Bijolian. A Vaikuṇṭha from Srinagar Museum has a horse's face in place of the lion's face. Hayagrīva (Vāgīśvara) is on the central axis of the trunk of the Viśvarūpa images of Samalaji, Kanauj, Kashmir and other places.[25]

Khajuraho's Vaikuṇṭha image (Site Museum) with the fourth face of Hayagrīva (in place of Kapila face) and the Hayagrīva image in the cardinal niche of the Vaikuṇṭha (Lakṣmaṇa) temple show an association of Khajuraho's Vaikuṇṭha cult with Hayagrīva (Vāgīśvara), the Lord of learning and the restorer of the Vedas. Although not represented in the *Daśāvatāra-paṭa* of Khajuraho and thus not considered as one of the ten major *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, Hayagrīva's importance is nonetheless established by his presence along with Varāha and Narasiṁha on the cardinal niche of the Vaikuṇṭha temple. He is also shown in the same configuration of deities on the Vāmana temple.

Hayagrīva's *jñāna* (knowledge) aspect is suggested in his placement near Sarasvatī (Vidyādevī) in the Vaikuṇṭha temple. The temple's inscription supports Trayīdharma of the Vedas, and we are reminded of Hayagrīva being hailed as the personification of the three Vedas in some texts.[26]

Matsya as the protector of the Vedas is depicted on the door-jamb and Viṣṇu-Matsya in Yogāsana is shown above the niche of Hayagrīva, the Lord of speech and the reciter of the Vedas.

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Ch. 14 Hayagriva, North Cardinal Niche, Lakshmana Templ
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15

A Proposed Methodology for the Study of System of Proportions in Indian Temple Architecture—The Case Study of Sunak Temple

RATAN PARIMOO

Study of Architectural History

In Europe History of Architecture has developed into a major branch of Art History. Indeed professional organizations of practising architects and architectural academicians have been functioning for more than a century now who have established large documentation of photographic records of buildings and above all of original plans and detailed drawings. Subsequently detailed architectural drawings have also been made from historical buildings which has developed into a special branch of architectural profession. Architectural history has benefited also because it is an inevitable documentary source for the study of each political-historical epoch. But architectural historians, many of whom have been primarily art-historians, have handled architectural projects like they handle other creative ventures of painting and sculpture. Thus much formal/structural and stylistic studies have emerged which do not overstress religious symbolism and patronage but enough structural and formal data is brought out to establish the methodology of architectural analysis.

By way of examples may be mentioned the names of two scholars: Nicholas Pevsner and Rudolph Wittkower. Pevsner specialized in historical development and period styles of European architecture together with documentation of buildings in terms of countries and national styles of corresponding periods.[1] But he also established the study of architectural thinking and design theory such as historicism and Art Nouveau at the transition of nineteenth to twentieth century.[2] Wittkower developed the specialised study of Architecture of Renaissance and Baroque periods together with the theoretical principles developed simultaneously and their relevance for architectural practice.[3] It is, therefore, exciting to find that a lot of discussion in the twentieth century has concentrated on reviewing the entire practice of architecture in the context of the architectural contribution of all the world cultures. Thus many questions have been raised concerning what is architecture and its meaning and purpose as questioned by Robert Venturi[4] and developed in the writings of Christian Schultz.[5]

Influenced by the German philosopher Heidegger, Schultz has given a new orientation to architectural thinking which is now a part of the post-modernist phenomenon.[6] Schultz drew attention to the relationship between psychology and space.[7] He distinguished between the landscape space, which is the space in nature, and the architectural space which

is the constructed space as designed by the architect. While the two banks of a river remain separated and the steeps of the two banks give an effect of grandeur within the infinite space, a new orientation is given to it when the landmark of a bridge connects the two sides and if it happens to be an approach to a town across the river. This is even more conspicuous when one is arriving a town gate from long journey. One gets the feeling of 'arrival' on citing the gate, a feeling of relaxation as you enter, and a sense of protection as you are in the heart of the town. The sense of protection is further enhanced by the house. The idea of the 'centre' as explained by Schultz is equally important. In a town, the church is the centre, from whichever way you approach it, it is visible, your own dwelling (the house) is the centre. As children we move out of home to play or to go to school and then return to the centre. In a home the bedroom as the centre— as you lay in the cot from without you enter into within yourself, which is your own centre. Incidentally, such a psychology has a universal application, in as much as even the temple in an Indian village or town or a *mohalla* in a city, is regarded as a centre. It will be interesting to explore how the ideas of Heidegger and Schultz have a relevance to the study of architecture in India.

Architectural History of India

In an interesting paper Pramod Chandra has given a good idea of historiography of the study of Indian architecture.[8] Initially, recording of Indian monuments began when artists like the two Daniels made direct on-spot drawings and water colours, where the exotic buildings or ruins were part of the picturesque landscape.[9] Significantly, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, as the British East India Company assumed greater responsibilities of Indian territories, professionals began preparing records in the form of measured drawings as was the practice in Europe which was also as part of the larger academic interest in India's historical past and culture in general. An Indian scholar, Ram Raz, had discovered *Manasara* (a Sanskrit treatise on architecture) and basing on it wrote his *Essay on the Architecture of Hindus* which was posthumously published in 1834.[10] He had also consulted living *sthpatis* of that time, but such a methodology was not further pursued.

Almost a one-man architectural survey was embarked in 1849 by James Fergusson (1808-1886) whose *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* was published in 1876, even though he strongly believed Anglo-Saxon architecture as most superior.[11] Fergusson established what may be characterised as the direct approach to architectural study. He formulated a theory of architecture which allowed a significant place to Indian architectural forms. He distinguished between the 'true style of architectural art' and the 'imitative style of architectural art'. The 'true style' of architectural works is defined as those which are arranged solely for the purpose of meeting, in the most direct manner, the wants of those for whom they were designed, and the ornamentation that was supplied to them either grew naturally out of their construction, or such that it best suited to express the uses or objects to which the building was applied. Building of this type, irrespective of their defects, possessed of necessity a 'purpose-like truthfulness' and 'some of the most important elements of architectural excellence'. To support this 'truthfulness', Fergusson gave the analysis between works of true architecture and the works of nature. Some kind of gratification is obtained from true architecture as from nature, which has been created by Higher Intelligence. True architectural forms share with nature the process for their emanation, though architecture can be considered as quasi-natural production. But since it is a human endeavour, such architecture is more appealing to our feelings and desires. The 'imitative styles' on the other hand are the thoughtless copies of the other styles and best exemplified by all the European phases of architecture after 1500 A.D. The 'true styles' were enumerated by Fergusson as, Egyptian, classical (i.e., Greco-Roman), Chinese, Medieval European and of course Indian architecture.

I think this is a very perceptive way of justifying a significant place to Indian architecture among the architectural heritage of the world cultures.

Another crucial aspect of Fergusson's approach was that he held Art History as a discipline valid in its own right and not as a handmaiden of Political or Cultural History. His insistence on intrinsic evidence from the work of art itself followed logically out of this standpoint. He established the outline of Indian architectural history covering nearly two thousand years. Because of its general validity we return to his work again and again. However, his classification in terms of sects, namely, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain is tenable only for certain very specific points of plan and form. Yet he also thought in regional terms, that is, Dravidian, Northern (Aryan) and Himalayan as well as in dynastic terms, viz., Chalukyan. Thus all ingredients and alternatives of Indian architectural classification are found in the pioneering work of Fergusson. One may mention the work of the other great contemporary of Fergusson, that is, Alexander Cunningham, but he was more of an archaeologist and his emphasis was on the content of monuments.[12] Fergusson found a good disciple in James Burgess (1832-1916) together with whom they made studies on Elephanta and the monuments in regions such as Kathiavad, Kutch, Maharashtra and Karnataka.[13] In 1880 they published the *Cave Temples* of *India* followed by a study with elaborate drawings by Burgess on Dabhoi whereas he was joined by Cousens to carry out the survey of temples of North Gujarat.[14] Following their example Alexander Rea made painstaking drawings of Chalukyan and Pallava monuments.[15] In his studies on Dravidian architecture, Jouveau-Dubreuil introduced the comparative study of ornamental motifs and prepared highly perceptive studies on these lines.[16] He also used the craftsmen's terms as were used by the Tamilians.

As the twentieth century dawned, Havell in his writings talked about Indian symbolism although Jouveau-Dubreuil had already begun consulting the *śilpa* texts.[17] However, it was Nirmal Kumar Bose who established the study of *śilpa* texts on a sure footing as also P.K. Acharya who together collected much of the Indian sources for architectural study.[18] In her brilliant and comprehensive book on the Hindu temple, Stella Kramrisch lucidly synthesised the intrinsic study of Indian architecture with the Indian textual sources and authentic basis of symbolic aspects.[19] Once the discipline of Indian architectural history was established it was possible for scholars like Krishna Deva and P.R. Srinivasan to expand this work by concentrating on special regional studies.[20] But among such scholars the work of Shri M.A. Dhaky is outstanding for warm literary language (otherwise writing on architecture can be very dry) and detailed motif studies like that on the *vyāla* and the ceiling decorations.[21] But above all, his work on Gujarat and Rajasthan temples and their classification in Maha Gurjara, Maha Maru, resulting in their marriage in Maru-Gurjara style will continue to be debated for the next few decades.

II

The study of proportions and their varied systems which may have been employed in individual buildings is an important aspect of architectural analysis. The study of proportions and their basis has not generally found much favour in the medieval *śilpa*-texts and apparently with Indian scholars during the late nineteenth century and the current century in their study of Indian temple architecture. It is the view of the present author that the study of proportional systems as part of architectural analyses should be extended to temple architecture. And in this section of this paper a small attempt is made and a case study is prepared of a modest size Solanki period temple which has been measured and of which quite comprehensive drawings have been prepared by Burgess around 1902 A.D.[22] It appears that architectural historians took the defensive attitude and over-emphasised

the symbolic and religious aspects of a temple. That a temple can also be an object of beauty did not appear weighty observation, and hence this thought did not occur that the parts of the temple have to relate to each other aesthetically as well as structurally and that the management of the construction process and the cutting of hundreds of stone block units for plinth, the pillars, the capitals, the horizontal *bhūmis* or the storeys of the *śikhara*, will necessarily require some consistent module and its multiple. Exploring this is a big lacuna in the Indian architectural studies.

In Western studies of European architecture, though studies of proportional systems have been made, some architectural historians have been skeptical about these.[23] Even though the interest in idealizing the human figures had led to establishing some norms of measurement and one of the systems considers the face or head as the module whereas the total height, torso and limbs will relate to it in terms of multiples. In Greek architecture, the order of pillars, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, were given their respective proportions in terms of the ratio between diameter and the height which was studied all over again during the Renaissance beginning with Alberti.[24] Since the proportions are put down in mathematical terms and since right from Pythagorus, the musical notes are also converted in mathematical numbers giving a numerical relationship to sequence of musical notes, the concept of architecture as frozen music has thus arisen. The proportional system of the human body, by the same process can also be considered to be based on musical harmonies. Therefore a parallelism is established between music, human body as it figures in the visual arts and with architecture. All of them receive the character of harmony leading to aesthetic beauty, which pleases the eye and the mind, due to the secret proportional relationship. Those who favour this view also argue that it is not always necessary to begin with a proportional system, but recent analyses has revealed in a number of architectural works a certain definite system.[25]

My contention is that Indian temples are also entities which possess aesthetic beauty, even in the context of musical analogy, as they majestically stand in the midst of a village or forest, atop a hill or spread along a sea-shore, partaking of the soft light effects of a cloudy day or gleaming like a jewel when drenched with sunshine. It was ultimately left to the astute scholar, M.A. Dhaky, to establish the eventual comparison between classical music and temple architecture in both northern and southern modes.[26]

The Nilakantha Mahadev temple, conspicuously situated on a high mound at Sunak village in Sidhpur taluka of Mehsana district, is a typical Solanki period temple. It is the most complete temple of developed Maru-Gurjara variety though of small size. Indeed it is a prototype of a number of such small scale extant temples in that region, namely, Delmal, Kasara, Sander, etc. Burgess had got done a number of measured scale drawings which are accurate and comprehensive, and made quite painstakingly.[27] Furthermore the temple is completely intact including its *śikhara* (unlike Modhera). Because of these reasons I have selected this temple for the attempt of proportional analyses, which will be facilitated by Burgess's drawings, although he himself has remained silent about this aspect. The previous scholars have commented on this temple and its dating in isolation but it emerges as a significant temple if compared with other temples.

In his firstever study Burgess made a general comparison with Modhera and considered Sunak as earlier. S.K. Saraswati agreed to this view because of the octagonal *maṇḍapa* which might have served as a prototype for the larger Modhera Raṅgamaṇḍapa.[28] M.A. Dhaky on the apparent ornateness of Sunak temple thinks it to be later than Modhera.[29] But a more specific comparison is possible as given below. The Sunak temple *pīṭha* has a *narapīṭha* above the *grasapaṭṭi* and *gajapīṭha* which is alternated with sections of horse riders, that means the *narapīṭha* and *aśvathara* are combined at Sunak. The additional *aśvapīṭha* is also present in the *pīṭha* of the separate *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* at Modhera

which may have been constructed a few decades later towards the end of 11th century, since the main shrine was ready by 1026-27 A.D.[30] The *aśvapīṭha* is included in the *pīṭha* of the Someśvara Temple at Kiradu where an inscription dated 1159 A.D. has been found. A fragment of the *pīṭha* belonging to the much destroyed Somanātha Temple has survived which also reveals the *aśvapīṭha* which may not belong to the temple destroyed by Gazni in 1026 A.D. It may be part of the subsequent temple which was reconstructed by Kumārapāla in 1169 A.D. as recorded in the Bhavabrahaspati Praśasti.[31] Accordingly a date around 1100 A.D. for Sunak temple may be proposed which however should not be considered as too ornate. Its ornate appearance is due to its small scale on one hand and its being fully intact on the other hand. Compared to earlier temples it is definitely richer in ornamentation, cf. in *jāḍyakumbha*, *kumbha*, porch-ceiling, etc.

Considerations of the *Maṇḍovara* of the Sunak temple reveal that it belongs to the stage of development in temple architecture when vyāla motifs were abandoned from *salilantara* recesses, replaced as they were by *devāṅganās and tapas* figures. Interestingly, each figure on the *jaṅghā* of Sunak temple is surmounted by a triangular *udgama*, which is also introduced even at the lower tier between the *pīṭha* and the *maṇḍovara*. Triangular *udgama* over each deity and corresponding to the width of its *devakoṣṭha* is extensively used as at the recently restored Raniki vav. This stepwell is accepted to have been built by Udayamati the consort of Bhimadeva I who ruled during 1022-66 A.D.[32] The recently salvaged figures in the Raniki vav are interestingly similar to those at Sunak which are full-breasted and with fleshy character.[33] However, the faces of the female figures from Sunak resemble those from the Kiradu temple with wide forehead and high cheeks, assuming triangular form as they taper towards the chin. Another peculiarity shared by Sunak and Kiradu figures is the type of ornamentation carved over the nude torso and the breasts. The male figures at Sunak are surprisingly slimmer and lack the majesty of the Modhera's masculine images. Modhera female deities too are taller than those at Sunak. This modest size temple surprisingly possesses a very elegant circular *maṇḍapa* ceiling resting on an octagonal drum. This *karoṭaka* ceiling comprises of 6 courses and is of the *sabhāmārga* order, the outer three courses have the *gajatālu* motif, the inner three have *kola*, in 12:8:4 ratio.

In the study of proportional system one has to distinguish between the ground plan (*talacchanda*) and the vertical structure from the plinth to the finial (*ūrdhvacchanda*). The problem has to be understood in terms of relationship between the two. The ground plan is based on *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala*, especially for the laying of the *garbhagṛha*. This is essentially ritualistic and magical. Its sides are divided into 8 divisions resulting in 64 squares or 9 divisions resulting in 81 squares. The placement of the deity inside the *garbhagṛha* is determined by this system, where each square is allotted to a protective deity. This system has been explained by Stella Kramrisch making use of the information from *śilpa*-texts.[34] Many ground plans have been analysed by Michael Meister based on these principles.[35] But I have not come across an analysis of the vertical parts and their interrelated proportions. Stella Kramrisch had analysed the Ambarnath temple in Maharashtra of the Bhumija style of central India using the textual information from the *Samarāṅgana sūtradhāra*, also a medieval central Indian text.

In the proportional analysis attempted here of the temple at Sunak, I have observed that in the first place the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa* each are of square plan and both the squares are of equal dimension. I have taken guideline from a demonstration by V.S. Parmar, who drew attention to the method of measuring the ground plan of a temple at Khajuraho, namely, Pārśvanātha.[36] According to him the *karṇas* or original corners of the *garbhagṛha* walls should be pinpointed, which otherwise get mixed up with the *ratha* projections. Similarly in the case of the main four corner pillars of the

maṇḍapa it is the central point of the pillar that is to be taken into consideration, as if both the structures are constructed with wooden pillars. This method of measurement revealed that both the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa* of the Sunak temple are laid on a square plan of identical dimensions. Working on the plans drawn by Burgess (or his assistants) and taking into consideration the *karṇas* of walls of the Sunak temple for the purpose of measurement, resulted in a perfect square plan for the *garbhagṛha* (or *mūla-prāsāda*) and a square plan of the same dimension was revealed for the *maṇḍapa* taking the central points of the four corner pillars (drawings I & II).

The square and the circle have played a major role in the temple architecture, viz., in plans and superstructures. The Nilakantha temple at Sunak reveals two-square plan, one for the *mūla-prāsāda* (housing the *garbhagṛha*) and other for the *maṇḍapa*, as explained above. We have also noted that ancient *vāstu*-texts like *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* speak of two types of diagrams, one consisting of 64 equal squares (each of which is called *pāda*) and the other 81 squares for the *vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala* on which is based the ground plan or *talachhanda*. But a later text, *Hayaśirṣa-pāñcarātra*, recommends that the diagram of 64 squares is for the construction of houses.[37] As if to confirm this the 8 x 8 square system fits well for the *prāsāda* (or *garbhagṛha*) plan of the temple at Sunak. It also gives 12 ft ÷ 8 = 18 inches as the width of the *pāda* (twelve feet divided by eight).

At this juncture it would be interesting to make a note of the symbolism associated with square, circle and the number eight. Symbolism of the square is manifold. Mount Meru rises from a square base. Square is the shape of the Vedic altar, which has four corners parallel to the cardinal directions of the universe. On the square lies the plan of the temple site bordered by the four directions of the universe. The Vedic fire altars, to support the Agni, were invariably in the square form, as for example the Āhavanīya Agni, although circular form is also permitted. The ancient Śulva-Sūtras, both Baudhāyana and the Āpastamba (which indirectly preserved the geometrical knowledge of the Vedic period), had demonstrated the method of constructing the perpendicular corners of the square, using the chord (or *sūtra*) in which are indicated its width or length. Square is formed by the height of man and the extension of both arms.[38]

According to the *Bṛhat saṁhitā*, the square form of the *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala* can be converted into a triangle, hexagon, octagon and circle of equal area and retain its symbolism.[39] This has relevance as the square plan of the temple *maṇḍapa* is covered by domical roof, the structure of which requires an octagonal base and on top of which rest the diminishing circular rings of the ceiling courses or mouldings.

The symbolism associated with the number eight is equally significant. *Maṇḍala* of 64 squares is also held very sacred. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the city of Ayodhyā is beheld as a square of 8 compartments on each side (*aṣṭapada*).[40] The square of eight represents the order of the celestial world. There are eight directions and the number of Vasus is eight. The plan of 64 squares is called *'Maṇḍuka'*, a name which will be applicable to the Sunak temple plan.

Coming back to the technical method adopted by me for making the divisions of the vertical elevation of the Sunak temple, I had intuitively taken the pillar diameter as module or unit of measurement, which is approximately 12 inches as given by Burgess. I assumed that 12 inches will have some relation with the dimensions of the ground plan or *talachhanda* of *garbhagṛha*.

The problem has been to explore if there is a relationship between 8 x 8 = 64 *pādas* of the ground plan with the vertical profile or *Ūrdhvachhanda* of the temple, that is the very relevance of the *pādas* at all. According to my analysis of the measured drawings of Sunak both the *garbhagṛha* and *maṇḍapa* ground-plan comprise of two identical double squares. Burgess's drawing indicates the width of the *garbhagṛha* as 12 feet, which

when divided by 8 (according to 8 x 8 system) gives the width of each *pāda* to be equal to 18 inches.

The ratio of 18 inches as width of one *pāda* of the ground plan with the 12 inches diameter gives the relation 18:12 that is 3:2 if divided by six. In other words 6 inches becomes a sub-unit of both. Such clear ratio is not possible if the *garbhagṛha* plan is divided into 9 x 9 *pādas* in which case one *pāda* will measure 12 ft + 9 = 16 inches when compared with 12 inches diameter of the pillar, while the ratio between it and the *pāda* will be 16:12 that is 4:3, resulting in 4 inches as a sub-unit. The inner dimensions of the sanctum are 1/2 square to its outer dimensions, that is 6 ft, which is equal to 4 *pādas* when divided by 18 inches. But no clear ratio is possible if 6 ft are divided by 16 inches (i.e. 12 ft + 9). Significantly, in my intuitive exercise 6 inches as a sub-unit or a sub-multiple works almost quite accurately mathematically, because divisions made by this process have resulted in specific proportional system vertically, between *pīṭha*, *maṇḍovara*, *śikhara* and the *kalaśa* finial. To add to the horizontal measurements, the *mukhamaṇḍapa* is 1/2 square in its extension from the *maṇḍapa* giving a total length of 12 + 12 + 6 = 30 ft. The *pīṭha* is 9 parts to 18 parts of the *maṇḍovara* and 27 parts of the *śikhara*, closing with 6 parts of the *āmalaka* and the finial. This gives the ratio as 1:2:3:2/3. Height of the *maṇḍapa* roof of the *samvaraṇa* type is 12 parts or 1-1/3, in relation to the 9 parts of the *pīṭha* or the least common multiple. There are 60 divisions in all vertically and the total height is approximately 30 ft, that is almost equal to the length on ground. The ratio of each section to the *garbhagṛha* according to 8 *pādas* of the *talachhanda* would be *pīṭha* = 8:3, *maṇḍovara* = 8:6, *śikhara* = 8:9, finial = 8:2, *maṇḍapa* roof = 8:4.

The ratio between *maṇḍovara* and *śikhara* given in the medieval *vāstu* text related to Western India, namely, the Aparājitapṛcchā, should be 8:12 for the *jyeṣṭha* variety, if they are divided into 20 parts.[41] The *maṇḍovara* at Sunak is 18 divisions to 27 divisions of the *śikhara*, 8:12 = 2:3, 18:27 = 2:3. Thus Sunak follows the recommendation of Aparājitapṛcchā for *jyeṣṭha*.

This exercise reveals that the actual measurements of the temple have to be made keeping in view the proportional units. The thickness of the inner wall of the *garbhagṛha* and the *ratha* projections can become confusing. This is possibly the fault with the fresh measurements taken by B.L. Nagarch probably around 1987.[42] Note that his measurements if converted into a drawing of the temple plan are quite misleading. He gives 6.20 metres as length and 5.00 metres as width of the *mūla-prāsāda*, whereas the width of the *maṇḍapa* is 4.00 metres though the length is the same as that of the *mūla-prāsāda*. But from Burgess's plans both *prāsāda* and *maṇḍovara* in plan comprise of squares of equal size. His drawing of the *śikhara* reveals its height to be equal to the length of the temple horizontally. But Nagarch's measurements show that the temple is longitudinally 11 metres in relation to its vertical height of 6.41 metres.

There are two theories for the study of proportions in architecture as developed by Renaissance architects especially during the 16th century as for example Serlio and Palladio. One theory is called 'Harmonic', the basis of which is the 'sub-multiples of the whole'. Palladio had divided a column in 60 parts called 'minutes'. As Scholfield has explained the device of 'minutes' was evolved for measuring works of Greco-Roman architecture for recording what kind of a system of proportions is used if only by trial and error, which is looking visually beautiful.[43] Another theory comprises of 'module and its multiples', also called the 'arithmetical'. I have attempted to combine both the methods in my above-mentioned analysis of Sunak temple. One prevailing proportional system from Renaissance period onwards is numerically written as 1, 3, 9, 27; sometimes also given the nomenclature as 'Harmonic progression'. In the 60 'minutes' intuitively arrived at by me, on the vertical elevation of the Sunak temple, the resultant proportions

for *pitha*, *mandovara* and *śikhara* are 9, 18, 27 thus having some similarity with the 'Harmonic progression'. Sunak temple does not reveal any use of the geometric proportions, namely, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16... nor the golden section √2:1 or 1.618:1, numerically converted into Fibonacci Series 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13...[44]

The crucial point to be established now is the state of knowledge of geometry and the concept of sub-multiples and its relation to the whole, which is the basis of any system of proportion. Here happily there are ancient records of constructing the Vedic Fire Altars (also termed as Agni or hearth) of a preconceived form from a required number of bricks of fixed measurement, in the Śulva-sūtras already mentioned.[45] The laying of the *Gārhapatya* hearth in circular shape on the ground implies the knowledge of geometry as well as the act of making a ground plan since the site is swept clean in the form of four sides of a square. The measurements of the sides of the square or length and breadth of whatever other forms of the *vedi* are given in number of *pādas*. The *vedis* are smaller than the principal one and the ratio of their size is given in *pādas*. The smallest altar is 7-1/2 *puruṣas* in measurement which increased by one *puruṣa* for each hearth. The Agni has a certain height which is established layer by layer. There are usually 5 layers in all, the ratio of which is also given which may be in terms of number of units, and the total number of bricks used should be 1000.

The procedure and number of bricks for each of the five layers of the bricks which make up the *Gārhapatya* hearth has been explained mathematically. The sides of the square hearth may be divided into 7 x 3 = 21 oblongs and the 21 oblong size bricks would comprise the first layer. Alternatively the bricks may be square shaped the sides of which are sixth part, fourth part and third part of the *vyāyāma*, namely, the width of the given square. Different numbers of these three different square-sized bricks are prescribed for laying the first layer. Similarly is laid the procedure for the remaining four layers. Each layer is called *prastara*. Every succeeding *prastara* is arranged in such a way that not a single brick fully covers the brick of the lower layer. The fifth layer has bricks of only half the height of ordinary bricks, which are named as *pañcacoda* and *nākaśata*. These are together considered only as one brick. Therefore, 200 bricks cannot be uniformly the number for each layer. The Agni may also be in the form of a falcon (*śyenaciti*) whose face is in eastward direction with two wings attached to a principal square as is *Gārhapatya*. *Padeṣṭaka* bricks are used for the falcon-shaped altar. The *padeṣṭaka* comprises of quarter size of the normal brick which is divided by two intersecting diagonals (*dvikarṇi*).

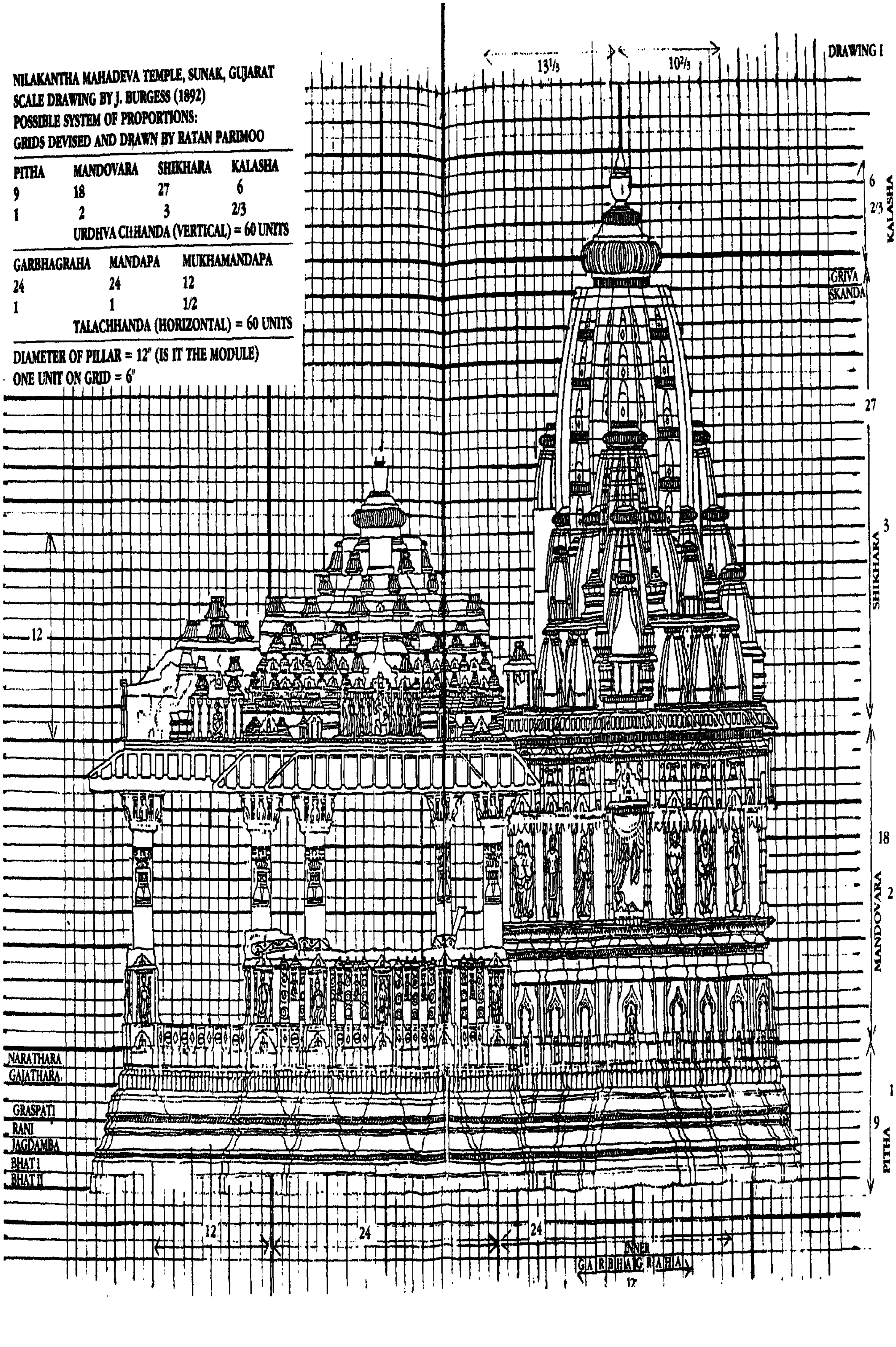
I like to add a few more technical terms from Baudhāyana-śūlvasūtra, which further supports the knowledge of geometry and proportional relationships. *Vibhajet* is for making divisions, *saviśeṣa* means ratio, for instance 1:√2, *bhūmi* is for area. *Caturastra* is four sides whereas *sama caturastra* is the term for square and *dirgha caturastra* for oblong or rectangle. *Caturbhagona* is less than 1/4, but *caturbhāgīya* is the altar brick which is the fourth part of *puruṣa*. *Pañcamabhāgīya* (or *pañcami*) is the nomenclature for the brick which is one-fifth of the *puruṣa*. *Ardheṣṭaka* is half of *pañcami*. *Pañcacoda* is only half in thickness in relation to the normal brick and is used for the top fifth layer.

I would like to visualize that right from the various mouldings of the *pitha* like *grasapatti*, *gajapitha* and *narapitha*, the *pāda* or sub-units or 'minutes', would be worked out by the temple *sthapatis*, which gives the cubic size of each dressed stone block, which then the stone cutter would carve accordingly. In the manner of *prastara* of the Vedic altar, these modulated blocks would fit exactly to prior measurement. Similarly the sizes for various motifs, like *udgama*, *devāṅganās*, *dikpālas*, *vyālas* and other figures which form the units of the *mandovara* section, would be established and piled up. In the same method, the *gavākṣa* traceries and *karṇāmalakas* of each *bhūmi* of the *śikhara*

superstructure would be standardized and assembled. The geometry of the *samvarṇa* roof over the *maṇḍapa* is known and has been demonstrated by Sompura.[46] The integrated proportional system provides the rhythmic orchestration to the form of the entire temple structure which in turn evokes the beauty in the eyes of the beholder.

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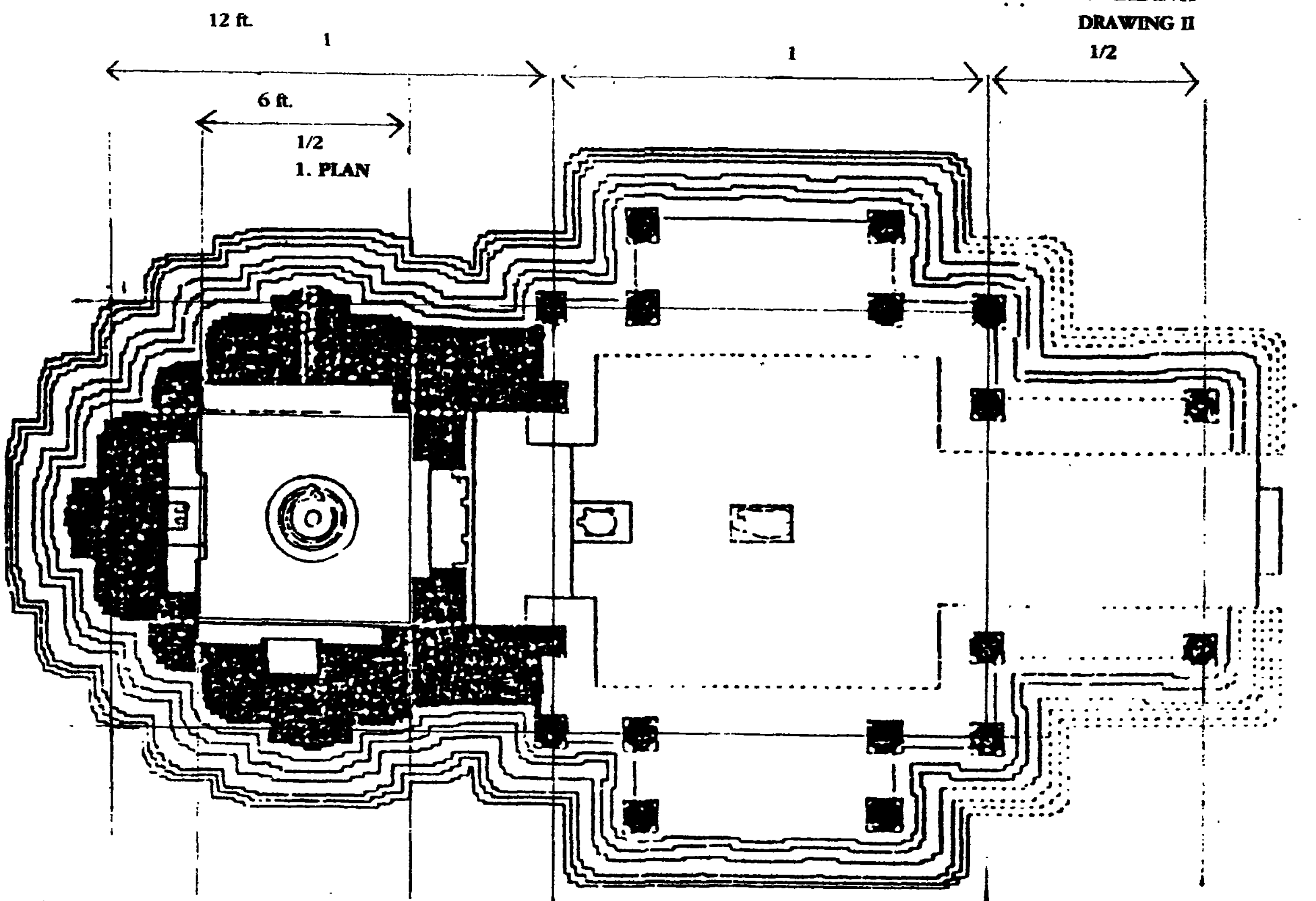
DRAWING I
NILAKANTHA MAHADEVA TEMPLE, SUNAK, GUJARAT
SCALE DRAWING BY J. BURGESS (1892)
POSSIBLE SYSTEM OF PROPORTIONS:
GRIDS DEVISED AND DRAWN BY RATAN PARIMOO
PITHA MANDOVARA SHIKHARA KALASHA
9 18 27 6
1 2 3 2/3
URDHVA CHHANDA (VERTICAL) = 60 UNITS
GARBHAGRAHA MANDAPA MUKHAMANDAPA
24 24 12
1 1 1/2
TALACHHANDA (HORIZONTAL) = 60 UNITS
DIAMETER OF PILLAR = 12" (IS IT THE MODULE)
ONE UNIT ON GRID = 6"
13⅓
10⅔
6
2/3
KALASHA
GRIVA
SKANDA
27
3
SHIKHARA
12
18
2
MANDOVARA
1
9
PITHA
NARATHARA
GAJATHARA
GRASPATI
RANI
JAGDAMBA
BHAT I
BHAT II
12
24
24
INNER
GARBHAGRAHA
12

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Note: Proportional systems suggested from the ancient Indian iconometric texts and their verification by actually measuring a large number of Kushana and Gupta period sculptures have been meticulously done by John Mosteller. See his recently published *The Measure of Form, A New Approach for the Study of Indian Sculpture*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1991. Maybe this method could also be adopted for exploring the possible proportional systems as linked with constructional practice in Indian temple architecture.

SUNAK TEMPLE OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA MAHĀDEVA

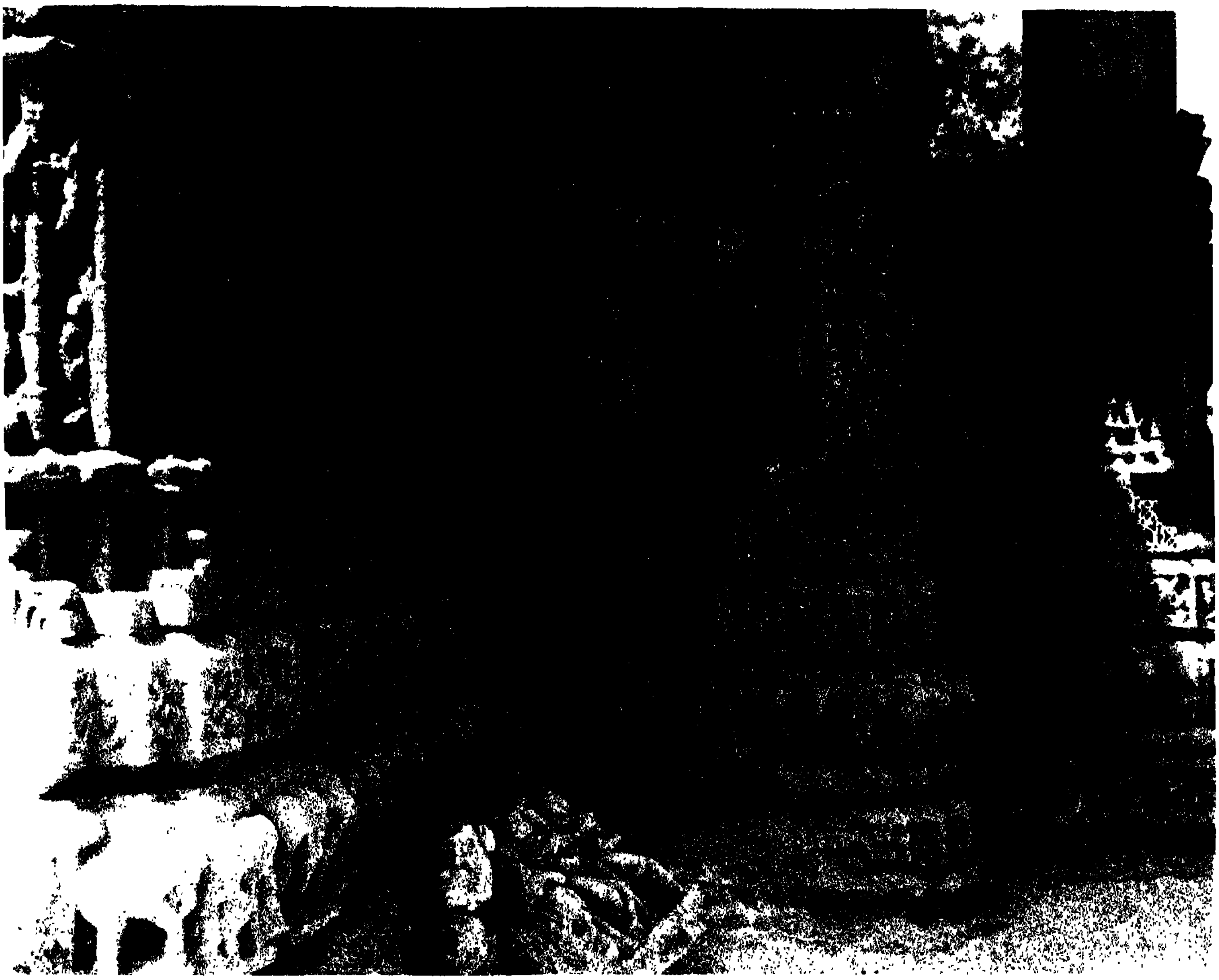
DRAWING II



VERTICAL & HORIZONTAL DIVISIONS DRAWN BY RATAN PARIMOO (1991)
TO INDICATE SQUARE PLAN FOR GARBHAGRAHA & MANDAPA

10 SCALE OF 10 20 FEET

PLAN BY J. BURGESS (1892)



Ch. 15, Pl. I
Nilakantha Mahadeva Temple,
Sunak, Gujarat 11th century

On Some of the Iconometric Details in the Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra of Bhojadeva

N.M. Kansara

Indian sculptors used to follow certain rules of proportion in making of images. These canons were really the results of the accumulated experience of generations of artists.[1] In some of the compilations containing these rules, it is expressly laid down that the divine images must not only be well-proportioned but must also be good-looking; image-maker should visualise in his mind's eye the god to be represented in concrete and then should fashion him according to his mental perception, for these images are really aids to the attainment of *dhyānayoga*.[2] But as very few sculptors could be successful in turning out really beautiful images, it would be better that all divine images conform to the correct proportions as laid down in the *śāstras*, for beautiful is that image which is made according to the canons detailed in the *śāstras*, no other is so.[3] The rules arrived at by the Indian artists do not appear to be divergent from those evolved by the European artists.[4] If in the Indian sculpture the results are not good in some instances, it is the fault of the artists and not attributable to the guide-books.[5]

Like many other ancient countries of the world, in India, too, the deities were mostly conceived anthropomorphically and not represented as mortals in mythology and art. Since Ṛgvedic times it has been a very common tendency of the human mind to endow the deities with human emotions and passions. The Ṛgveda describes the deities as *divo narāḥ*,[6] i.e., men of the sky, and *nṛpeśasaḥ*,[7] i.e., the kings of men. In innumerable myths narrated in the Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic literature the denizens of the heavens appear like mere men, living their lives of joys and sorrows. In the later times in India, from the iconographic and iconometric points of view, the likeness is always present. Leaving aside the theriomorphic or therio-anthropomorphic divinities, even those gods or goddesses endowed with more limbs than are natural really present cases of exaggerated anthropomorphism.[8]

In the proportional heights assigned to different types of divine images in early iconometric texts, the heights supposed to have been attained by several types of men in India have been recognised. Thus, Varāhamihira seems to subscribe to the ancient belief about the existence of five different types of men which might or might not have ethnic basis. These five classes are *Haṁsa*, *Śasa*, *Rucaka*, *Bhadra* and *Mālavya*, who are born when planets Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury and Venus are ascendant, respectively.[9] The height as well as the girth of the *Haṁsa* type of men is laid down by the same author as 96 *aṅgulas*, while those of the four other types exceed by three *aṅgulas* each than those of its immediate predecessors, i.e., *Śasa* 99, *Rucaka* 102, *Bhadra* 105 and *Mālavya* 108 *aṅgulas*.[10] The *aṣṭatāla* images were supposed to be 96 *aṅgulas*, just as high as a *Haṁsa* class of men, i.e., their life-size, and were considered *sama-parimāṇa* or *madhyama* class of images.[11] The height of the *Mālavya* variety of men, viz., 108 *aṅgulas*,

exactly corresponded to the *navatāla* images, which were grouped by Varāhamihira among the *pravara* or the best class of images. Thus, the images of different gods and goddesses conformed to the two of the various proportional heights mentioned above, viz., the *Haṁsa* or the *Mālavya*. It has been noted by Dr. Banerjea that from the description of the five different kinds of men, the *Mālavya* seems to be the best and the heights of the *Mālavya* and *Haṁsa* varieties of men alone are uniform.[12] It is interesting to note that Bhojadeva has treated these same classes of men in the 81st *Adhyāya* of his *Sam. Su.*, but his measurements differ from that of Varāhamihira. According to Bhojadeva, the *Haṁsa* type measures 88 *aṅgulas* and the rest of the four exceed their preceding one by two *aṅgulas* each, respectively.[13] Thus, *Mālavya* would measure 96 *aṅgulas*. Why this difference? Does it mean that within the period of about five centuries that elapsed between Varāhamihira and Bhojadeva, the proportionate stature of men gradually deteriorated? Or, was it on account of the difference in the measurement-units accepted as the basis in their measurements? It seems both the causes might be responsible.

In his chapters entitled '*Mānotpatti*' (75th) and '*Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*' (76th) of *Sam. Su.*, Bhojadeva has laid down the general principles of iconometry. In the *Bṛhatsamhitā* the verses 1-28 of the chapter entitled '*Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*' (58th) deal with similar iconometric details. Varāhamihira utilizes the terms '*parimāṇa*' and '*pramāṇa*' in the sense of measurement in verses 3 and 28, while in verses 8 and 23 it means width measurement. This latter measurement is also denoted by other terms as '*vistīrṇa*' (vs. 4, 13, 15, 25), '*vitala*' (v. 5), '*pṛthula*' (v. 5), '*vistāra*' (v. 6), '*vipula*' (v. 9), '*vaipulya*' (v. 22), and '*pṛthutā*'.[14] The words '*dairghya*' (vs. 4, 15), '*āyata*' (vs. 4, 18), and '*dīrgha*' (v. 18) indicate the measurement of length. The measurement of height is denoted by the terms '*ucchrāya*' (v. 10), '*āyāma*' (v. 14), '*māna*' (v. 17) and '*utsedha*', while the terms '*pariṇāha*' (vs. 14, 15, 21, 22, 24 and 26) and '*paridhi*' (vs. 22, 23) are used to denote the girth or periphery of particular parts of the images. And the term '*antarā*' undoubtedly refers to the interspace measurements, while '*vedha*' denotes depth.[15]

Bhojadeva, too, utilizes terms like '*māna*' and '*pramāṇa*' in the sense of general measurements, and '*āyāma*' for measurement of length, and '*vistāra*' for measurement of width. Like Varāhamihira,[16] Bhojadeva too begins his 75th chapter with the enumeration of the units of measurements like '*paramāṇu*', '*rajas*', '*roma*' (or '*bālāgra*'), '*likṣā*', '*yūka*', '*yava*' and '*aṅgula*', each of which is eight times as big—i.e. long or thick—as the former ones, respectively.[17] But, Bhojadeva further adds two more units, viz., '*golaka*' or '*kalā*' and '*bhāga*', the latter being twice as big as the former.[18] Varāhamihira has not given this unit, since he takes '*aṅgula*' as the basic unit. Now, the question arises about the precise size of this '*aṅgula*'. Generally, the traditional popular concept of an *aṅgula* is the measurement equalling the length of the first tip joint of the index finger of a normal human male, which approximately measures about 2.7 cms, and eight such *aṅgulas* measure about 22.5 cms, which is precisely the measurement of an expanded palm from the tip of the shortest finger to that of the thumb, known by the Sanskrit term '*vitasti*' (hand-span) in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Bhojadeva's '*golaka*' or '*kalā*' seems to represent this *vitasti*. And, consequently, his '*bhāga*' should naturally be twice as much as the *vitasti*, which is practically a '*hasta*', i.e., the measurement from the tip of the middle finger to that of the joint of the elbow. This approximates to about 45 cms, or 18 inches, i.e., one and a half feet. And this was just one-half of the popular measurement called '*gaja*' or a yard (three feet or thirty-six inches) which was prevalent a few years back, before the official decimal system was adopted.

In chapter 76 of his *Sam. Su.*, Bhojadeva has given iconometric details, some of which are rather thought-provoking. He says that the distance between the eye and the ear of an image should be five *aṅgulas*, the eyes and the ears should be equal in breadth, and the latter should be double the former in length.[19] This point has not

been mentioned by Varāhamihira, who, however, quotes the view of Vasiṣṭha that it should be four *aṅgulas* from the corner of the eye and to the ear.[20] Now, if we measure this distance in the case of our own eye and ear, it turns out to be just four or five *aṅgulas* alright; but this '*aṅgula*' is precisely the thickness of our four or five fingers of an open palm with fingers held together, measuring approximately four inches or ten cms, at the most, and three inches or 7.5 cms, at the least. Here if the term '*aṅgula*' is taken in the sense of the measure of the first tip-joint of the index finger, it would not fit in at all. If we compare this new thickness-wise concept of *aṅgula*—finger-thick—with the *kalā* of Bhojadeva, it would approximately be equal to twelve *aṅgulas*, and not eight! But, keeping in view the ideals of the *pravara* type which tends to look to the beauty and symmetry in the best type of human beings, Bhojadeva might be justified in his statements.

In chapter 75, Bhojadeva lays down that the *āyāma* of the body of divinities should be equal to eight *bhāgas*, that of *Asuras* should be of seven and a half *bhāgaṣ*, that of *Rākṣasas* seven *bhāgas*, that of best of men should be equal to six *bhāgas*, that of *madhyama* type should be of five and a half *bhāgas*.[21] If we apply the above-mentioned measurement of the term '*bhāga*' here, the divine body would measure twelve feet, that of *Asura* about eleven and a quarter feet, that of a *Rākṣasa* ten and a half feet, that of a best person nine feet and that of a *madhyama* person seven feet and nine inches. This would immediately call to our mind the sculptures in the Elephanta Caves near Bombay. But if we were to take the term *aṅgula* to mean finger-thick, eight *aṅgulas* would measure about 15 cms, or six inches, and a *bhāga* would then be 30 cms, or one foot or twelve inches. Consequently, the *Deva*, *Asura*, *Rākṣasa*, *Uttama Puruṣa* and *Madhyama Puruṣa* would measure about eight feet, seven and a half feet, seven feet, six feet and five feet, respectively. This would be an interesting topic of investigation for practising sculptors and art-researchers to evaluate this data in the light of the art pieces that are still extant in various parts of our country and our museums. And we might not be surprised if these art pieces tally with this data, particularly in case of those that have originated in the medieval Malava country, or modern Madhya Pradesh.

When Bhojadeva prescribes the *āyāma* of a *Kubja*, i.e., an attendant of a model man, to be five *bhāgas*,[22] it seems that the image of a *Kubja* should measure about up to the Madhyama Puruṣa. Similar is the prescription for a *Vāmana*,[23] and for *Kinnaras* or *Kiṅkaras*.[24] Here, it seems the term *bhāga* is likely to have been used in the sense of a *vitasta*, i.e., a *kalā* or *golaka*, since generally the attendants are shown to be rather smaller—perhaps half the size. But we may not be right if the practice in the paintings of kings in Malava and Karnataka is taken into consideration. And these prescriptions of Bhojadeva apply not only to sculptures, but also to paintings too.[25] But we may also be right if the term *bhāga* is meant to convey different measures according to Bhojadeva himself.[26]

In his 76th *Adhyāya*, Bhojadeva has given the measurement ratios of different limbs of an image. He has started with the distance between the eye and the ear, and then given the measurements of *karṇa*, *karṇapāli*, *karṇapṛṣṭha*, *karṇamūla*, *karṇapippali*, *piyuṣi*, *āvarta*, *paścima-nāla*. Thus, the vs. 6-21 are devoted to the measurement of ear only. Then comes the prescriptions of the measurements of *cibuka*, *adhara*, *uttaroṣṭha*, *sṛkkaṇi*, *nāśagra*, *lalāṭa*, *gaṇḍānta*, *griva*, *urobhāga*, *nābhi*, *ūrū*, *jānuni*, *pādau*, *aṅguṣṭha*, *pradeśini*, *madhyamāṅguli*, *anāmikā* and *kaniṣṭhikā*. Further, the measurements of the *nakhas* of the fingers, the distance between the *jaṅghās* and the distance between the *janus* is prescribed to be eighteen *aṅgulas*,[27] and twenty-one *aṅgulas*, respectively, while the distance between the *ūrus* should be thirty-two *aṅgulas*.[28] And immediately the mention is made of the *vṛṣaṇau* and *meḍhra*.[29] Further, follows the measurements of *kośa*, *nābhi-pariṇāha*, *stanau*, *urasaḥ pariṇāha*, *grivā*, etc. It seems Bhojadeva has in his mind

the image of Brāhmaṇic-Purāṇic images of gods like Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Devī on one hand, and the Jaina images of Tīrthaṅkaras on the other hand.

References

1. Banerjea, Jitendra Nath, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 307.
2. शुक्रनीती ४.७१:
   ध्यानयोगस्य संसिद्धयै प्रतिमालक्षणं स्मृतम्।
   प्रतिमाकारको मर्त्यो यथा ध्यानरतो भवेत्।
   तथा नान्यने मार्गेण प्रत्यक्षेणापि वा खलु।।
3. शुक्रनीती ४.१०४.१०५:
   सर्वाङ्गै: सर्वरम्यो हि कश्चिल्लक्षये प्रजायते।
   शास्त्रमानेन यो रम्य: स रम्यो नान्य एव हि।।
   शास्त्रमानविहीनं यदरम्यं तद्विपश्चिताप।
   एकेषामेव तद्रम्यं लग्नं यत्र च यस्य हृद।।
4. Rao, T.A.G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Appendix B, p. 8.
5. Loc. cit.
6. ऋ. सं. ६.६२.१: स्तुषे नरो दिवो अस्य प्रसन्ता...।
7. ऋ. सं. ३.४.५: नृपेशसो विदथेषु जाता अभीरेमं यज्ञ वि चेरन पूर्वी।
8. Banerjea, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 310.
9. बृ. सं. ६९.१.२:
   ताराग्रहैर्बलयुतै: स्वक्षेत्रस्वोच्चगैश्चतुष्टयगै:।
   पञ्च पुरुषा: प्रशस्ता जायन्ते तानहं वक्ष्ये।।
   जीवेन भवति हंस: सौरेण शश कुजेन रूचकश्च।
   भद्रो बुधेन बलिना मालव्यो दैत्यपूज्येन।।
10. बृ. सं. ६९.७:
    षण्णवतिरङ्गुलानां व्यायामो दीर्घता च हंसस्य।
    शशरूचक भद्रमालव्य संज्ञिता स्त्र्यंगुल विवृद्धया।।
11. बृ. सं. ६८.१०:
    दशरथतनयो रामो बलिश्च वैरोचनि: शतं विशम्।
    द्वादशहान्या शेषा: प्रवरसमन्यूनपरिमाणा:।।
12. Banerjea, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 312.
13. स. सू. ८१.३:
    अष्टाशीत्यङ्गुलो हंसस्यायाम: परिकीर्तित:।
    विज्ञेया वृद्धिरन्येषां चतुर्णां द्वयङ्गुलक्रमात्।।
14. Banerjea, J.N., *op. cit.*, p. 314.
15. *Loc. cit.*
16. स. सू. ८५.२:
    परमाणू रजो रोम लिक्षा परिका ? (= यूका) यवोऽङ्गुलम।
    क्रमशोऽष्टगुणा वृद्धिरेव (वं) मानाङ्गुलं भवेत्।।
17. बृ. सं. ५८.२:
    परमाणुरजो बालाग्रलिक्षयूकं यवोऽङ्गुलं चेति।
    अष्टगुणानि यथोत्तरमङ्गुलमेक भवति संख्या।।
18. स. सू. ७५.३:
    द्व्यङ्गुलो गोलको ज्ञेय: कलां वा तां प्रचक्षते।
    द्वे कले गोलकौ (चाक्षि ? = वा द्वौ) भागो मानेन तेन तु।।
19. स. सू. ७५.६:
    नेत्र श्रवणयोर्मध्यं भवेदङ्गुल पञ्चकम्।
    कर्णौ चाक्षिसमौ ज्ञेयावुत्सेधाद् द्विगुणायतौ।।

20. बृ. सं. ५८.८: चतुरङ्गुलं वसिष्ठः कथयति नेत्रान्त कर्णयोर्विवरम्।
21. स. सू. ७५.९:
    पुरुषस्योत्तम स्यैतन्मानमस्या (स्मा) भिरीरितम्।
    मध्यमस्य तु सार्धं स्याद् विस्ताराद् भागपञ्चम (क)म्।।
22. स. सू. ७५.१०:
    आयामस्तस्य तु प्रोक्तो (विंशतिस्त्विति ?) रन्विता।
    कनीयसानां कुब्जानां विस्तारान् पञ्चभागिका।।
23. स. सू. ७५.१३: भागपञ्चक विस्तारं वामनानां वपुर्भवेत्।
24. स. सू. ७५.१४: (किंवांराणि ? = किन्नराणां/किंकराराणां) प्रोक्तं प्रमाणमिद (मेद ?) मेव हि।
25. स. सू. ७५.४: आयामाद् विस्तृतेभ्यित्रमन्यूनाधिकमाचरेत्।
26. स. सू. ७५.१५: उक्तं देहप्रमाणस्य भागसूत्रमिदं पृथक्।
27. स. सू. ७६.३५: जङ्घामध्ये परीणाहो भवेदष्टादशाङ्गुलः।
    स. सू. ७६.३६: जानुमध्ये परीणाह (इ ?) स्त(स्त्व)ङ्गुलान्यकेविंशतिः।
28. स. सू. ७६.३७: कु(ऊ)रूमध्ये परीणाहो भवेद् द्वात्रिंशदङ्गुलः।
29. स. सू. ७६.३७: (भागार्धमाशी ?) वृषणी मेढ्रं वृषणसंस्थितम्।

17

Khajuraho: Beginning of New Iconological Cycle

Deepak Kannal

Khajuraho has attracted the attention of many scholars for several reasons. Alongwith the erotic sculpture and the magnificent architecture which has caused volumes of discussion, the obscure iconography is also one of the aspects which has given rise to speculation and controversies. There are quite a few images at Khajuraho which are yet to be identified properly. They are mentioned by some names—accepted by the scholars for sheer convenience. It has not been possible for them to relate these images to any textual or mythological source. The *Vilakṣaṇa* Viṣṇu, *Yogarāja Matsyāvatāra* Viṣṇu, *Mauna-Vratin* Viṣṇu, the eleven-headed Viṣṇu, the *Catuṣpāda* Sadāśiva (Fig. 1) are some of the glaring examples of such puzzle images, and we can also add a few Jain images to this list as suggested by Shri Niraj Jain. About the image which is popularly known as *Vilakṣaṇa Murti*, Ramashraya Avasthi confesses that no description to suit this image is found in any text.[1] He and Krishna Deva prefer to call it *Vilakṣaṇa Murti* because of the puzzling attributes it carries, which are more like the Śaivite attributes and it shows a *Jaṭāmukuṭa* also (Fig. 2). That is why Dr. R. Sengupta[3] identifies this image as *Śiva Dakṣiṇāmurti*, of course a very unusual one. The controversy is not settled yet. There is a controversy in identifying one more Vaishnavite image which is in *Yogāsana* (Fig. 3). The God carries all Vaishnavite attributes but in addition to that, the first finger of the lower left hand is placed near the lips. This gesture is seen in one of the images from Mathura which has been identified as *Ṛṣyaśṛnga* but in this case the Vaishnavite attributes and the *mukuṭa* is not justified. The figure is with four arms and embellished with ornaments which is not a sign of a *Sanyāsin*, hence it is difficult to identify him as *Ṛṣyaśṛnga*. Dr. Avasthi calls him *Maunavratin* Viṣṇu and to strengthen this argument, he points out a *śloka* from Kumārasambhava[4] in which Nandi is described in this gesture, warning the *śivagaṇas* not to make noise. It is not understood why a supreme deity should be shown in this gesture and no text gives us any explanation of it.

There are few more Vaishnavite images at this place, the identification of which is not controversial but the texts keep quiet about them. The *Matsyāvatāra Yogarāja* Viṣṇu, the eleven-headed *Daśāvatāra* Viṣṇu, and the 64-armed Narasimha are a few examples of this category. *Matsyāvatāra Yogarāja* is shown with Vaishnavite attributes, and in addition to that a prominent *Matsya* is carved on the *āsana*. He is being flanked by several images of ascetics. L.K. Tripathi has tried to explain the symbolism of these figures.[5] He believes that these skeleton-like figures are the ascetics representing Vedas and the weakening of Vedic tradition, which sounds convincing in the context of *Matsyāvatāra* and as suggested by Dr. Devangana Desai, this is the period when the *Vyañjanā* was accepted as an ideal manner of expression, it is quite possible that even the sculptural

art chose to express in a suggestive manner—in "*Vyangya*", but without any textual reference, the other scholars do not accept this explanation. The image with 11 heads from Chitragupta temple is the Viṣṇu in his '*Para rupa*' alongwith the 10 incarnations—a rare representation which is never seen elsewhere and never mentioned in any text. The 64-armed Narasimha, identified as *Vikrāl* Viṣṇu by Urmila Agrawal[6]—as the *simhamukha* does not exist today—is also an image which is unfamiliar to the texts.

Two more images which have caused a severe controversy in the field of iconography are the images of *catuṣpāda* Sadāśiva. One of them is in the Museum and the other is in situ in the Kandaria Mahadeo temple. A form which is neither mentioned anywhere nor found elsewhere in the country.[7] Avasthi and B.N. Sharma[8] name it as Sadāśiva which is the closest possible identification but the reference from Rupamandana is not convincing enough. Dr. U. Agrawal tries to explain this phenomenon with the help of Aditya purana since it mentions that Dharma is the only God having 4 legs.[9] The four legs can also be related to the epithet '*Paśupati*' or the "*Tripadārtha-Catuṣpāda*" theory of *Śaiva-Siddhānta*—of course the connotation of *pāda* in that context is different. There is enough scope for speculation. The freedom enjoyed by the Khajuraho sculptors has posed a challenge to the scholars of iconography.[10] They have tried to identify these images by relating them to some textual references, but they themselves are not fully convinced of it. They feel that they are yet to find a text which can be related to the images of Chandella period and region, hoping that they must be described in some text, of that time. A possibility, that it might prove to be futile to understand all the iconological mysteries with the help of texts, is probably not being taken into consideration.

The period of Khajuraho sculpture, which is a transitional phase in the political scene of India, would help to suggest a few more iconological possibilities. If iconology is viewed as a dynamic process, the gradual development in iconographic details is equally thankful to the artist's imagination alongwith the textual references and their development. And it will be interesting to trace the factors 111 which can affect the artist's imagination—a phenomenon which has to make its way through several limitations.

An image of a certain deity that would have come into existence for the first time could have achieved its tangible form only with the help of some visionary's imagination. In the formative phase of the text itself, when the iconography of the different deities in the pantheon was not crystallised, we know, the artist did not wait for the text to give him the detailed description of the image.[11] He must have worked simultaneously to give a form to that formless concept. In this phase even the texts and myths must have borrowed quite a few details from the images, and when the myth reached its final form the sculptor must have tried to narrate it through his medium, depicting each detail and catching all the subtleties of the mood of that myth. This reciprocating movement is responsible for the iconological development. In a phase when visual representation was one of the major means of communication, it must have played a major role in narrating and establishing a myth. The fact which has been observed by many scholars including stalwarts like Panohfsky[12] who have been working on the problems of iconology—that after a certain stage the narration in the visual representation—probably because it is no more needed to communicate the myth to the spectator—is gradually eliminated from it and the images lead towards iconization. Ratan Parimoo has discussed this process in detail with reference to the sculptures of *Aṣṭamahāpratihārya*.[13]

To me, this stage seems to be very crucial, because the iconic representations are very subtle and suggestive. The buffalo head under the goddess's feet, a small pair of stags flanking the *chakra* below the *Dharmachakrapravartana* Buddha, the lifted leg of *Trivikrama* Viṣṇu can make sense and convey the total episode to the spectator who is conversant with the myth, but for those who are ignorant of it, it can be a mystery

which is sure to be solved by them—out of curiosity—in many different ways. Re-interpretations of myths and insertions of new aetiological myths is the result of it. Due to the break in the tradition during the late medieval period and also because of cultural isolation, the myths and representations in visual arts were forgotten and when the images came to light after a long interval, they were interpreted afresh and new myths came into existence to suit these interpretations. Even today, examples to support this conjecture can be furnished. Many of the cave temples of India are known by different names today, which have been given by the locals. The Nasik caves are known as *Pāṇḍav Leṇi*, even the Ellora caves also bear different names and they are not just names, there are myths which could have come into existence in the previous centuries to justify these interpretations. Images like *Kālābheru* and *Gorābheru* from Rajasthan, *Ramdev Pir* from Gujarat and *Viṭhoba-Khaṇḍoba* from Maharashtra are some more examples of this phenomenon. The new myths do get absorbed in the oral tradition and the artist who seeks his inspiration from several sources also derives something from this oral tradition, which is yet to be registered in the text. These new local deities and the aetiological myths get accepted by the elite class in the course of time and the myths are standardised and then the canonical texts probably take note of them.

The other phenomenon which can inspire artists to leap beyond the prescribed demarcation is the growing stature and status of the deity. Images like *Śarabha, Trailokyamohana, Tripurasundari*, or *Swacchanda Bhairavi* must have come into being as efforts to establish that particular *Iṣṭadevatā* as superior to the others and there is no ground to believe that every time the sculptor accepted the precedence of myth and text in this march.

In short, the iconological evolution progresses in a cyclical or rather a spiral manner. The image appears as a symbol for worship. In a formative phase it is crude, less defined like the so called *Linga* and *Yoni* stones from Indus valley. The earliest representation of Śiva and Viṣṇu is also symbolic and iconic, sans any narrative content or any effort to illustrate the myth that was prevalent in those times.[14] Then elaborate narrative panels gradually appear. Even in Buddhist sculpture we know that the different symbols appear in the early sculptural representations and at a stage later than that the *Jātaka* stories are represented in Art. These narrative panels gradually grow more and more ambitious, and accept the challenge to reveal every complexity of the myth. The details are depicted with great love and care. Probably at a stage when all these details in the narrative panels as well as in texts get standardised, either the challenge gets over or the need is satisfied, whatever may be the reason, the images gradually start getting iconic and the cycle gets complete when the sculpture gets reduced to a standard icon like most of the images which are seen in the sanctums of medieval temples. This process can also be observed in the development of Buddhist and Jain sculpture.

These cycles can be of different circumferences and spans in different regions and religions. The span and acceleration of rotation depends on several factors like patronage, political situation, geographical location etc.

In Khajuraho, we find images of both the major sects—Śaivism as well as Vaishnavism. The period in which they were carved is the period when many of the canonical texts existed and most of the artists were following them. There were regional variations in them but still, by and large, the descriptions tally with each other with no major deviations from the tradition—almost a saturation point for an imaginative creator which can compel him to step on untrodden ways. It can happen in different regions at different times. The new cycle can emerge from the same point where the previous one ends and progress further converting the total development into a spiral. The images, myths and texts get intertwined to get reinforced and progress further simultaneously. None of them can progress without the rest of them, independently.

Chandella art and architecture, when it reached its culmination, received two blows from Ghazni and Ghori.[15] The sculptural and architectural activity ceased to continue after that as it happened in the other parts of the country which were affected by these invasions.

That the images which are mentioned in the beginning are not found in any of the texts is likely the reason that they are yet to be accepted and regularised by the texts. The composite images is one of the aspects of this innovative iconography. Commencement of a new tradition is always eclectic. This eclecticism has always provided a breakthrough to the artists to come out of stagnancy. We come across such eclectic iconography at Khajuraho. But the Khajuraho artists have reached beyond it and created a new iconographic idiom. One of the early purāṇas—Agnipurāṇa—grants this freedom to the creator.[16] It says that "(After the prescribed rituals) sculptor should pray to the God—to be depicted—to reveal his image to him in dream". The artist is not expected only to transcribe the image from the texts but he is also considered to be a visionary to whom these mysteries are revealed and he is permitted to follow his own revelations. Efforts to interpret each of these images with the help of existing texts will deny the contribution of these visionaries and deprive them of the role they have played in the iconological evolution.

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5. Tripathi, L.K., *Bharati*, No. 3, pp. 94-95.
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10. "...Unauthorised by any of the old iconographic texts. It would appear that the Khajuraho sculptors dare to give their gods the *ayudhas* of their choice." U. Agrawal, p. 215.
11. A small image in Lucknow Museum (No. 610) shows a very early representation of Trivikrama Vishnu from Kushana period.
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13. Parimoo, Ratan, *Life of Buddha in Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi.
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15. Basham, A.L., *The wonder that was India*, New York, 1954, pp. 72-73.
16. शिल्पिमिभ्च चरूं प्राश्य स्वप्नमंत्रं जपेन्निशि।
ऊँ नमः सकल लोकाय विष्णवे प्रभविष्णवे।।
विश्वाय विश्वकपाय स्वमाधिपतये नमः।।२३।।
आचक्ष्व देवदेवेश प्रसुप्तो ऽस्मि तवान्तिकम्।
स्वप्ने सर्वाणि कार्याणि हृदिस्थानि तु यानि मे।।२४।। अग्निपुराण अ. ४३



Ch. 17, Pl. II Vilakṣaṇa Viṣṇu (Detail of Jaṭāmukuṭa and Pustaka)
Chaturbhuja Temple Khajuraho.



. 17, Pl. I Chatuspāda Sadāśiva, Kandariya Mahadev Temple Khajuraho.



Ch. 17, Pl. III Maunavratin Visnu, Khajuraho.

18

Invocations and Petitions in the Soma Hymns of Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā IX

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The term *sūkta*, literally a "well-recited" text, which denotes a component part of the *Ṛgveda*, as distinguished from a *ṛc* (a single stanza), is usually translated by "hymn". In Greek, a *humnos* was a hymn or ode in praise or honour of gods or heroes, or addressed to them; then already there were various kinds of *humnoi*. In English the word is, generally speaking, used in the same sense: "a solemn song (or recited text) of praise, triumph and so on addressed to God, gods or other exalted beings"; it is also applied to a considerable variety of such devotional texts as are found in many tribal religions and in almost every theistic religious tradition. Since, generally speaking, liturgical rituals tend to have a systematic character and follow a more or less fixed and traditional form, the elements of such 'hymns' usually follow each other in a more or less regular order.[1] Intelligibly enough, the first element is often an invocation of the god who is the object of worship. This is in many cases followed by praise which is often a confirmation of the speaker's belief in the power or helpfulness (and so on) of that god. Thereupon the invoked and praised god is invited to accept an offering; the gift(s) offered are often described and as a rule constitute the central element of the ritual. The last element is a petition addressed to that god. As stated elsewhere,[2] *sūktas* (strictly) arranged in this manner do occur in the *Ṛgveda*, but they are comparatively rare. Moreover, they are as a rule not free from other elements, which do not come under the above categories. Or the poets are inclined to be repetitive, adding, for instance, other words of praise after the petition, or apt to insert various references to myths, the motives of their patrons, the purpose of the sacrifice and so on.

As to the Ṛgvedic *sūktas* addressed to *Soma Pavamāna*, "Soma who is in course of clarification", it has already more than once been observed that they differ in form markedly from the ordinary *sūktas* of the *Ṛgveda*[3] and are also differentiated by their being collected in book IX. It seems therefore to be worthwhile to dwell for a moment on some points that relate to the arrangement of these texts and especially to the invocations of Soma and the character and the position of the petitions addressed to the divine juice—the liquid that is being prepared as an offering and at the same time a deity—, subjects that have not been discussed at some length by Renou in his excellent introduction to these hymns.[4]

None of the 114 poems of *Ṛgveda* IX[5] begins with an invocation in the special sense of an invitation or supplication to come or render help as is for instance the case in the Indra hymns 1, 4 "we invoke (call upon) him every day" and 1, 16 "(thy) bay horses must bring thee". Exceptionally, 9, 87, 1 also has—at least at first sight—a resemblance to that type of invocation: "Run forwards round the vessel, sit down (in it), being clarified by the gentlemen, run towards the restorative power (in order to gain this)." Normally,

however, the preparation of the *soma* juice is unmistakably supposed to have already begun or even to have made more or less considerable progress: e.g. 13, 1 "Soma, being clarified, runs in a thousand streams passing beyond the (strainer of) sheep(-hair) to the place of rendezvous of Vāyu and Indra"; 42, 1 "producing the lighted (spaces) of the heavens, producing the sun in the waters, the reddish-brown one (flows on) clothing himself in (i.e. mixing with) milk and water", and, e.g. also 9, 1; 14, 1; 17, 1; 20, 1; 21, 1; 24, 1; 27, 1; 30, 1; 46, 1; (with the aorist indicating the actual or recent past: 82, 1); 56, 1; 70, 1; 86, 1 (where Soma is addressed as *pavamāna*, "he who is clarifying himself or is being clarified: cf. 89, 1); 88, 1 (where Indra is addressed for whom the *soma* is pressed; see also 12, 1; 15, 1; 81, 1; 96, 1; 106, 1); 95, 1; 97, 1. The frequent imperative in these initial stanzas does not invoke Soma's presence but urges him to clarify himself—the very purpose of the rites performed and by far the main subject of the poems delivered—1, 1 "with (thy) sweetest, most exhilarating stream clarify thyself, O Soma, for Indra pressed to drink"; 2, 1; 6, 1; 25, 1; 45, 1; 51, 1; 66, 1; 108, 1.

This imperative can govern an accusative denoting that which the author wants to be produced by, or to be the result of, the clarification: 49, 1 *pávasva vr̥ṣṭim*..., "generate for us, by clarifying thyself, rain..." (cf. 59, 1; 84, 1); 35, 1; 63, 1; 67, 1. These sentences have the character of petitions. Notice, for instance, 9, 98, 1 "flow in order to win restorative power for us". There is also another possibility to express this idea: 19, 1 *tán naḥ punānā́ ā bhara* "that (wealth) bring us while clarifying thyself". Elsewhere a verb for "flowing, running" fulfils a similar task: 39, 1 *āśúr arṣa*... "being quick, flow..." or "flow quickly..."; 52, 1; 61, 1; 85, 1; 87, 1; 98, 1; 109, 1; 113, 1; also with an accusative in 55, 1 *yávam-yavaṃ no...pári srava* "flow round (so as to bring) us barley to barley".[6] The name of the god for whom the *soma* juice is destined occurs even in the very beginning of 106, 1 "to Indra these pressed (juices)...must go" (cf. also 113, 1; 114, 1). In 9, 88, 1 Indra is even addressed: "this *soma* is pressed for thee, O Indra". Occasionally the initial stanza is descriptive, Soma being the subject: 75, 1 "he who has been inclined to be favourable clarifies himself"; see also 94, 1.

Generally speaking, it would be convenient to distinguish between prayers, a term denoting in a more general sense the—as a rule one-sided—communication of a worshipper with a god, and petition in the sense of earnest or urgent requests, supplications or entreaties made to a god.[7] As may be expected, prayers are often found to combine or coincide with petitions proper. The Vedic poets did not of course keep close to any theoretical distinction.

It would serve no useful purpose to deal with all petitions found in these *sūktas* exhaustively. The following observations may suffice. It will appear that they may occur anywhere, in the beginning of a *sūkta*, at the end or elsewhere[8] and bear upon a large number and considerable variety of desires. Very often, they are pronounced on behalf or in the interest of those present, patron(s), officiants (and other worshippers), denoted by the pronouns *naḥ* or *asmabhyam* "(for, to) us"; 8, 7 "bring us, clarifying thyself, liberal (patrons)"; 9, 7 "assist us in our religious practices";[9] 8 "give us, O Soma, overwhelming power in battles"; 11, 3 "clarify thyself for the good of our cattle, people, horses, useful plants"; 13, 4 "clarify thyself that we may win restorative power (*vāhasātaye*)" (cf. 90, 4); 20, 3 fame; 23, 3 "bring us the goods of the one who does not worship (our gods)"; 29, 5 "protect us from the miser, (even) from the sound (of his voice), whoever he may be" (cf. 21, 5); 30, 3 "bring us by clarifying thyself courage that overpowers (other) men"; 40, 3 much wealth (cf. 43, 4; 45, 3); 46, 5 {)(□open a way for us; 61, 3 cattle, horse, gold; 5f; 15; 64, 12 "flow for us on the sieve as Indra's intoxicating drink"; 18 all goods; 65, 13 a comfortable supply of food etc. (iṣ, also 86, 18); 17; 18; 21; 66; 19 a complete duration of life; 67, 6; 69, 8; 70, 9 "carry us beyond the difficulties"; 76, 3; 84, 1; 85, 2; 4; 93, 4f a wealth of horses and men; 96, 3; 11; 97, 17; 21; 25cd; 28f; 36; 44; 100, 2; 105, 4; 106, 9; 109, 9; 110, 7 and compare also 101, 9.

In many cases the personal pronoun is absent however. In 69, 10 the petition is expressed for the sake of the eulogist, in 20, 4; 32, 6; 56, 4 for the eulogist's or speaker's patron(s) and the eulogist(s).

In some other cases the petition is addressed to Soma only on behalf of the patron or patrons: 62, 11 treasures for the devout (sacrificer); 64, 6. This is not to say that it is never self-interested: 1, 3 promote the success of the sacrifice (*rādhas*)[10] of the generous (patrons). Sometimes mention is made of (a) god(s): 8, 3 "incite Indra to (promote) rādhas"; 90, 5; 96, 8. Or no (explicit) mention is made of human (or divine) beneficiaries: 6, 2 "flow towards (i.e. in order to produce) intoxication"; 8, 8 rain from the sky, glory from the earth; 9, 8 ways for new *sūkta*,[11] light (of inspiration);[12] 13, 8, "ward off all enemies"; 20, 4; 21, 6; 31, 2 "be the lord (dispenser) of manifestations of *vāja*" (see above); 41, 4 much comfort (*iṣ*, see above); 63, 12 cattle and horses, *vāja* and renown; 18 gold, horses, sons, gain; 65, 5 an abundance of energetic men (sons, *suvīryam*); 82, 2c; 85, 2c; 8; 87, 6; 91, 4; 97, 19; 25ab. The frequency and variety of these petitions and the favours implored reflect the belief of the poets and worshippers in the great and important power of the divine juice.

Intelligibly enough, the last stanza of a Soma *sūkta* contains very often a petition. Attention may be drawn to 4, 10 (a petition for a wealth of horses); 9, 9 (fame, cattle, etc.); 11, 9 (energetic sons, *suvīryam* and wealth); 12, 9 (Soma is addressed as Pavamāna "he who is clarifying himself" and Indra "juice" is besought to present to those speaking wealth consisting in thousandfold brilliant energy); 14, 8 and 57, 4; 63, 30 (all heavenly and earthly goods); 29, 6; 31, 6 (Soma's comradeship); 32, 6 (renown, gain etc.); 33, 6; 40, 6; 41, 6 (only "flow for us", no object); 42, 6 (cattle, horses, *vāja* etc.); 43, 6 "clarify thyself with a view to gaining *vāja* etc.); 44, 6 and 51, 5 (*vāja*, fame); 45, 6 and 68, 20 (*suvīryam*); 52, 4 *maṃhayad-rayiḥ* (cf. 1 *sanadrayiḥ*: wealth); 56, 4 and 61, 30; 114, 4 (protection); 66, 30 (a longer span of life; cf. 91, 6);[13] 67, 27 (probably the original last stanza: clarification; quite appropriately, the petitions of 68 do not occur before the final stanza (10): ab asks Soma to clarify himself and to give the speaker cum suis vigour (*vayas*); c "we wish to invoke Heaven and Earth..."; in d the gods are implored to give wealth and energetic men; 69, 10 (clarification on behalf of Indra; goods for the eulogist and "Heaven and Earth with the gods, favour us"); 70, 10 ("preserve us from contempt"; 79, 5); 72, 9 (horses, cattle, gold, comfort; "take notice of our eulogy"); 78, 5 ("slay the enemy"); 86, 48 ("slay all demoniacs"); 87, 9 (many manifestations of *iṣ* "comfort, refreshment"); 90, 6 (vitality to (our) well-spoken word); 95, 5 addressed to Soma and Indra (lords, i.e. disposers of *suvīryam*); 97, 58 addressed to Mitra and other gods (winnings in the game of dice); 104, 6 ("overcome our distress"); 105, 6.

In 7, 9 "acquire for us, O Rodasī (Heaven and earth), wealth in order to win...*vāja*, renown, possessions" the petition occurs, it is true, in the final stanza but is not addressed to Soma.[14]

The petition is addressed to Soma, but Indra is the one whose benevolence is implored in 60, 4ab: "clarify thyself, O Soma, with a view to success of the sacrifice brought about by Indra"; 75, 5 cd (the final line of the *sūkta*) "urge Indra on (O Soma) to give property" (without the addition "to us"; see also 94, 5). In 114, 3 Soma is besought to protect those speaking with the seven *āditya* gods; in 4ab with (by means of) the oblation which has been cooked for him. In 68, 10 (see above) Soma, Heaven and Earth and "the gods" are addressed or invoked.

Sometimes only one part of the last stanza contains a petition: 17, 8a "cause the mass of sweetness to flow"; 94, 5ab (with a motivation in cd). Only the last *pāda*: 56, 4c "protect the gentlemen (and eulogist) from distress"; 60, 4c. Compare also 22, 7ab (with an injunctive); 95, 5ab (with a desire (optative plural first person)); and for a combination of a stimulation to clarify himself, a petition and a desire 89, 7.

The last stanza but one (4) of 78 and the first line of 5 introduce the petition in 5cd (see above): "Soma clarifies himself, gaining for us cattle...", "thou flowest causing these goods to exist in fact": "slay the enemy...; give us pasture and safety"; compare also 32, 6; 33, 6; 42, 6; 60, 4.

There are *sūktas* that contain various stimulations addressed to Soma to clarify himself for some specified purposes, but only in the final stanza(s) there is a petition proper: 11, 3 "clarify thyself for our sake for the welfare of (our) cattle ..."; 7, but 9 "give us, O Soma Pavamāna, ...wealth". See also 13, 4 and 5: 8 and 9. In 43, 4 the author hopes or expects that Soma will find wealth "for us", in the final stanza (6) he stimulates him to clarify himself in order to win *vāja* and asks him to give energetic men (*suvīryam*).

Occasionally, one or more than one petitions in the second person of the verb occur in the last stanza, or two last stanzas, but one, while the final stanza is of another character: see, e.g., 8, 7f "flow on (to bring) liberal (patrons) to us, strike away all enemies...; flow (to bring) rain...", and 9 "may we partake of thee (and thereby) possess progeny and comfort"; 46, 5 "clarify thyself as one who grants success of the sacrificial rite", and 6 "the ten fingers cleanse this (*soma* which is) clarifying itself"; 88, 7 and 8 "thine observances are (those) of king Varuṇa"; perhaps some reader might (in 8) have expected a sentence introduced by *hi* "because". In the last stanza but one of 88, viz. 7, there is a brief petition in *pāda* c: "be kindly disposed towards us". Compare also 21, 5 and 6.

Cases are not wanting in which the two last stanzas contain the petitions. Thus 13, 8 and 9 "ward off all enemies" and "warding off the envious ones...sit down in the womb of Ṛta". The last stanzas of 70, viz. 9 and 10, contain no less than seven variously worded petitions interrupted by 9d which, introduced by "for" (*hi*), explains 9c. See also *sūkta* 72: 8d contains a desire, 8ab; c; 9ab; c; d are petitions. In 82, 4b Soma, addressed as "child of Pajrā",[15] is besought to hear what the teacher wishes, viz. to enter those speaking for (the sake of continuance of) life and to watch over the sacred enclosure, in 5 to clarify himself for the sake of new welfare. See also 93, 4 and 5.

The last *pāda* of 44, viz. 6c, is a petition: "win *vāja*"; it is preceded by a reference to some of Soma's beneficial qualities; st. 5 expresses a desire (subjunctive); st. 4 ab expressing a wish with the imperative *pavasva* is a transition from 1-3 which describe Soma's activity. See also 104, 6: a real petition (in order to get rid of a demon) and 5 with "as a companion to a companion" instead of "us".

Sometimes the petitions are found in more than two stanzas at the end of a *sūkta*, the place where we would indeed expect them. The stanzas 7-9 of *sūkta* 9 beg Soma when he is clarifying himself for assistance during the performance of the rites, overcoming the darkness, paving the way for new *sūktas*, light, fame, cattle, horse, energetic men, mental vigour, the light of heaven. The second half of *sūkta* 41, viz. st. 4-6, contains nothing but petitions in contrast to st. 1-3 which are descriptive, laudatory and retrospective in character. In 105, 4 Soma is implored to "make the possession of cattle and horses flow"; in 5 to lend as a companion lustre (splendour) to his companion, in 6 to ward off the impious one and so on. The expressions of desires and petitions in the last four stanzas (7-10) of *sūkta* 69, all of them addressed to Soma, are interrupted by the descriptive stanza 9 which deals with the movements of the juice.

Sūkta 40 is not only predominantly petitionary—four of its stanzas, viz. 3-6, contain nothing but a series of six petitions—, it shows also very clearly that the process of clarification is expected to bring about the realization of the speaker's hopes: the imperative *ā pavasva* (with the accusative of the noun denoting the goods desired) occurs in st. 3, the participle *punānáḥ* in 5 and 6, the vocative *pavamāna* in 4. Another poem the second half of which is a series of various petitions is 91: 4 "break" (imperative), "while

clarifying thyself" (participle), "open"; "cut up"; 5 "make"; "we should like to obtain" (optative); 6 "give". *Sūkta* 113 is remarkable in that the stanzas 1-8 end with a refrain: "flow for Indra", which in 7 is preceded by "place me, O Pavamāna, in that world that is free from death", and in 8-11 by "...make me there free from death".

There are *sūktas* with an isolated petition or with two brief petitions somewhere in the middle, and one in the last stanza. In 45, 3c Soma is after a reference to the performers' deeds besought for wealth, in the last stanza (6) the author expects him to show the eulogist energetic men. In 87, 6c the eulogist asks Soma to "bring us" objects of delight (food and so on) and wealth; in the last stanza (9c) to "provide us with many substantial comfortable goods (*iṣaḥ*)". The stanza 90, 4 ends with the request to produce "for us while making a noise manifestations of restorative power (*vāja*)"; in 6c Soma is implored to lend energy (spirit) to the *sūkta*.

Not infrequently, a petition, or petitions, are only found somewhere in the middle of the *sūkta*: 20, 3c "find fame for us, O Soma", 4a "cause to flow (i.e. afford) steady renown, lasting wealth to the munificent patrons...", the stanzas 1 and 3, 5-7 are descriptive and laudative; 23, 3 "bring us..., make...", the other six stanzas are mainly descriptive. In st. 3 of 9, 81 (five stanzas) four petitions are addressed to Soma for goods, success of the sacrifice, heedfulness and "do not throw away our property far from us". See also 101 (16 stanzas), 9: for wealth that is *ojiṣṭha* (i.e. "most characterized by creative authority") and notorious. And compare the requests in 30, 3; 102, 3b (for wealth). For petitions in two stanzas see also 36, 3 "cause the lights to shine for us, urge us to practical ingenuity ..." and 5 (the last stanza but one) "let Soma by clarifying himself bring all wealth to the pious worshipper"; 100, 2; 5: petitions with "while clarifying thyself" or "clarify thyself" (notice the addition "for Indra..." in 5) for wealth; for practical ingenuity and adroitness; cf. also st. 6. See also 106, 4 (without "us"); 6; 9.

The stanzas 3 and 4 of 77 do not contain petitions proper but the expression of the wish (imperative) that the juices will flow in order to "bring us much restorative power in the form of cattle" and of the hope or expectation that "this juice will conquer those who plot against us".

Sūkta 35 is an instance of a brief poem that contains two petitions, one in the first stanza and one in the middle: 1 "clarify thyself (bringing) us wealth" and 3 "flow towards us (bringing something) valuable". In 9, 55 (four stanzas), 1 Soma is implored to give, while flowing, prosperity and so on, in 3 the procurer of cows and horses is urged to clarify himself for the benefit of those speaking.

Sūkta 19 is one of those poems that begin and end with petitions: 1c "bring us, O Soma, celestial and earthly goods"; 2c "make (our) inspirations abundant"; 6 contains three other petitions, 7 one request. *Sūkta* 74 is interesting in that the last quarter of st. 1 informs the audience that "we approach "him" (i.e. Soma) with the prayer for extensive protection" and the final *pāda* (9d) urges him (Pavamāna) to be palatable for Indra. In 98, 1 Soma is implored to flow in order to bring those speaking wealth; in the final stanza these persons express the wish to receive that (probably, Soma); in st. 5 they desire to have a share in Soma's goods.

In a comparatively small number of cases a petition is already found in the first stanza of a *sūkta*. *Sūkta* 19, the seven stanzas of which contain four prayers (see also st. 6 and 7), begins as follows: "that excellent, laudable, heavenly (as well as) earthly wealth (prosperity, goods, *vasu*) bring us that, when thou art clarifying thyself". After a *hi* clause which expresses the reason why Soma (and Indra) are addressed 2c adds: "being powerful, cause our poetic inspiration to swell". Similarly, 35 (a petition for wealth and light); 52 (restorative power, *vāja*); 55 (corn and prosperity); 59, 1c (children); 63 (wealth, an abundance of brave men (sons) and glorious achievements); 67, 1c (wealth);

74, 1d (protection); 79, 1d (successful products of poetic inspiration); 98 (wealth that wins most restorative power). *Sūkta* 53 begins with a deprecation: "drive away (our) rivals" (cf. also 79, 1c).

From the foregoing it appears that cases are, however, far from rare, in which the first stanza of a *sūkta* is devoid of a petition (which follows in st. 2 or 3). Thus 8, 1 "these *soma* juices flowed towards the wish of Indra increasing his manly energy", but 2 "clarifying themselves, going to *Vāyu* and the Aśvins they must bestow upon us..."; 11, 1 "join in chanting to him, Pavamāna, O men", 2 "the *atharvans* have mixed milk with thy sweet drink", but 3 "clarify thyself for us..."; 29, 1: the inspired sage (*kavi*)[16] flows through the strainer; 2 "for he brings recreative power to the eulogists; but 3c "produce fame for us"; 23, 1 and 2; 3; 30; 36, 1; 2; 44, 1-3; 4; 64, 1 and 2; 3; 81; 96.

Attention may also be drawn to the occurrence of an explicit or implicit petition in stanza 2 of a *sūkta* after a first stanza in which Soma is in the usual way urged to clarify himself: 6, 2 "flow, O juice, ...in order to (bring, procure) race-horses that win *vāja*"; notice the adjective *asmayuḥ* "kindly disposed to us" after "clarify thyself" in b; 45, 2 (see also st. 3); or after "these *soma* juices flowed near" in 8, 1 "clarifying themselves, they must bestow upon excellent men (sons)"; cf. 82, 1f; 19, 2 after a petition in 1 (see above) "cause to increase the products of (our) poetic inspiration"; 31, 2 "be the lord of manifestations of *vāja*"; 100, 2. In 85, 1 there are after "flow" in *pāda* a three requests without a specification of those who hope to derive the benefit, in 2 two other petitions with the pronoun "us".

In view of the numerousness of the petitions in book IX it is remarkable that in a minority of cases a *sūkta* does not contain an explicit prayer or request addressed to Soma. Part of these *sūktas* may be regarded as merely or mainly descriptive and laudative, drawing attention to the activities of the officiants, the purposes and effects of the ritual process, the movements, positions and 'behaviour' of Soma and so on and thereby provoking favourable conditions for the success of the rite: 3; 10; 15; 16; 18; 24; 25; 26; 27; 28; 34; 37; 38; 54; 71; 73; 80; 83; 92; 99; 103; 110; 111; 112. In 16, 5 the purpose of the process is mentioned: the juices have to go to Indra with a view to much gain, but this is no petition proper. In some cases there is in an otherwise descriptive and petitionless *sūkta* a passage that might be regarded as a more or less implicit or disguised request: 17, 8a "flow after the stream of the sweet (drink)" (which must mean "let it flow", in a final stanza); 39, 2c "let the rain of the sky flow off"; 102, 8 (a final stanza) "thou hast opened the enclosure of the heavens when the sacrificial rite is being performed"; the final stanza 94, 5 ab creates the impression of a real petition: "run towards (cause to flow) affluence (and) invigorating food,[17] horse, cow, make wide light, exhilarate the gods"; 108, 6 "force open the stable of the cows and horses" (understand: "for our sake"). See also 10, 1 c; 16, 5, where one might expect an addition "for us", or "on our behalf". In some other cases we have to do with stimulations rather than requests or petitions: 80, 4 "(bring) here, clarifying thyself, all the gods"; 108, 15f. But in 36, 3 c the occurrence of the pronoun *naḥ* "for us" makes the sentence a real petition. On the other hand, passages such as 9, 47, 5 (a last stanza) may be regarded as *captationes benevolentine*: "thou art the one who wishes to gain possessions on the occasions of (winning) regenerative power".

From the above incomplete collection of relevant passages it may therefore appear that also in this *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* petitions are, notwithstanding the uniformity of the subject-matter, variously worded and relate to a considerable variety of desires: compare, e.g., also the final stanzas 9, 9; 12, 9; 29, 6; 33, 6; 42, 6; 43, 6; 44, 6; 57, 4; 68, 10; 72, 9; 78, 5; 86, 48; 91, 6; 94, 5. They are, moreover, not infrequently accompanied

by praise or laudative epithets: 40, 6 "bull, juice"; 52, 1 "heavenly"; 60, 4 "widely circulating one"; 87, 9 "speedily giving" and "powerful one". Sometimes precatory and admonitory or prohibitory words succeed each other in the same context or a petition consists of, or implies, a wish to ward off danger, enemies and so on. See, e.g., 8, 7; 9, 7; 13, 9; 19, 7; 52, 4 and 5; 90, 6; 104, 6 and other places.

Sometimes, even one and the same *sūkta* contains a large variety of desires and petitions. In 52, 1 the author expresses the wish that Soma will bring (injunctive) *vāja* (recreative power); in 3 he uses the imperative *iṅkhaya* "shake, stimulate" three times in order to make Soma urge a wealthy man to give a present; in 4 he asks Soma to thwart (no verb, only *ni*) the one who threatens those speaking; 5 to clarify himself so as to give wealth. In 59, 1 ab Soma is urged to clarify himself winning cattle and so on, in 2 ab to clarify himself for the sake of the waters, the plants and so on, in 3 ab to overcome, while doing so, all difficulties, in 4 a to obtain the light of the sun. *Sūkta* 79 is another instance of a varied accumulation of direct petitions (in the second person of the verb) and other entreaties; 1 a "spontaneously the juices must run (imperative) for us"; 2 ab "our juices...must (win) the prizes..."; 3 "(protect us) from...enviousness..."; "strike, O Soma Pavamāna, the malignant ones"; 5 "dispel, O Pavamāna, every contempt; let thine energy become manifest". See also 85: 1 b disease together with demonic influences must stay away; "...the juices that bring goods must be here"; 2 "impel us in the concourse (assembly, contest), strike the enemies ..."; 4 "bring about unimpeded progress for us"; 8 d "may we, O juice, with thee win prize (a valued object) after prize".

Passing references have already been made to the fact the petitions often occur in series, distributed over two or more than two stanzas. The ten stanzas of 9, 4 are one series of variously worded requests and petitions with or without the addition of a personal pronoun of the first person "we" or "us". After "clarifying himself he has gone towards all adversaries" in st. 1 and the wish or expectation that he will go to Indra in 2 the four other stanzas of 9, 40 are one series of self-interested petitions. The last triad of stanzas (28-30) of 9, 63 is wholly petitionary; in all three preceding stanzas the juices are said to have rushed forth. Compare also the last triad of 9, 65, which constitutes one sentence with the verb "we ask for" once, in st. 28 b. In the triad of stanzas 66, 19-21 the first and the last contain *pavasva* "clarify thyself (while bringing) us", the second one the participle "clarifying himself" and "we approach him for". In the in all probability original concluding passage of 9, 67,[18] the two triads 22-27, Soma also addressed as Agni and Savitar, the gods, Jātavedas are requested to clarify those speaking (by means of the strainer in 22-25). In 79 the requests contained in st. 1 are continued in st. 2. See, e.g., also 65, 21-24 (23-24) forming one sentence and 9, 113, 7-11 (with a refrain).

In various cases a petition is expressed by means of the third person of a verb, for instance an imperative: 8, 2 (the *soma* juices mentioned in 1) "must bestow upon us excellent men (sons)"; 65, 22-24; 67, 22 "Pavamāna must clarify (cleanse) us with the strainer". Or with other verbal forms: an indicative of a verb meaning "to desire"): 66, 14 "we long for (*uśmasi*) thy comradeship"; 20 "we approach him (with a prayer) for a great household"; 27 "Pavamāna will (it is hoped, expected, subjunctive) attain with his rays"; 79, 1 "the products of our poetic inspiration will (are expected, it is hoped) win, *saniṣanta*"; 77, 4. For cases of two different subjects see 86, 37; (otherwise) 67, 27.

Cases of variation are of course not absent: e.g., 72, 8 ab "clarify thyself (in order to...)"; c "do not exclude us from ..."; d "may we (optative) put on (i.e. surround with) much wealth"; similarly, 89, 7; 91, 5; 95, 5 the imperative "set free" is followed by the optative "we might be". In the first line of 106, 3 the author uses the injunctive

gṛbhṇīta (in the third person) with the cognate nominal form *grābham* "grasp, handful" to prevail upon Indra to grasp the winning handful, in the second the injunctive (also third person) to ask him to bear the *vajra*. In 82, 4 a petition viz. "O child of Pajrā..."[19] is introduced by "listen, I say to thee...".

Deprecations are in these texts not wanting. For instance, in 91, 4 Soma is besought to dash to pieces the seats of the demoniac power, however solid they may be, and to cut down from above the chief (of these demons);[20] 53, 1; 104, 6; 105, 6; in 19, 7, a last stanza, Soma's aid is invoked to dispel an enemy's vigour and vitality. Compare also 114, 4 c.

Sometimes, such a petition occurs in the last quarter of a stanza after an affirmation of Soma's power or superiority to any check: thus in 53, 1 the request to drive away the rivals follows after the statement that Soma's energies have cleft the demon; in 3 he is besought to destroy the one who wants to fight against him after his observances (implying ordinances) have been said to be inviolable (and unassailable).

Occasionally, a petition is briefly added to a statement of Soma's activity: 39, 2 "making perfect what is not perfect..., flow out the rain of heavens".

It has already been noticed that many passages create the impression of being stimulations or invitations rather than requests or petitions. Thus the very frequent imperative *pavasva* "clarify thyself" is often found in sentences that are not precative, nor explicitly dictated by the speaker's self-interest, but are only or mainly pronounced to rouse Soma to activity, to stimulate him and to promote the ritual undertaking, the clarification of the juice. See, e.g., 1, 1 "with (thy) sweetest...stream, clarify thyself, O Soma, pressed for Indra to drink"; 25, 1 "clarify thyself as an intoxicating drink for the gods, for the Maruts, for Vāyu"; 45, 1; 6; 50, 5; 65, 27; 85, 6.

This is, however, not to say that in these sentences the poet never inserts an allusion to the interested worshippers present at the performance of the rites: 6, 1 "clarify thyself with a pleasantly sounding stream..., liking us (wishing to favour us", *asmayuḥ*; see also st. 2); 61, 9 "clarify thyself..., slaying the wicked"; 86, 39. The stanza 90, 3 is no doubt an unmistakable but covert allusion: "...clarify thyself, winner of treasures, a conqueror of enemies"; see, e.g., also 97, 27; 43; 109, 5. An epithet such as "for thou art among the gods the one who procures precious things" in 67, 13 may be regarded as a covert allusion to Soma's favour. Cases such as 72, 8 and 84, 1 are of course quite explicit and unmistakable petitions; see also places such as 88, 7; 90, 4; 96, 3. Whereas, for instance, the first lines of 69 or 84 are a stimulation: "clarify thyself for Indra...", the second is a petition: "make today free scope for us".

In various cases the imperative *pavasva* is the first word of a stanza or even of a *sūkta*: 2, 1; 49, 1; 59, 1; 61, 28; 62, 25; 63, 22; 70, 9; 86, 22; 96, 13 and so on. Occurrences in the final stanza suggesting that the ritual process, unlike the poem, continues are not rare; 25, 6; 69, 10; 82, 5 and so on.

Combinations of a stimulation and a petition in the stanza occur, for instance, in 29, 4 and 6 (the last stanza): "clarify thyself gaining all goods, drive away hostilities..."; "clarify thyself...so as to give us wealth..., bring vital energy"; st. 5 contains a petition. This combination occurs in *sūkta* 84 in the first stanza: "clarify thyself...for Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu; bring about for us room (comfort, bliss, *varivas*) today, invoke the divine race".

Stimulations at the beginning of a *sūkta* or elsewhere are of course also expressed by means of other verbs: 4, 1 "wing and conquer"; 9, 2 "go forwards"; 31, 4 "swell"; 39, 1 "flow quickly"; 61, 1 "flow round" (cf. st. 12 "flow round for Indra"; 65, 2 "clarifying thyself...enter all goods".

A stimulation may also be addressed to the officiants, e.g. 11, 1, urging the gentlemen to praise Soma in song.

In *sūkta* 8, st. 3 the poet implores Soma to urge Indra to liberality, in st. 7 to bring when clarifying himself munificent patrons, in 8 (the last stanza but one) to give rain, glory and overwhelming power. In 31, 2 the poet asks the juice to be the lord (i.e. also the dispenser) of manifestations of restorative power; in 4 to be on the meeting-place of this *vāja*; in the last stanza (6) he desires its companionship. In stanzas 1-3 of 49, which consists of five stanzas, Soma is implored to give by clarifying himself rain, cattle, ghee and in 4 to run for the sake of invigorating food for those speaking.

An uncommon expression of a wish occurs in 99, 5 cd: "those who are possessed of *manīṣā* (non-discursive thought or wisdom, which here refers to the officiants) hope to have (him) as their messenger with a view to first notice (i.e. to be remembered by the gods)". Notice also cases such as 46, 5, where the author doubtless implies that *soma* is expected to give objects of value and success of the rites (*rādhas*): "being such, O conqueror of wealth, clarify thyself, bestower of great *rādhas*, for us O Soma, one who finds a way"; 47, 4 "himself, the *kavi* (i.e. Soma), wishes a treasure for the inspired seer (the eulogist)"; 48, 5 c "(Soma...) who procures superior power"; 51, 4 "for thou...art one who strengthens the eulogist that he may be favoured"; in 5 c "run towards (for) *vāja* and fame". The stanzas 19; 20 (declarations of companionship); 21 ("thou flowest (so as to procure) wealth"); 23 (for *vāja*) of 107 may be regarded as expressing implicit petitions. See also 108, 9 "radiate (in order to give us) glory"; 10 "clarify thyself (while bringing) rain"; see also 11 and 13. See, e.g., also 55, 3. Only in st. 3 a of *sūkta* 6, which contains 9 stanzas, the addition "for (i.e. in order to give us, to acquire) restorative power and renown" to "run when thou art pressed" may be regarded as a reference to the benefit hoped for by those who institute and perform the rite.

Occasionally, a *sūkta* contains a reference to the aims of the performers but no petitions or explicit requests: 10, 1 "the *soma* juices have made progress for (in order to acquire) wealth".

In a few cases, the petition includes Indra or the gods in general: in the final stanza 11, 9 Soma is besought for wealth and so on "together with Indra as our ally". In the petition addressed to him in 13, 8 he is "liked by Indra". In 80, 4 d the poet asks Soma to bring, clarifying himself, all the gods. The *soma* juice is rarely besought in an indirect manner. In 8, 2 the juices are, in the third person, expected to bring, through the intermediary of Vāyu and the Aśvins, many energetic men (*suvīryam*).

References

1. I refer to my book *The Indra hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Brill, Leiden, 1989, p. 77f.
2. *The Indra hymns*, p. 86ff.
3. See, e.g., Oldenberg, H., *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1923, p. 393; Keith, A.B., *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass. 1925, p. 297; Renou, L., *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IX, de Boccard, Paris, 1961, p. 1; the same, in Renou, L. et Filliozat, J., *L'Inde classique*, l'Ecole francaise d'Extreme Orient, Paris, 1947, p. 271ff; Gonda, J., *Vedic Literature*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1975, pp. 156, 180.
4. See, e.g., Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, p. 5.
5. The *sūktas* 61-67; 96-97; 101; 106-110, which for the greater part are composed in triads, are in this article not studied exhaustively.
6. The imperative *pavasva* is of course also found in other stanzas of these poems; see, e.g., 43, 6 (the final stanza); 44, 4; 49, 1-3; 55, 3; 59, 2.
7. See Gonda, *Indra hymns*, e.g., p. 79.
8. See below.
9. Cf. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VIII, Paris, 1961, p. 58.
10. As to *rādhas* see Gonda, *Prayer and Blessing*, Brill, Leiden, 1989, ch. II.

11. See Gonda, "Ein neues Lied", in *Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 48, p. 275ff (*Selected Studies*, Brill, Leiden, 1975, IV, p. 144ff).
12. Cf. Renou, *E.V.P.*, VIII, p. 8; 58.
13. Cf. also Renou, *E.V.P.*, VIII, p. 101.
14. As already observed by Renou, *E.V.P.*, IX, p. 5, only a few petitions are not addressed to Soma but to other gods.
15. Cf. Renou, *E.V.P.*, IX, p. 92: according to an Indian tradition Pajrā is the Earth (see Geldner, K.F., *Der Rig-Veda*, III, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 75).
16. See Gonda, *The Vision of the Vedic Poets*, Mouton, The Hague, 1963, p. 359 s.v.
17. Renou, *E.V.P.*, IX, p. 42: "coule pour (nous les procurer)".
18. See Geldner, *R.V. ubers*, III, p. 56f; Renou, *E.V.P.*, VIII, p. 43.
19. See above.
20. Cf. Renou, *E.V.P.*, IX, pp. 40 and 102.

19

The Notion of Distinctive Features in Sanskrit Phonetics

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1. In this paper, I aim at presenting evidence about new notions concerning distinctiveness of sounds developed in Sanskrit phonetics, and what "distinctiveness" meant at different periods of the history of this ancient tradition.[1] In the beginning, we may look at the period of the earliest Vedic literature (1500-1000 B.C.), to see what kinds of notions, if any, may have existed at this remote time concerning the sounds of the Sanskrit language. Very few of the technical terms found in the later treatises on Sanskrit phonetics, i.e., *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*, go back to the period represented by the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. The terms that do appear, i.e., *akṣara* and *pada*, referring to syllable and metrical foot, are used in defining Vedic meters. In this earliest period of Sanskrit metrical production, the meters were defined simply in terms of the number of syllables per metrical foot and the number of metrical feet in a given verse. Thus, for instance, the meter *Gāyatrī* is defined as having eight syllables in each foot and three feet per verse. These syllables may vary in their quantity, and there is no terminology known in this period which would make any further distinctions.

2. A major conjecture has been advanced concerning the beginning of the tradition of Sanskrit phonetics by Paul Thieme (1985). The first verse of the *Śaunakīya Atharvaveda* (1.1) reads:

> *yé triṣaptāḥ pariyánti viśvārūpāṇi bíbhrataḥ /*
> *vācáspátir bálā teṣāṃ tanvò adyá dadhātu me //*

Thieme (1985: 559) translates this verse as: "The thrice seven that go around, wearing all the shapes—let the Lord of Speech put their powers into my body's [parts] today." What does the expression "thrice seven" (= 21) refer to? Thieme considers various interpretations offered by scholars and after a detailed argumentation concludes that these twenty-one are the twenty-one sounds of Sanskrit as conceived by the earliest Vedic analyzers of their language. Thieme (1985: 563-564) lists these as:

a i u ṛ e o ai au	8 vowels
y r l v	4 semi-vowels
k c ṭ t p	5 occlusives
ś ṣ s h	4 sibilansts

Thieme, arguing for these being the earliest discerned sounds of Sanskrit, reasons backwards from the developed categories of the later phonetic treatises where, for example, *a*

stands for the whole class of *a* sounds differing in quantity, accents and nasality, and where a stop like *k*, followed by the term *varga* 'class', refers to the class of *k, kh, g, gh*, and *ṅ*. Thieme (1985: 563) argues that "the sacred number 'thrice seven' could indeed be taken as the number of the abstract forms (*ākṛti*), of the types, the kinds (*varṇa*) of sounds of the sacred language." These sounds 'wear all [possible] shapes' and thus provide the rest of the sounds of the Sanskrit language. While I accept Thieme's conclusions, with certain reservations, I feel that one may perhaps argue that this earliest phase reflects that certain phonetic features were perhaps understood more clearly by this time than others, and that the number 21, in all likelihood, is a reflection of this early non-analytical phase, rather than an explicit representation of "types" found in the later developed tradition of Sanskrit phonetics. Thus, it is possible to argue that in this earliest phase, vowels were distinguished from consonants. It seems that the phonetic feature of point of articulation was also implicitly understood. This explains the distinctions between *a, i, u* etc., or *k, c, ṭ, t*, and *p*. Distinctions of voicing, aspiration etc. were probably not yet analytically arrived at. This may have happened at a later date.

3. As we move to the late Vedic period, we see some further terminological development. The *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (2.2.4) says:

> *tad vā idam bṛhatīsahasraṃ sampannam /*
> *tasya yāni vyañjanāni tac charīram,*
> *yo ghoṣaḥ sa ātmā, ya ūṣmāṇaḥ sa prāṇaḥ /*

> "Thus, this [collection of] a thousand *bṛhatī* verses comes into existence. Of that collection, the consonants (*vyañjana*) are the body, the voice (*ghoṣa* = vowels[2]) is its soul, and the sibilants (*ūṣman*) are its vital breath."

In *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (2.22.5), we have the following prescriptive passage:

> *sarve svarā ghoṣavanto balavanto vaktavyāḥ...*
> *sarva ūṣmāṇo 'grastā anirastā vivṛtā vaktavyāḥ*
> *...sarve sparśā leśenānabhihitā vaktavyāḥ /*

> "All vowels (*svara*) should be pronounced with resonance (*ghoṣa*) and force...All sibilants (*ūṣman* = 'aspiration-sound') should be pronounced as open, and not constricted or spited out...All stops (*sparśa* = 'contact') should be pronounced as slightly incomplete."

In these two important passages, one gets a reflection of the pre-systematic beginnings of the science of phonetics in ancient India. The vowels are distinguished from consonants, and among consonants, a distinction is made between stops, i.e. 'contact' sounds, and sibilants, i.e. 'aspiration' sounds. Notions of resonance (*ghoṣa*), openness in the pronunciation of sibilants, and contact in the pronunciation of stops have also emerged. However, it is important to note that these passages do not mention the conception of a semi-vowel. Similarly, the distinctions between voiced vs voiceless consonants and aspirated stops vs unaspirated stops have not yet emerged.

4. The *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (3.2.1) provides the clearest evidence for the emergence of the notion of 'semi-vowel' (*antasthā/antaḥsthā*), and that initially it was not universally accepted. This text quotes the opinion of a scholar named Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya:

tasyaitasyātmanaḥ prāṇa ūṣmarūpam asthīni sparśarūpam majjānaḥ svararūpam māṃsaṃ lohitam ity etad anyac caturtham antasthārūpam iti ha smāha hrasvo māṇḍūkeyaḥ /

"Of this self the breath is like the sibilants (*ūṣman*), the bones the mutes (*sparśa*), the marrow the vowels (*svara*), and flesh and blood, the fourth part, the semi-vowels (*antasthā*)", so says Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya.

After this passage comes a quick rejection:

trayaṃ tv eva na etat proktam/

"We have, however, heard that the number was only three."

This passage provides clear evidence that it was the tradition of Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya that proposed the addition of the category of semi-vowels to the three previously accepted categories, i.e. vowels, stops and sibilants, and it is obvious that the author of the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* was not about to accept this new addition.[3] There is evidence that the Māṇḍūkeya tradition of the *Ṛgveda* came from the Northeastern region of Magadha[4] and represents an innovative tradition, which among other things admitted more retroflexion into the text of the *Ṛgveda*, as compared to other more conservative traditions.

5. Sometime around ±700 B.C., it seems that there was a process of linguistic standardization of the orally received Vedic literature in north India. For instance, the *Ṛgveda*, which was composed in the northwestern dialect of Indo-Aryan, in which all IE*l was reduced to *r*, was later preserved in a different dialectal region of Northeastern India, where both *r* and *l* are found. By this time, a standardized Sanskrit alphabet has come into existence, i.e. *akṣara-samāmnāya*.[5] This standardization was necessitated, among other things, by an increasing diglossic gap between the orally preserved ancient Vedic texts and the current form of Sanskrit as well as the vernacular language. As the vernacular lost ancient accents, it became increasingly difficult to properly predict accents in Sanskrit. Already in the late Vedic period this increasing loss of the ability to pronounce Sanskrit properly was becoming manifest. The following story is quoted from the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (1.6.3.8). Tvaṣṭṛ wanted to have a son who would kill the god Indra. For this purpose he recites a mantra: *svāhā indraśatrur vardhasva*. He wanted to say: 'May you, the killer of Indra, prosper.' However, he pronounced the word *indraśatru* wrongly with accent on the first syllable, and then the expression came to mean: 'May you, having Indra for your killer, prosper.' Had the compound been pronounced with accent on the last syllable, it would have meant 'the killer of Indra'. This story is later repeated by the Sanskrit grammarians to show the importance of learning grammar (including phonetics).[6] The *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (3.1.5; 3.2.6) shows many debates concerning *sandhis* in Vedic texts and whether the Vedic texts should be pronounced with the retroflexes *ṣ* and *ṇ*. The process of standardization was meant to put an end to these kinds of doubts. The development of the technical apparatus of Sanskrit phonetics seems to have been developed to put an effective end to this perception of chaos. The Sanskrit grammarians, in fact, claim that, in the ancient golden age of Vedic studies, the priests first learned grammar, including phonetics, and then they were taught the words of the Vedic scriptures. However, in the later degenerate times, so the grammarians claimed, the priests stopped studying grammar (including phonetics) before studying the Vedas, and this led to a deplorable state of Vedic recitation.[7] Such attitudes in early and late texts

indicate that the origin of the analytical tradition of Sanskrit phonetics lies in the urge to preserve the standardized pronunciation of the Vedic scriptures from degeneration.

6. The next phase of Sanskrit phonetics is represented in formal treatises called *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*. Of these, the *Prātiśākhyas*, as a class, are older than the *Śikṣās*. In their currently available versions, most of these texts contain late revisions, though it is safe to say that the tradition represented by the *Prātiśākhyas* is, in its essence, older than Pāṇini's grammar (±500 B.C.).[8] There is also a clear linkage between the *Prātiśākhya* tradition and the authorities mentioned in late Vedic texts such as *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka*. The *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* directly refers to Śākalya, the compiler of the existing version of the *Ṛgveda*, Hrasva Māṇḍūkeya and Śūravīra Māṇḍūkeya, who are representatives of the Māṇḍūkeya tradition of the *Ṛgveda*, which predated Śākalya's *Ṛgveda*-version.[9] The *Prātiśākhyas* are sectarian texts in that each of them relates to a particular Vedic branch and is concerned with describing the phonetic and euphonic peculiarities of a particular Vedic text. However, besides these specific details which may be restricted to a particular Vedic text, the *Prātiśākhyas* share a general description of Sanskrit sounds, the formation of a Sanskrit alphabet and details of articulatory descriptions and formation of *sandhi* rules. The description of articulatory features of sounds and the formation of an ordered alphabet are directly related to each other. The ordered alphabet of Sanskrit reflects the consideration of articulatory features of Sanskrit sounds. Here, I am presenting a generalized Sanskrit alphabet found in the *Prātiśākhyas*, without going into details of individual differences:[10]

a	*ā*	*i*	*ī*	*u*	*ū ṛ ṝ ḷ e o ai au*
k	*kh*	*g*	*gh*	*ṅ*	
c	*ch*	*j*	*jh*	*ñ*	
ṭ	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*	*ṇ*	
t	*th*	*d*	*dh*	*n*	
p	*ph*	*b*	*bh*	*m*	
y	*r*	*l*	*v*		
ś	*ṣ*	*s*	*h*		

Other sounds included in the alphabetical listings are *ḥ* (*visarga*), *ṃ* (*anusvāra*), *:k* (*jihvāmūlīya*, guttural aspiration), *:pp* (*upadhmānīya*, libial aspiration), and *ḷ* (*duḥspṛṣṭa*, retroflex *l*). The alphabet as presented above is indeed based explicitly upon a full understanding of the articulatory processes and features. The sounds which are listed in the alphabet are generally called *varṇas*.[11] How did the Sanskrit phoneticians arrive at this listing? What is it that distinguishes one *varṇa* from another? An answer to such a question is provided in the following verse:[12]

"[The *varṇas* are distinguished from each other] on the basis of *svara* 'accent', *kāla* 'time, duration', *sthāna* 'point of articulation', *prayatna* 'manner', and *anupradāna* 'phonation'."

If two sounds differ in any of these listed features, then those two sounds represent different *varṇas*. Thus, for instance, the sounds *a* and *i* differ in their point of articulation (*sthāna*) and, therefore, are two different *varṇas*. Similarly, the sounds *a* and *ā* differ in duration (*kāla*), and, therefore, are two different *varṇas*. The sounds *k* and *kh* differ in their phonation (*anupradāna*, i.e. aspiration), while the sounds *k* and *g* also differ in their phonation (*anupradāna*, i.e. voicing). The sounds *t* and *c* differ in their manner (*prayatna*).

This, in general, illustrates the principle of distinctiveness used in the formation of Sanskrit alphabet. These distinctive features are then elaborated into their details. Without getting into differences between the texts, these features are, in general, as follows:[13]

svara	accents (*udātta* 'high', *anudātta* 'low', *svarita* 'rising-falling')
kāla	vowel length (*hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', *pluta* 'prolated')
sthāna	point of articulation (*kaṇṭha* 'throat', *jihvāmūla* 'tongue-root', *tālu* 'hard-palate', *mūrdhan* 'cerebrum', *dantamūla* 'alveolar ridge', *danta* 'teeth', *oṣṭha* 'lips')
prayatna	manner (*sparśa* 'contact', *upasaṃhāra* 'approximation', *vivṛta* 'openness' etc.)
anupradāna	phonation: 1. *śvāsa* 'voiceless air' with open glottis (*kha*) 2. *nāda* 'resonating air' with close glottis 3. combination of *śvāsa* and *nāda* with glottis in between (for voiced aspirates)

7. There are certain ambiguities in these traditional conceptions. While *svara* 'accent' is listed as a feature distinguishing one *varṇa* from another, varieties of vowels differing in accents are not generally listed in the alphabet as different *varṇas*. Similarly a feature like nasality has a certain ambiguous status. While the sounds *d* and *n*, which differ in nasality, are listed as separate *varṇas*, the sounds *a* and *ā*, which also differ in nasality, are not listed as separate *varṇas*.[14] Generally, different *varṇas* of the Sanskrit phoneticians constitute different 'phonemes', i.e., we can find contrastive minimal pairs such as *kūpa/sūpa/yūpa*, where the change of one sound makes a difference in meaning. However, for several sounds listed as *varṇas* by the Sanskrit grammarians, it is not easy to find contrastive minimal pairs. Thus, for instance, the *varṇas* *ṅ* and *ñ* cannot be demonstrated to be phonemes in Sanskrit through minimal contrastive pairs. Considering the fact that these sounds generally occur in the environment of other velar and palatal consonants, respectively, they are allophones of *n* in Sanskrit. However, for the Sanskrit grammarians, they are separate *varṇas*, partly because one cannot interchange them in the recitation of the Vedas, and partly because, they complete the alphabetic matrix in a way parallel to *ṇ*, *n*, and *m*. There is also an additional likely reason for treating sounds like *ṅ* and *ñ* as separate *varṇas*. At least the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* (verse 2, *prākṛte saṃskṛte cāpi*) says that the listing of sixty-three or sixty-four *varṇas* is made with reference to Prakrit and Sanskrit. If this is the case, then one can find contrastive minimal pairs for the sound *ñ* in Prakrit, e.g., *ñāṇa* 'knowledge' versus *pāṇa* 'life', in Pāli.

8. In general, however, one must say that the determination that a sound was a distinct *varṇa* was not necessarily based on the notion of finding minimal contrastive pairs in Sanskrit, as is done in modern descriptive linguistics, but on the assumption that if one were to replace a given *varṇa*, it may either produce another word, or a totally wrong sequence in that language. The concern was with proper pronunciation of language, and hence the modern distinction of phoneme versus allophone is quite irrelevant to this ancient concern. For instance, Patañjali says that if we mispronounce sounds, then the word *śaśa* 'rabbit' might be mispronounced as *ṣaṣa*, the word *palāśa* 'a specific tree' might be mispronounced as *palāṣa* and the word *mañcaka* 'couch' might be mispronounced as *mañjaka*. None of the resulting mispronunciations are lexical items of Sanskrit. Yet Patañjali says that such mispronunciations should be avoided.[15] The same point may be illustrated with the story concerning the expression *indraśatru*. The variants *indraśatru* "he whose killer is Indra"

(a Bahuvrīhi compound) and *indraśatrú* "Indra's killer" (a genitive Tatpuruṣa compound) do not strictly represent a minimal contrastive pair, and yet the mispronounced accent produced *indraśatru*, instead of the intended *indraśatrú*, and thus the mispronounced mantra led to a disastrous result for the sacrificer. These problems would be there, in the view of the Sanskrit phoneticians, irrespective of whether a given sound was a phoneme or an allophone. This makes us aware of the fact that the ancient Indian notion of distinctiveness of *varṇas* is quite different from the notion of phonetic versus phonemic features in modern descriptive terminology.

9. So far we have seen only one level of distinctiveness in Sanskrit phonetics, i.e., the notion that certain features distinguish *varṇas* from each other. However, there are several different levels of distinctiveness and non-distinctiveness in Sanskrit phonetics and grammar. Below, we will consider these notions. To begin with, the terms *varṇa* and *kāra* are affixed to individual sounds to provide a terminological difference. For instance, the term *a-varṇa* refers not just to the sound *a*, but to the whole class of *a* sounds (*a, ā, a३, á, ā́, á३, à, ā̀, à३, ã, ā̃, ã३, ...*).[16] Generally speaking, this affixation of *varṇa* to a simple short vowel indicates the whole class of vowels which share the same point of articulation (*sthāna*) and manner (*prayatna*), but which may differ in their accents, durations and nasality. With three possible accents, three possible durations, and nasal/non-nasal distinction, there can be eighteen different kinds of *a* sounds included in the class represented by the term *a-varṇa*. In contrast with this *a varṇa*, the term *a-kāra* stands for only those *a* sounds which have the same duration as the sound *a* in the term *a-kāra*. Thus, *a-kāra* stands for all short *a* varieties, and *ā-kāra* stands for all long *ā* varieties. Similarly, while the term *ka-varga* stands for the whole class of velar stops and nasal, i.e., *k, kh, g, gh*, and *ṅ*, the terms *ka kāra, kha-kāra, ga-kāra, gha-kāra*, and *ṅa-kāra* stand for just these individual sounds. Thus, while the affixation of the terms *varṇa* and *varga* seems to focus exclusively on classes of sounds that share a given point of articulation and a given manner of articulation; the affixation of the term *kāra* helps focus on a class of sounds which, in addition to the point of articulation and manner, also share the same duration, voicing, aspiration etc.[17] It still leaves, for vowels, the differences of accents and nasality out of focus. Thus, the term *a-kāra* does refer to the class of six *a* sounds which have the same duration, but which may differ in accents and nasality. Obviously, there is another level of distinctiveness where the features of accents and nasality also become distinctive. However, that level is not addressed by the term *a-kāra*.[18]

10. These two levels of distinctiveness addressed by the affixation of *varṇa* and *kāra* are again quite unlike the modern descriptive distinction of 'phonetic' versus 'phonemic'. These two levels are used in the formulation of *sandhi* rules in the Sanskrit phonetic and grammatical treatises. Consider, for instance, the following rules:

R1: *avarṇa* + *avarṇa* ——> *ā*
R2: *akāra* + *ḥ* ——> *o* / — Voiced C

The first rule comes to mean that any variety of *a* combined with any other variety of *a* results in a long *ā*. For the purpose of this rule, the features of point of articulation and manner remain distinctive, while the features of duration, accents and nasality remain non-distinctive. In R2, on the other hand, it is necessary that the sound before *ḥ* be a short *a*. If the sound before *ḥ* were a long *ā*, then this particular *sandhi* rule will not apply. Thus, in this particular rule, the feature of duration becomes distinctive, in addition to the features of point of articulation and manner. Thus, while the modern distinction of phonetic versus

phonemic has a certain static quality to it, the terminology of the Sanskrit grammarians shows that distinctiveness of a phonetic feature is not constant, but that it varies according to the context of particular euphonic and other considerations.

11. At a very different level, there is another phonetic feature, i.e. the speed of delivery (*vṛtti*). We are told[19] that there are three speeds of pronouncing the mantras, i.e. fast (*druta*), medium (*madhyama*), and slow (*vilambita*).[20] Of these, the fast speed is supposed to be used when a student is reciting the mantras for his own study. In the ritual use of the mantras, one is supposed to use the medium speed. A teacher is supposed to use the slow speed to recite the mantras while teaching his students. Using an inappropriate speed at the wrong occasion creates unacceptable situations, and in this sense, the speed is a distinctive feature at this level. However, for the purposes of euphonic and grammatical phenomena, the feature of speed is not distinctive.[21]

12. These various levels of distinctiveness appear in Pāṇini's grammar as well, though Pāṇini's terminology is different from that of the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*. I have discussed these issues at considerable length in Deshpande (1975), and here I will only provide a brief summary. At the beginning of his grammar (= *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 'a grammar in eight chapters'), Pāṇini lists fourteen strings of sounds called *Śivasūtras*, each one ending with a marker sound:[22]

1. *a i u Ṇ*
2. *r ḷ K*
3. *e o Ṅ*
4. *ai au C*
5. *h*^{a} *y*^{a} *v*^{a} *r*^{a} *Ṭ*
6. *l*^{a} *Ṇ*
7. *ṇ*^{a} *m*^{a} *ṅ*^{a} *ṇ*^{a} *n*^{a} *M*
8. *jh*^{a} *bh*^{a} *Ñ*
9. *gh*^{a} *ḍh*^{a} *dh*^{a} *Ṣ*
10. *j*^{a} *b*^{a} *g*^{a} *ḍ*^{a} *d*^{a} *Ś*
11. *kh*^{a} *ph*^{a} *ch*^{a} *ṭh*^{a} *th*^{a} *c*^{a} *ṭ*^{a} *t*^{a} *V*
12. *k*^{a} *p*^{a} *Y*
13. *ś*^{a} *ṣ*^{a} *s*^{a} *R*
14. *h*^{a} *L*

In these *Śivasūtras*, the final consonants are simply markers and are not included in the listed sounds. Similarly, the superscripted vowel *a* is there to assist the pronunciation of the consonants, and has no value as far as the listing is concerned. Compared to the Sanskrit alphabet given earlier, it is clear that this listing is incomplete at first glance. What is the purpose of this listing? To state it briefly, this is a listing of sound tokens, which, without the aid from any other rules, stand for themselves. What do we mean by "themselves"? Here, the term *svarūpa* 'one's own form' in Pāṇini's grammar must be brought in. Pāṇini 1.1.68 (*svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya aśabdasaṃjñā*) says that an expression in Pāṇini's grammar stands for its own *rūpa* 'phonetic shape', unless it is a technical term (*śabda-saṃjñā*). Thus, *a* in the *Śivasūtra* (*a i u Ṇ*), unless otherwise stipulated, stands for its own phonetic shape. At this level, all the phonetic features which distinguish sounds from each other are relevant. Thus, *a* does not stand for *ā*, or *ã*, but it only stands for *a*. At this level of distinctiveness, two sound instances, a_1 and a_2, represent the same sound if they have all identical phonetic features.

13. The next rule, Pāṇini 1.1.69 (*aṇ-udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*), takes the listing of the *Śivasūtras* to the next metalinguistic level. It says that the *a-Ṇ* sounds (i.e., *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r*, and *l*) and sounds marked with the marker *U* stand for all their homogeneous sounds (*savarṇas*), unless they are affixes.[23] A homogeneous sound (*savarṇa*) is defined in Pāṇini 1.1.9 (*tulyāsya-prayatnaṃ savarṇam*). The sounds *x* and *y* are homogeneous with each other, if they share the same point of articulation (*sthāna*) and manner (*prayatna*).[24] With these definitions, the sound *a* in Pāṇini's rules, unless it is an affix, stands for all its homogeneous sounds, i.e. sounds which share the same point of articulation and manner. It is clear that this is the same as the convention concerning the usage of the term *avarṇa* in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*. Similarly, P.1.1.70 (*taparas tat-kālasya*) says that a sound marked with the following marker *T* stands for all homogeneous sounds with the same duration. Thus, while *a* stands for all homogeneous varieties, *aT* stands for six varieties of short *a* differing in accents and nasality. This latter is the same as the usage of *akāra* in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*. Similarly, a consonant such as *k* marked with the marker *U*, i.e., *kU*, stands for all homogeneous sounds of *k*, i.e. *k, kh, g, gh*, and *ṅ*. This is the same as the usage of *kavarga* in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*. Thus, the levels of distinctiveness in Pāṇini's grammar are basically the same as those in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*, though the terminology itself is different. Pāṇini deals with only those levels of distinctiveness which are relevant for euphonic and grammatical purposes. Thus, the notion of speed of pronunciation is not dealt with in his grammar.[25]

14. In the work of Bhartṛhari, a grammarian-philosopher of ±400 A.D., we find a new representation of these different levels of distinctiveness. These different levels of distinctiveness are seen in terms of a production model. There is a notion that there are ontologically eternal true sounds (*sphoṭa, varṇa*) which are manifested by the physical sounds of two kinds, primary physical sounds (*prākṛta-dhvani*) and secondary physical sounds (*vaikṛta-dhvani*). There are several different views, in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari and in his commentary on Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, regarding the relationships between these different notions, and these have been ably discussed in detail by S.D. Joshi (1967: 20-34). For our present purpose, it may suffice to note that the level of *sphoṭa* 'true sound', in general, seems to reflect only the features of point of articulation, manner, voicing, aspiration, etc., but not duration or speed. The *sphoṭa* level is said to be beyond temporality, while the primary manifesting sounds have the feature of duration. The secondary manifesting sounds, which are further reverberations of the primary manifesting sounds, reveal the features of speed. This, in general, offers concentric circles. At the very centre is the *sphoṭa/varṇa*, the core sound, which is eternal. The primary manifesting sounds represent the first circle around this core. These are the physical articulatory sounds which manifest the eternal *sphoṭa/varṇa*. The secondary manifesting sounds represent the outermost concentric circle. While Bhartṛhari's production model may not draw an applause from modern phoneticians, the diagrammatic perception of various features as concentric circles moving outwards in terms of diminishing distinctive values offers a certain evaluation of the various levels of distinctiveness. That evaluation is essentially a confirmation of the notions found in the ancient works on Sanskrit phonetics and grammar.

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References

1. In this paper, I have deliberately stayed away from detailed textual and philological controversies. My aim is to acquaint the non-specialist with certain major conceptions in the history of Sanskrit phonetics and grammar. For detailed accounts of the categories of Sanskrit phonetics, see: Allen (1953), Bare (1976), and Varma (1929).
2. K.C. Chatterji (1964: 238-239) points out that the term *ghoṣa* is used elsewhere in the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (2.2.2) in the sense of 'phoneme', but that in the passage above it is used in the sense of vowel. By 'phoneme', Chatterji means nothing more than 'a sound'.
3. This shows that the conception of a semi-vowel does not go much farther back. This point creates problems for the conclusions of Thieme (1985) which assumes that the sounds *y, r, l*, and *v* were already isolated in the period of early Vedic literature.
4. Deshpande (1979: 261).
5. Deshpande (1979: 268ff).
6. *Mahābhāṣya* (K), vol. I, p. 2.
7. *Mahābhāṣya* (K), vol. I, p. 5.
8. For a brief discussion of chronology and bibliographical references, see: Deshpande (1975: 85).
9. *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya, Vargadvaya*, verses 2-3; Chapt. I, verse 23.
10. Ramdev Tripathi (1977: 246-250) provides comparative details of the Sanskrit alphabets found in the various treatises in Sanskrit. The extensive charts at the end of this work also give a comparative account of the phonetic descriptions of Sanskrit sounds in the tradition of Sanskrit phonetics and grammar.
11. For the development of the notion of *varṇa*, see Desphande (1975: 128-130).
12. *svarataḥ kālataḥ sthānāt prayatnānupradānataḥ /, Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā* (verse 10)

13. For details, see Allen (1953) and Varma (1929).
14. For discussion concerning this problem in later texts, see: Deshpande (1975: 11-12).
15. *Mahābhāṣya* (K), vol. I, p. 14.
16. In the notation *ā3*, the number *3* represents the three mora duration of this prolated vowel. These prolated vowels are found mostly in vocatives.
17. This distinction in the *Prātiśākhyas* and *Śikṣās*, and the related notion of *savarṇa* "homogeneous" sounds are discussed extensively in Deshpande (1975). Generally speaking, the *Prātiśākhyas* have two separate notions of *savarṇa* 'belonging to the same *varṇa*' and *savarga* 'belonging to the same class'. These separate notions are united in a redefined notion of *savarṇa* in Pāṇini's grammar, Deshpande (1975: 130ff).
18. In Kātyāyana's comments on Pāṇini's grammar, he often brings up the notion that the features (*guṇa*, 'quality') of accent (*svara*), nasality (*ānunāsikya*), and duration (*kāla*) are distinctive (*bhedaka*), Deshpande (1975: 50ff; 203, note 442; 207, note 466).
19. These modes of recitation are discussed in Kātyāyana's Vārttikas on Pāṇini 1.1.70, and 1.4.109. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa in his commentary *Uddyota* quotes the following verse: *abhyāsārthe drutā vṛttiḥ prayogārthe tu madhyamā / śiṣyāṇām upadeśārthaṃ vṛttir iṣṭā vilambitā //*, *Uddyota*, *Mahābhāṣya* (M), vol. I, pt. I, p. 378.
20. The relationship of these three speeds is generally explained as follows. If it takes nine units of time to pronounce an expression in fast speed, it takes 12 units of time to pronounce the same expression in medium speed, and 16 units of time to pronounce the same expression in slow speed. See: *ye drutāyāṃ vṛttau varṇās tri-bhāgādhikās te madhyamāyām / ye madhyamāyāṃ vṛttau varṇās tribhāgādhikās te vilambitāyām /*, *Mahābhāṣya* (K), on Pāṇini 1.4.109, vol. I, p. 355. The same passage is found in the *Mahābhāṣya* (K), on Pāṇini 1.1 70, vol. I, p. 181. The commentator Kaiyata on this passage explains the relative proportions of these modes of recitation as: *drutaṃ ślokaṃ ṛcaṃ voccārayati vaktari nāḍikāyā yasyā nava pāṇiyapalāni sravanti tasyā eva madhyamāyāṃ vṛttau dvādaśa palāni sravanti / ...vilambitāyaṃ vṛttau ṣoḍaśa palāni sravanti /*, *Pradipa* on *Mahābhāṣya* (M), vol. I, pt. I, p. 378.
21. Cf. *siddhaṃ tv avasthitā varṇā vaktuś cirācirava canād vṛttayo viśiṣyante*, *Vārttika* 5, *Mahābhāṣya* (K), vol. I, p. 181. Also, S.D. Joshi (1967: 13ff).
22. For the most recent exhaustive work on these *Śivasūtras*, see: Cardona (1969). Also, Deshpande (1975).
23. For a detailed discussion of the various interpretations of this rule, see: Deshpande (1972).
24. For details, see: Deshpande (1975: 8ff).
25. See Note 21.

Māmakī and the Altindische Grammatik

Dipak Bhattacharya

Pāṇini (P.) 4.1.30 allows the unaccented feminine suffix -ī (nīp) after *māmaka* and eight other words in two cases, namely, when a name is meant and secondly in the *chandas*. This makes only *māmakī* possible for the Saṃhitās and *māmikā* elsewhere (P. 4.1.4 and Vārttika to 7.3.44). The form *māmakī* was not found in the Saṃhitās before the discovery of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda (AVP). The word appears in the AV Paippalāda 6.6.8^d *adhy asyāṃ māmakī tanū* (MSS[1] *tanu* and *tanuṃ*) and 7.12.3^c *adhaḥ sapatnī māmakī* (Kashmir MS *sāmaktī*). AVP 6.6.8^d has been cited in the Kāśikā on P. 1.1.19. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita seems to have taken the example *māmakī tanū* for the same sūtra from the Kāśikā. The source is not mentioned anywhere. But the occurrence of the sentence in the Kāśikā indicates that either Vāmana or Jayāditya knew the AVP or a text closely resembling it like the lost Mauda recension (cf. *anuvadate Maudaḥ Paippalādasya*, Kāśikā on P. 1.3.49). Secondly, since a Śāradā MS of the AVP was found in Jammu, the fact may be considered to be an evidence supporting the belief that the authors of the Kāśikā hailed from Kashmir.[2]

The rule P. 4.1.30 is important for some other reasons too. Since the form *māmakī* is exclusive to the AVP according to our present knowledge, it shows that Pāṇini too might have known the form from the AVP[3] or some recension closely similar to it.

Unfortunately, a remark in Wackernagel-Debrunner's Altindische Grammatik (AIG, Göttingen-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht — 1954) in this regard creates confusion. The exact words occurring in AIG, II, 2, p. 398 are: "P. 4.1.30 lässt *māmakī-* (ep.kl.) statt *māmikā-* (ep.) nur für das Chandas zu, aber Pat.erklärt es als normal."

There is an error here. That Pāṇini prescribes *māmakī* for the Chandas is true. But contrary to Wackernagel-Debrunner's remark, there is nothing in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya which contradicts Pāṇini's standpoint.

If Patañjali had not known *māmakī* as an exclusive Saṃhitā form, the claim made above that Pāṇini had known this form from the AVP or a closely similar text would lose much of its force. What Patañjali says on the sūtra is as follows:

> *māmakagrahaṇaṃ kimartham? na aṇantād ity eva siddham?*
> *niyamārtho 'yam ārambhaḥ - māmakaśabdāt saṃjñāchandasoreva.*
> *kva mā bhūt? māmikā buddhiriti.*

"Why is *māmaka* included? Is not the word otherwise possible since the word *māmaka* ends with the suffix -aṇ?"

The mentioning of *māmaka* here causes a regulation as follows: "The rule is valid

for *māmaka* only when it means a name in the Vedas. Where is it not valid? In cases like *māmikā buddhiḥ*, 'my sense'."

māmaka is formed with the *taddhita* suffix -aṇ added to the pronominal root *asmad-* (P. 4.3.1 and 3). Now P. 4.1.15 allows the feminine suffix -ī after words formed with the *taddhita-aṇ*. Hence *māmakī* is possible by P. 4.1.15 also. This raises doubt as to the necessity of the inclusion of *māmaka* in 4.1.30 for the feminine form *māmakī*.

Patañjali's reply to this objection is that if the present sūtra had left out *māmaka* then only *māmakī* would have been possible both in the Vedas and in Classical Sanskrit. The inclusion of *māmaka* in 4.1.30 restricts *māmakī* to the Saṃhitās and to proper names[4] and *māmikā* to the remaining cases.

Anyone following Kayyaṭa or Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī*) may see that the same explanation is followed in these too. The Kāśikā does not raise the problem and simply maintains that *māmakī* is for Saṁjñā and Chandas while *māmikā* is for Bhāṣā. Hence there is no basis for the remark in the AiG that Patañjali accepts *māmakī* as a normal Sanskrit form.

We may add that Patañjali's observation that *māmakī* is a Chandas form is an additional evidence for his closeness to the AVP or a very similar text. The matter has already been proved by other evidences.[5]

References

1. One mutilated birch-bark MS in the Śāradā script and a few palmleaf MSS in the Oriya script. See Bhattacharyya, Durgamohan, Introduction, Vol. I, *Paippalādasaṃhitā of the Atharvaveda*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1964, xviii ff.
   Two volumes (Kāṇḍas 1-4) have been published. The remaining kāṇḍas await publication at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. The cited readings have been taken from MSS in my possession.
2. Belvelkar, S.K., *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, pp. 29-30.
3. This is an additional evidence for Pāṇini's acquaintance with the AVP. For the views of Paul Thieme and Durgamohan Bhattacharyya see the latter, *op. cit.*, xxxii.
4. The word saṁjñā-chandasoḥ is understood by way of anuvṛtti from P. 4.1.29.
5. Patañjali (Paspaśāhnika) cites the first verse of the AVP as the first example while illustrating Vedic words from the four Saṃhitās. Also n. 3 above.

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A NOTE ON ASTI

G. CARDONA

1. The use of *asti* at the beginning of certain utterances in Sanskrit has of course been noted in standard grammars and works on Sanskrit syntax. Among the most explicit and informative statements is the short paragraph in Speijer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (311.2 [p. 234]): 'अस्ति, the 3^{d} pers. of the present, may be used almost as a particle in the beginning of tales and the like. It is then the very first word. Kathâs. 1.27 Çiva begins to tell a story: अस्ति मामीक्षितुं पूर्वं ब्रह्मा नारायणस्तथा...हिमवत्पादमूलमवापतुः, here अस्ति may be rendered by "well". Sometimes it has the force of "it happens that", as Pat. I, p. 48 अस्ति पुनः क्वचिदन्यत्राप्यपवादे प्रतिषिद्ध उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति (but it happens also elsewhere that—), ibid., p. 444 अयमग्निहोत्रशब्दोऽस्त्येव ज्योतिषि वर्तते...अस्ति हविषि वर्तते.'[1] There is room for more precision and additional data can be brought in to give a fuller picture of the usage in early and Middle Indo-Aryan.

2. It is both appropriate and useful to distinguish between two major kinds of examples. To begin with, there are instances of the following types:[2]

(A) (1) ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः। अस्त्येव शालासमुदाये वर्तते। तद्यथा ग्रामो दग्ध इति। अस्ति वाटपरिक्षेपे वर्तते। तद्यथा ग्रामं प्रविष्ट इति। अस्ति मनुष्येषु वर्तते। तद्यथा ग्रामो गतः ग्राम आगत इति। अस्ति सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते। तद्यथा ग्रामो लब्ध इति। (E.g., Bh. on 1.1.7 [I.59.20-23])

(B) (2) अस्ति पुनः क्वचिदन्यत्राप्यपवादे प्रतिषिद्ध उत्सर्गोऽपि न भवति। अस्तीत्याह। (Bh. on 1.1.3 [I.48.25-26])

Type (A), examples of which are numerous in the Mahābhāṣya, concerns polysemous (*bahvartha*) terms: such a term is said to occur (*vartate*) in one of the possible meanings in a given context. Thus, for example, immediately after (1), Patañjali goes on to say (I.59.23-24): तद्यः सारण्यके ससीमके सस्थण्डिलके वर्तते तमभिसमीक्ष्यैतत् प्रयुज्यते अनन्तराविमौ ग्रामाविति। सर्वत्रै ह्यतज्जातीयकं व्यवधायकं भवति।[3] There are also examples concerning similar situations, but in which one finds *asti* construed with a singular nominal, as in:

(C) (3) अयं सत्त्वशब्दोऽस्त्येव द्रव्यपदार्थकः। तद्यथा सत्त्वमयं ब्राह्मणः। सत्त्वमियं ब्राह्मणीति। अस्ति क्रियापदर्थकः। सद्भावः सत्त्वमिति। (Bh. on 1.4.57 [I.341.2-3])

(4) अयं तशब्दोऽस्त्येवात्मनेपदमस्ति परस्मैपदमस्त्येकवचनमस्ति बहुवचनम्। (Bh. on 3.1.60 [II.56.8])

One also finds questions and answers similar to (2) but which concern the same issue as (1); for example:

(5) अस्ति पुन: क्वचिदन्यत्राप्यूहिर्वह्यर्थे वर्तते। अस्तीत्याह। (Bh. on 3.1.131 vt. 2 [II.90.5-6])

Moreover there are instances which blend types (A) and (C), as in:

(6) एकशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थ:। अस्त्येव सङ्ख्यापदम्। तद्यथा एको द्वौ बहव इति। अस्त्यसहायवाची। तद्यथा एकाग्न्य: एकहलानि एकाकिभि: क्षुद्रकैर्जितमिति। असहायैरित्यर्थ:। अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते। तद्यथा प्रजामेका रक्षत्यूर्जमेकेति। अन्येत्यर्थ:। (Bh. on 1.1.24 [I.83.23-84.1])

Finally, it is to be noted that forms of *bhū* also occur in sentences of type (B), as in:

(7) अथवा भवति वैवंजातीयकेषु बध्नातिर्वर्तते। तद्यथा अस्ति नो गर्गै: संबन्ध: अस्ति नो वत्सै: संबन्ध इति। संयोग इत्यर्थ:। (Bh. on 2.1.1 [I.366.2-4])[4]

3. As is well known, grammarians recognize not only a finite verb form *asti* but also a particle (*nipāta*) *asti*, as in the compound *astikṣira-*.[5] It is noteworthy that Pāṇinīyas do not interpret sentences like (1), (2) as containing such a particle, although modern scholars are indeed prone to speak about such sentences as containing something like a particle *asti*; see section 1 and note 1. In view of examples like (7), there can be little doubt that Pāṇinīyas are right in not considering the possibility that *asti* in such utterances is simply a particle. On the contrary, it cannot be understood to be anything other than a third singular form meaning 'is'.

It is equally clear, however, that *asti* in (1), (2) cannot immediately be construed with a singular nominal, as in (3), (4). Pāṇinīyas are naturally aware of the issue, and make suggestions. Thus, Nāgeśa interprets अस्ति...वर्तते in (1) as of the type भवति पचति, where the act of cooking referred by *pacati* is the agent of the act of coming about or being denoted by *bhavati*.[6] Similarly, the act of occurring (*vartanakriyā*) in a given meaning is the agent of the act of being; that is, the occurrence of the term *grāma-* in a given meaning (*vṛttiḥ*) is asserted (*asti* 'is').[7] Under the analysis which Pāṇinīyas maintain, that the verb is the principal element in an utterance, this interpretation amounts to relating *asti* with a sentence: The truth of what a sentence says is asserted. For example, (1) not only says that *grāma-* is a polysemous term but also goes on to assert accepted facts: It is a fact that *grāma-* occurs in each of the following meanings: a group of houses (as in *grāmo dagdhaḥ* 'The village has burned'), the protecting border that surrounds such a group of houses (as in *grāmam praviṣṭaḥ* '...has penetrated the village'), people who live in a village (as in *grāmo gataḥ* 'The village has gone', *grāma āgataḥ* 'The village has come back'), the group of houses along with the surrounding forest, the border, and the surrounding fields (as in *grāmo labdhaḥ* 'A village has been gotten'). (2) involves a question and a retort. In the course of an argument, the question is asked whether it is a fact that in addition to the instance at issue somewhere else also a general rule does not apply even after an exception to it has been denied. In reply, it is asserted that indeed this is the case.

Now, if one can assert of a term that it occurs in a given meaning, one can also speak of that term as having that meaning, as when (3) says of *sattva-* that it not only has the meaning substance (*dravyapadārthakaḥ*) but also that of an action (*kriyāpadārthakaḥ*),

namely being. Moreover, predicating of a term that it has such and such a meaning, that it is a signifier of that meaning (*-vācin-*) is tantamount to asserting that the term occurs in that meaning. Accordingly, it is only to be expected that one find usages such as (6).

4. Utterances of the type (1)-(2) are properly interpreted as containing a verb form *asti* 'is' used to assert that what follows is a fact. It is to be noted that this usage is not limited to Sanskrit. It is also found in early Middle Indic. Consider the following examples from Aśokan inscriptions:

(8) *asti jano uccāvacam maṁgalaṁ karote...* (Rock edict 9, Girnar) 'It is a fact that the people carry out various ceremonies...'

(9) *asti pi tu ekaccā samājā sādhumatā devānaṁpriyassa priyadassino rāño* (Rock edict 1, Girnar) 'The fact is that nevertheless some *samājas* are considered good by the king...beloved of the gods.'

In (8), *asti* precedes a sentence with a third singular present verb form.[8] This is obviously of the type (1)-(2). (9) differs from (8), however, in that it contains only a single verb, *asti*. One could be tempted to interpret this as a singular form construed with the nominative plural *ekaccā samājā sādhumatā*, as some scholars appear to have done.[9] And, to be sure, in Pāli the formal singular *atthi* is indeed construed with plurals, as in:

(10) *te sabbe pi tuyhaṁ abbhantare atthi...* (Vānarindajātaka [Fausbøll, The Jātaka I.280.1-2]) 'And all these (*dhammas*) are in you.'

Nevertheless, (9) differs from (10) in that the latter has *atthi* in final position while the *asti* is the initial of the former utterance. In view of the context and also of the unambiguous type (8), then, it is perfectly appropriate to interpret (9) as shown: *asti* asserts the truth of what is stated in the following, and *ekaccā samājā sādhumatā...* is a normal nominal sentence.

5. In sum, there is good evidence in Indo-Aryan for the occurrence of presentential *asti* 'is' used to assert that what said immediately thereafter is a fact.[10]

References

1. The second and third examples which Speijer cites are from Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāṣya. Note that Speijer has not properly understood the example from the Bhāṣya on 1.1.3 (see my ex. (2) below): This is a question, not a statement. Cf. also Renou, *Grammaire sanskrite* 154 (§ 118d): '*asti*...inaugure explétivement la phrase liminaire d'un conte...D'autre part le mot équivaut parfoisà "vraiement" cl. (aussi *asti* ca)...; àmi-chemin chez P. *asti* = *kim* devant futur...*asti* est rangé comme indéclinable gaṇa lexx...La propagation de la valeur explétive est due à l'extension de *asti* comme copule facultative.'
2. Examples are from the Mahābhāṣya, cited by volume, page, and lines of Kielhorn's edition, revised by K.V. Abhyankar.
3. It is not necessary to deal here with what commentators say concerning the two possible views reflected in such passages: that there is a single speech unit with several meanings or a distinct unit for each meaning.

4. For sentence-initial *bhū*, compare also examples like भवेद् द्रव्येष्वेतदेवं स्यात्। (Bh. on 1.1.23 [I.82.7]).
5. Cf. 2.2.24 vtts. 21-22 with Bhāṣya (I.425.7-13): सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादिवचनम्।।२१।।
सुबधिकारेऽस्तिक्षीरादीनामुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्। अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी। तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम्। न वाव्ययत्वात्।।२२।।
न वा वक्तव्यम्। किं कारणम्। अव्ययत्वात्। अव्ययमेषोऽस्तिशब्दः नैषास्तेर्लट्। कथमव्ययत्वम्।
उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वरप्रतिरूपकाश्च निपातसंज्ञा भवन्तीति निपातसंज्ञा निपातोऽव्ययमित्यव्ययसंज्ञा।
6. Cf. Bhāṣya I.256.27-28 (on 1.3.1): का तर्हीयं वाचोयुक्तिः भवति पचति भवति पक्ष्यति भवत्यपाक्षीदिति। एषैषा वाचोयुक्तिः। पचादयः क्रिया भवतिक्रियायाः कर्त्र्यो भवन्तीति।
7. Uddyota (Rohatak edition) I.192: तत्र वृत्तिक्रियास्तिक्रियायाः कर्त्री। शालासमुदायादौ ग्रामशब्दस्य वृत्तिरस्तीत्यर्थः। Cf. The note on a comparable Bhāṣya passage (Bh. 1.1.21) in the Nirṇayasāgara Press edition (I.276n.5): ...शालासमुदाय वृत्तिरस्तीत्येवेत्यन्वयः। एवञ्च अस्तिक्रियाया वर्तनक्रिया कर्त्री...पचति भवतीतिवत् प्रयोगः।
8. *karote*, Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra' *karoti*, Kalsi, Dhauli *kaleti* ('does, carries out') construed with the nominative singular *jano*, *jane*.
9. For example, Bloch, J., *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka* (Paris, 1950), who remarks (p. 91 n. 12), 'Noter l'emploi avec sujet au pluriel.'
10. Just how this usage relates to the common fronting of *asti* and other verb forms and to the use of *asti* as an invariable particle I leave for subsequent discussion.

22

Rāmāyaṇa and Public Discourse in Medieval India

Sheldon Pollock

I. Introduction

There is a long history to the relationship between *Rāmāyaṇa* and political symbology. From its very origins the theme seems to have supplied, continuously and readily, if in a highly differentiated way, a cognitive instrumentarium—an *imaginary*—for articulating a wide range of political discourses. Indeed, no other text in South Asia has ever supplied ideological resources remotely comparable in their effectivity. This is a history, however, that remains largely, and surprisingly, unwritten.

About the earlier course of the political life of the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme (especially its "genetic history", in contrast to its "receptive history") we know little at present, in part because our sources are so few, but also because what sources we do have remain underthematized. Just as little thought has been given to the political life of the text in the following 1000-year period from the putative origins of the Sanskrit version to the flowering of the "vernacular" language treatments of the tale (Kamban, Kṛttivāsa, Tulsi Das, etc.) and the specific historical location of this "vernacular" language production. We know, for example, that a large number of dramas and other forms of narrative based on the Rāma theme in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and regional languages were commissioned by, performed before, or indeed composed by kings—from the court of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena in the fifth century (the *Setubandha*) or Yaśovarman in Kanauj in the seventh (the *Rāmābhyudaya*) to that of Śivāji in the 17th (the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Rāmadāsa)—but of the social and political ontologies of these texts we understand to date little beyond the facts that seem to occupy a dominant position in elite forms of cultural activity.[1]

The vast gaps in our present knowledge about the political life of the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme make it risky to claim that this life was ever marked by a sudden and utterly discontinuous revaluation. Yet it can be argued that at a particular historical juncture the *Rāmāyaṇa* imaginary was introduced more centrally and dramatically onto the stage of a public, as opposed to simply literary, discourse than it ever had been before, while at the same time the social and political valences of its thematics were established more univocally than ever before. If we trace the trajectory of the historical effectivity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* mytheme—by the measure of its penetration of the realms of public discourse—through following its workings in the cultural materials of "post-epic" India, in temple remains, for instance, or inscriptions, or even those historical narratives that are available, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *Rāmāyaṇa*—the specific narrative of this tale—achieved actual, demonstrable significance in the political imagination of India under very particular historical circumstances.

Unquestionably the ideology of the epic had already intersected with, reprocessed or suggested, the ideology of the early Indian imperial polity, especially that of Aśoka, as I myself have tried to argue out elsewhere.[2] But it is extraordinary to find that whereas the *literary* imagination of India had received undiminishing stimulation from the Rāma legend for a thousand years, from the early fourth century (if not earlier) onward—from Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Kumāradāsa (another prince), to Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭi, Murāri, Rājaśekhara, the list seems endless—the *political* imaginary apparently did not: it may have been inflected, embellished, ennobled by the Rāma theme but it was never before constituted by it until the end of this millennium; until that period, however much the *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative may have supplied a standard, a paradigm, a typology of and argument for royal sovereignty and indeed, divinity, the tale was never before relived—kings never before actually became Rāma.[3]

II. Rāma and Temple Cult

The cult of Rāma, its role in the ideology of kingship, and the expression of this doctrine in temple worship have not, I am surprised to discover, been traced in any historical detail. What I present here, consequently, will no doubt bear supplementation, but I think it's unlikely that my main conclusion will be seriously affected—namely, there appears to be an almost total absence of Rāma from temple worship in South Asia until at the earliest the eleventh, or more likely the twelfth century, and this worship seems to develop almost *pari passu* with a set of particular historical events.

It is many years since R.G. Bhandarkar first made this point, that while the divinity of Rāma was known from quite early on, the temple cult of Rāma was very slow to develop.[4] Yet just how limited this development is prior to the twelfth century, and what is more significant, the conditions under which it was initiated after that date, have hardly been explored.

Early evidence for any cultic practice devoted to Rāma is sparse in the extreme. There is inscriptional testimony for Skandagupta's founding of a Śārṅgadhārin temple and were this in Ayodhyā it might suggest a royal cult of Rāma in the late fifth century, but I see little reason to believe that it was, despite what appears to have been the relocation of the Gupta court to Ayodhyā and the symbolic effects to be achieved by this relocation.[5] This dubious instance aside, prior to the twelfth century the only evidence that Rāma may have been the object of a cult is offered by the well-known fifth century charter issued by the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatigupta from "*Rāmagirisvāmipādamūlāt* (recalling Kālidāsa's *raghupatipāda, Meghadūta* 9). But even if this is unproblematically accepted as a Rāma shrine (and there are problems, see below), this remains a single instance, in a very limited geographical area (around "Nandivardhana" in northern Maharashtra) and a brief historical episode (ca. 400-65).[6] From that point on for the next 700 years we hear nothing anywhere of Rāma sanctuaries.

This is of course not to say that we do not encounter scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and occasional sculptural representations of Rāma throughout this period. In Andhra Pradesh, for example, reliefs bearing Rāmāyaṇa themes are found in the rock-cut caves at Undavalli (10 kms from Vijayawada in coastal Andhra) that may reach back to Viṣṇukuṇḍin times (4th-5th cent. AD).[7] Yet no epigraphical testimony attesting to any temple explicitly dedicated to Rāma is found in Andhra until far later. Throughout the Deccan, the same situation presents itself. From the seventh century on, substantial interest in the *Rāmāyaṇa* tale is attested, beginning with the Cālukya dominion from the seventh century—most substantially at the Virūpākṣa and Pāpanāth temples at Pattadakal, which are among the first to attempt any kind of systematic narration (the Pāpanātha depiction is even

provided with identifying labels in Prakrit)—to the monument that represents the apex of artistry in this style, the great frieze on the *vimāna* of the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellora (AD 757-72).[8] (It is from around this period on that individual scenes begin to appear also in the east and south of the subcontinent—in the Paraśurāma Temple at Bhubaneshwar, late 7th cen.; the 8th cen. Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī, and Olakkaneśvara temple at Mahabalipuram).[9] All of these temples are Śaiva, a good number of the scenes selected for representation seem to be Śaiva in character (Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa and the like), and in any case there is nothing anywhere here to indicate dedication to or cultic significance of Rāma.

In the north, so far as I can tell, the situation is no different; again we find Rāmāyaṇa representations from an early period, but nothing to suggest a Rāma cult. For example, in a recently discovered Viṣṇu Temple at Aphsaḍ (18 miles northeast of Nawadah in the Nawadah District, Bihar), which was apparently erected by the Gupta king Ādityasena in the seventh century, at least eight Rāmāyaṇa panels are available.[10] But in view of the fact that a large Varāha image was also found here, it is more than likely that this was a standard Viṣṇu temple with *daśāvatāra* motifs, like the well-known earlier Gupta monument at Deogarh (ca. AD 500). The same, finally, is the case in Western India. For instance, throughout the vast Gurjara-Pratihāra empire (ca. 800-1000), which at its height extended out from Rajasthan beyond Kanauj in the east and south to the Vindhyas, there are no Rāma temples to be found (an absence paralleled in their inscriptional record, see below).

By the mid-twelfth century, however, the situation begins to change, with a sudden onset of activity of building new or rededicating old temples to Rāma, which would intensify over the next 200 years.

Among the early examples of Rāma temples are two built (or rebuilt) under the Kalachuris of Ratnapur (Raipur district, Madhya Pradesh), a first one at Rājim in AD 1145 by a minister of King Pṛthvīdeva II, and a second (in Rewa near Makundpur) in 1193, by a feudatory of Vijayasiṃha of the later Kalachuri dynasty ruling at Tripuri. The first bears an inscription that, though obscure in places, helps us begin to situate the politics of the Rāma cult as it develops in this period: "Through fear of [this King Jagapāla], the formidable foes—the Māyūrikas and the valiant Sāvantas—the lords of *maṇḍalas*, completely submitted to him. Just as the *kṣatriya* Rāma, (best of) warriors, destroyed the families [sc., of the demons] [or: families of bowmen], even so did this [King Jagapāla] kill the forces of his enemies with multitudes of arrows (vs. 9-10)....Reciting all [works] such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, [being] the support of living beings, self-respecting, conferring gifts on Brāhman families for their learning—such is Jagapāla. He has caused this beautiful temple to be constructed for manifesting the splendour of Rāma" (vs. 21-22).[11] Though the identification of the enemy is unclear here, what is important to register is the explicit comparison of the king with Rāma and the establishment of a cult to celebrate this homomorphism.

It is around this same time—between the mid-11th and the end of the 12th—that the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty begins to develop Ayodhyā as a major Vaiṣṇava centre by way of a substantial temple building program. Unfortunately the inscriptional record here is not what one would hope for, but it is almost certain that Rāma temples were constructed at the Svargadvāra ghat probably built by Candradeva and one, possibly a *rāmajanmasthāna* temple (of recent notoriety), built by the last Gāhaḍavāla king Jayacandra.[12]

At the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth century, several major cultic centres devoted to Rāma are created or re-invigorated. I'll only look at two of these, rather different in character the one from the other, the Rāma complex at Rāmtek (Rāmatekdi, "Rāma's Hill", 28 miles northeast of Nagpur), and that at Vijayanagar.

According to "local legend" recorded by Cousens, Rāmtek is the place where Rāma slew Śambūka. "Afterwards one Hemāḍpant (some say a Rākṣasa, and others a Brāhman) built the following five temples on the Rāmtek hill: one dedicated to Rāma, and containing images of Rāma and Sītā; one dedicated to Lakṣmaṇasvāmī; one to Hanumān; one temple dedicated to the goddess 'Ekādaśī'; and a temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa..." (what is known as a *pañcāyatana* complex).[13] The site has recently been studied in much greater detail by Jamkhedkar and by Bakker.[14] There are perhaps as many as five structures dating from Vākāṭaka times on Rāmtek, and a Chalukyan era temple, in addition to the several Yādava structures. None of these Vākāṭaka temples, though Vaiṣṇava, give any evidence, iconographic or inscriptional, of dedication to Rāma (they instead are dedicated to Narasiṃha, Varāha, Bhagavān); those associated with Rāma are of the Hemāḍpant style, and there is little reason to believe these replace any earlier Rāma structures.[15]

Since Cousens's time, an undated inscription, unfortunately in sorry state of decomposition, found on the *garbhagṛha* of the Lakṣmaṇasvāmī temple has been published (*EI*, 25, pp. 7ff).[16] The identity of the ruling house hinted at by the mention of *yādavo vaṃśaḥ*, and further on, of the name *siṃhana*, is made clear in line 17, where we read, "King Śrī Rāmacandra, who made (the subordinate official in question) the repository of a royalty brilliant with the prosperity of empire." The record thus refers to the Yādava king of Devagiri, Rāmacandra (great-grandson of Siṃhana), who ascended the throne ca. AD 1271. Of him it is elsewhere said, "How is this Rāma to be described...who freed Vārāṇasī from the *mleccha* horde, and built there a golden temple of Śārṅgadhara."[17] Although he is said to be a *mahāmāheśvara* or "great devotee of Śiva", who "anoints eight icons of Śambhu with the milk of his fame", he is also called *rāyanārāyaṇa*, "a very Nārāyaṇa among kings", while his minister is described as a descendant of Vasiṣṭha.[18]

Now, while there is no contemporary archaeological evidence, the textual evidence cited above—Rāmtek and Rāmagiri (of the Vākāṭaka grant) being identical—could suggest that Rāmtek was a site of Rāma worship prior to the time of this grant. What is in any case clear from this large and complex *praśasti* is that King Rāmacandra empowered his viceroy to embellish the Rāma cult there substantially. And the fact that some major investment (or re-investment) in the site took place near the end of the Yādava dynasty is a historical conjuncture that we shall see is anything but coincidental.

I will come back to this Yādava king in due course, but before leaving the question of the Rāmtek centre, I want to tie up the loose end in Cousens's report of the figure named Hemāḍpant. There is no doubt that this name—associated with other temple projects dating from the Yādava period[19]—refers to the illustrious Hemādri Pandit, the *mantrin* of the Yādava king Rāmacandra and his father. It is to him (in his encyclopedia of *dharma* that I discuss below) that we owe one of the earliest texts extant for ritual prescriptions relating to Rāma, which provides liturgical instructions for worshipping Rāma as an incarnation, and describes a ceremony connected with his birth, the *Rāghavadvādaśīvrata*. Hemādri also reproduces part of the *Agastyasaṃhitā*, the first text to treat of the most important festival associated with Rāma (the Rāmanavamī), a text that itself cannot be dated before the twelfth century.[20]

I will explore below the specific historical conjuncture that makes coincidence an improbable explanation for the institution of the Rāma cult in late Yādava times. Let me just suggest for now that the same conjuncture will obtain also in what seems to be the earliest evidence for the worship of this god in Andhra Pradesh. This is in the Kākatīya period in a record dated *śaka* 1245 (= A D 1323) from Guntur district which states that "the inhabitants...agreed to give to the temple of Varada Gopīnātha and Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa a portion of their incomes for the merit of Pratāpa Rudradeva."[21]

The apogee of the growth of a royal cult of Rāma suggested by the foregoing material

is reached in the middle (or end) of the fourteenth century with the founding of the Vijayanagar empire. Here a temple devoted to Rāma is incorporated into the very structure of the imperial city; it becomes the central focus of spatially articulated political theology, occupying the centre of the royal quarter of Vijayanagar.[22] First noticed by Longhurst, this feature of the city has recently been theorized by John Fritz:

> Urban form...established the homology of the king and the divine hero-king Rāma...King and god were the focus of the city....(The) urban elements assert the congruence of the terrestrial realm of the king with the realm of the god....The king was empowered by the god...the king's actions were a manifestation of Rama's and he participated in the sanctity of the deity. (He cites an inscription of AD 1379: "In that same city (Vijayanagar) did (King) Harihara dwell as in former times Rāma dwelled in the city of Ayodhyā.") These relations were conveyed by urban structure, by movement in the city, and by the mythological associations of the site.[23]

And of course in the Vijayanagar/Nāyaka period separate temples whose main deity is Rāma become common, and include such notable examples as the Rāmasvāmi temple at Kumbhakonam and the Varadarāja temple at Kāñci.

What may constitute the sole, and still a minor, exception to a twelfth century date for the origin of the temple cult of Rāma is the early Coḷa realm. Nagasvamy refers to several Coḷa bronzes of Kodaṇḍa Rāma, but these seem to have been highly restricted in both time and place—to early tenth century Thanjavur district, and the reign of Āditya, who assumed the title "Kodaṇḍa Rāma". Whether these figures were "made under the influence of Kamban's *Rāma-Kathā*" or not depends of course on the notoriously difficult dating of that text (anywhere from the late 9th to the late 12th century has been suggested), but that there is prefiguration of the political instrumentation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* under Āditya remains arguable.[24] Sanford's detailed study of Coḷa temples bearing Rāma reliefs argues for a close relationship between these representations and Coḷa kingship in the 9th and 10th centuries. But the positive evidence remains exiguous for the Coḷa domain, and is vitiated by negative evidence: We find, for example, nothing whatever in the epigraphical record of the Bādāmi Cālukyas to substantiate a political valorization of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, yet the same area, as already noted, produced some of the earliest plastic representations of the epic; we find, furthermore, the *Rāmāyaṇa* competing with a variety of other epic friezes—the *Mahābhārata*, the Kṛṣṇa-cycle—in places like Ellora and indeed in the Coḷa country itself, which certainly seems to diminish the centrality Sanford strives to establish.[25] The epigraphical remains, too, as I show below, contain little beyond the standard rhetorical ornamentation.[26]

I am not asserting, then, that Rāma was *never* the object of cultic worship prior to the period with which I am concerned here.[27] What I don't think is in doubt, however, is that this cult is at first extraordinarily restricted in time and space; that it shows a striking efflorescence, and takes up a special place within the context of a political theology, from the end of the 12th cen. onward, achieving in some instances a centrality by the middle of the 14th (and—though I won't pursue the matter here—seems to cease to grow at all after that point, in north India at least, until perhaps the 17th cen.).[28] This development is paralleled in other areas of cultural production as well.

III. Rāma and Inscriptions

If the architectural remains associated with Rāma have hardly been systematically worked

through and synthetically analysed, this is even more so the case with the inscriptional materials that refer to or invoke Rāma or in one way or the other process *Rāmāyaṇa* themes.[29] Here too my findings have to be regarded as provisional, but again I would be surprised if further work would require fundamental revision of my conclusion: The *Rāmāyaṇa* provides serious material to the political imagination of premodern India as we can recover it from the inscriptional record only from the later medieval period on; references in the first millennium remain very sparse indeed, and gain in frequency and complexity only after the 12th cen. I first want to glance at the quality of this earlier material, and then go on to examine in more depth a few examples of the sort of thing we encounter later.

Rāma to be sure furnishes an *upamāna* or standard of comparison in hyperbolic inscriptional discourse from an early period, but these are static and altogether formulaic allusions. This quality may be illustrated in what is perhaps the earliest instance, the Sālivāhana *praśasti* at Nasik (ca. AD 150), where Rāma is simply one among a series of heroes: *nābhāganahuṣa-janamejaya-sagara-yayāti-rāma-abariṣa-samatejasa*. Hardly an exception to such uninteresting formulae in the early period is the comparison of Skandagupta with Rāma ("equal to Rāma in his great offensive power"), which is, in fact the only time Rāma son of Daśaratha is mentioned in the entire corpus of Gupta inscriptions; if we knew nothing about the putative move of the Gupta capital to Ayodhyā, such a reference would hardly attract our attention at all (note that Skandagupta is likened to Yudhiṣṭhira in the same line).[30] The public discourses of major dynasties for centuries often make virtually no appropriation of the Rāma theme. In the records of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire (ca. 800-1000), for example, reference to Rāma is completely absent, as it is in the contemporary Śilāhāras to the west.[31] Among the Bādāmi Cālukyas (ca. 500-750) I can recall no mention of Rāma in their charters, despite their well-attested knowledge of and respect for the Sanskrit epic; among the Gaṅgas, their neighbours to the southwest, a single, pedestrian allusion to Rāma is found, whereas he seems to be mentioned only once in the entire extant corpus of inscriptions of the north-central Paramāras.[32] Outside of these cases, the most common reference to Rāma in early inscriptions beyond these simple similes is the minatory verse appearing at the end of land-grants: "Common to (all) kings is the dam of *dharma;* you should abide it moment by moment. Again and again Rāmacandra implores all future kings to do this."[33] Still, all this latter presents us with, in the end, is an image of Rāma as superordinate king, one that the literary texts had already been promulgating for centuries.

More complex in their referentiality are inscriptions that exploit the narrative of the poem with a historicist turn. A record of the Pallava king Nandivarman (undated; ca. 8th cen.) describes Narasiṃhavarman as surpassing "the glory of the valour of Rāma by (his) conquest of Laṅkā", the same boast Rājendra Coḷa I was to make two hundred years later (ca. 1018), taunting the Sinhalese with the mytheme when referring to his general's defeat of the king of Laṅkā: Rāma needed the help of monkeys to build his *setu*, and only with great effort could he slay the lord of Laṅkā; but my general crossed the ocean in ships and easily destroyed the lord of Laṅkā: *atas tena rāmo 'bhibhutaḥ'*.[34] Considerably more informed by the Rāma tale is the Kanyākumārī Inscription of Vīrarājendradeva (ca. 1030), which contains a fascinating Coḷavaṃśapraśasti. After praising Rāma in several lovely verses, the account goes on to provide a history of the first Coḷa king: While out hunting he is led astray by a magical deer-*rākṣasa*, to the banks of the Kāveri river. He finds the region to be devoid of Brahmins, relocates many from Āryāvarta southward (and thus establishes the Coḷamaṇḍalam).[35] Not unrelated is the *vaṃśapraśasti* of the reconstituted Cālukyan dynasty of Kalyāṇi, under Vikramāditya V: For the first time the dynastic history seeks to establish a connection with the solar kings of Rāma's lineage, describing how after 59 kings of the Cālukya *vaṃśa* had ruled

in Ayodhyā, there was an emigration southward to their present location.[36] Vikramāditya VI of the same dynasty comes to be referred to as "Cālukyarāma", and as in the Coḷa records *Rāmāyaṇa* narrative elements are used to frame historical events: In the Yewur Plates of the second year of Cālukya Vikrama *varṣa* (AD 1077), the first political-historical moment of the narrative of Vikramāditya VI is made by means of an interesting punning verse on the Rāma story: "He went to seek Lakṣmī (Sītā) produced by his (her) father (Janaka); along with his brother, the son of Sumitrā, and with a force of monkeys; to the banks of the ocean came the vast royalty of Vibhīṣaṇa (the lord of Draviḍa) out of fear of the Many-headed, and the Chālukya-Rāma bowed to him (in compliance with his supplication?)." (The verse is so buried in *śleṣa* it is hard to get the historical reference here beyond the obvious allusion to an alliance with a southern power, against presumably the Coḷas.[37])

Yet again, the situation presented to us in virtually all these inscriptional materials is, semiotically if you will, analogous to what we find in respect of the development of temple representations: Rāma and *Rāmāyaṇa* mythemes function largely as rhetorical embellishments, inflecting and texturing a given discourse but not constituting it. Very different, I find, are the materials we encounter in the succeeding period. I want to examine here only a couple of examples, where we can see how the political world comes to be read through—identified with, cognised by—the narrative provided by the epic tale.[38]

The so-called Dabhoi stone inscription (ca. *saṃvat* 1311 = AD 1253) describes among other members of the Vāghela dynasty of Gujarat Lavaṇaprasāda, a feudatory and minister of the Solanki king, Bhīma II (1178-1242 AD), and who later established the Vāghelas as an independent ruling house:[39]

> He (sc., Arṇorāja) placed upon his son, Lavaṇaprasāda, the burden of the land of the Gūrjjaras...While he was ruling this land...was not the Gurjjara-rāja even greater than *rāmarājya*?[40]...So many the immortal kings on earth, yet virtually all of them were beside themselves with fear even to hear mention made of the king of the Turuṣkas. When he came for battle in a rage (Lavanaprasāda) alone (lacuna). (The Turk who) dyed the earth with blood dripping from the severed heads of many kings, even he, when he came before this (king Lavaṇaprasāda), went dry-mouthed in fear. And (Lavaṇaprāsada) defeated him (...) with his pillar-like arm terrible for the sword it held (...) how could he be a mere mortal who defeated the king of the *mlecchas* whom no other mortal could defeat.

A more elaborate variation on this theme is contained in an inscription published by Bhandarkar in 1912, though never translated and never discussed in later literature with reference to its specific discourse.[41] The inscription, dated *saṃvat* 1224 (= ca. AD 1168), was originally found near Hānsī (appearing as Āsī or Āsika in the inscription), a town in Haryānā of strategic importance for controlling the western approach to Delhi, and which had been the object of struggle since at least the middle of the eleventh century.[42] The record is *praśasti* of the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja II (thus a generation prior to the defeat of Pṛthvīrāja III at the battle of Tarain). It recounts how Pṛthvīrāja put his maternal uncle in command of the fort at Hānsī, concerned as he was about an attack of the Turks ("in his belief that the mighty Hammīra Warrior was a thorn in the side of all the world", *Matvā hammīravīraṃ nikhilavasumatīśalyabhūtaṃ prabhūtam*). Kilhaṇa fortifies the stronghold, and checks the advance of the invaders ("You there! Hammīra! Where is your greatness now!" *re re hammīra vīra kva sa tava mahimā*, exclaims the poet of the *praśasti*, line 7). We are then told how Kilhaṇa was sent a letter by one Vibhīṣaṇa, who reminds him how once the two of them had aided Rāma in the building of the *setu*. Then he declares,

pṛthvīrājo mahārājo rāmo 'sau saṃśayaṃ vinā/
hanūmān niścitaṃ vīra bhavān adbhutavikramaḥ// (line 14)

"And that Rāma has without doubt become Pṛthvīrāja the great king,
and certainly Hanūmān has become you, great hero, a man of miraculous deeds."[43]

As in the case of the previous record, and the distinguishing feature of both, we have an explicit identification[44] of a historical ruler with the divine king Rāma, and what will become an increasingly explicit demonization—rākṣasization—of the enemy, the agents of the most significant historical processes unleashed at this period, the in-migrants from Central Asia.

IV. Rāma and "Historiography"

I want to adduce one last genre of evidence, the historiographical (or perhaps "textualized" is preferable, to distinguish it from the inscriptions), in support of the argument I have been making here, that the period of some two hundred years from around the mid-12th cen. on witnessed a re-coding of political reality via *Rāmāyaṇa* themes such as did not exist—or at least not to anywhere near the same degree—in any previous era. I'll cite only two documents, the one a brief episode from the first Jain *prabandhakośa*, the other a full-scale historical poem.

In the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, a poem that narrates the history of the first patron of Hemacandra, the illustrious Cālukya/Solanki king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Gujarat (1004-1143 AD), the king is identified as an incarnation of Rāmacandra (1556-57), as Majumdar and others have already noticed.[45] (In his actual inscriptions, e.g., the just published Bilpank *praśasti*, he is called an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[46]) What fills out this brief allusion (and seems to have escaped notice so far) is a passage in Chapter 3, the *Siddharāja* section, of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, called the "Narrative of the Prevention of the Invasion of the Mlecchas",[47] which fleshes out Hemcandra's allusion:

> At the same time when the chiefs of the lord of the *mlecchas* were assembling as a host, the king summoned some spies[48] who had come from Madhyadeśa, gave them secret instructions and dismissed them. On the following day at twilight, when a wind as wild as the wind at the end of time blew up, the king went off to his assembly hall—like Sudharmā it was—and as he looked on, a pair of Palādas carrying each a gold brick on his head descended from the sky. The gathering of people was overcome with fear when they saw them. The two presented their gift at the footstool of the king, and prostrating themselves at his feet, they told him, "Today while paying worship to the gods, the great king of Laṅkā, Śrī Vibhīṣaṇa called to mind the one who put him on the throne, the crest-jewel of the Raghu clan, the glorious Śrī Rāma. And with his eye of wisdom Vibhīṣaṇa at that moment realized that his own master Rāma had descended into the avatār of Śrī Siddharāja, crest-jewel of the Caulukya clan. His first thought was how profoundly his heart desired to come and pay you homage, but then he sent us with the message that perhaps the lord himself would favour him with a visit. May your Highness indicate your decision through your royal mouth (?)." At their words, the king thought to himself a moment, and then addressed them: "Impelled by vast waves of impatience we ourselves, at our own good time, will go to meet with Vibhīṣaṇa." With this he presented the beautiful single-strand chain on his own neck as a return gift, and when they

> asked leave to go he gave them a special message, to the effect that he shouldn't be forgotten by their lord on any other occasion when help was needed (? *preṣyapreṣaṇāvasāra*). The two *rākṣasas* disappeared into the air. From then on, the *mleccha* chiefs were filled with fear, they lost their courage, and summoned before the king they spoke words laden with devotion for him. They presented to the king appropriate tribute, and then Śrī Siddharāja dismissed them.[49]

This strange intermixture of fantasy and local particularity—a sort of proto-magical realism that we find elsewhere in Merutuṅga's fascinating work—resists easy historical interpretation. But several elements of the new code are there: the historical king as an incarnation of Rāma, the threat of the *mleccha*, the reading of the historical event through the narrative of the epic poem.

Even more fully developed is this code in what I am inclined to regard as the single most important literary text of its epoch—and of which virtually nothing has been translated or analyzed to date—the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*.[50] This is a historical *kāvya* by a late twelfth cen. Kashmiri poet (probably named Jayānaka or less likely Vināyaka Paṇḍita),[51] which deals with the life of the last independent "Hindu" king of Ajmer. It was written at his court between 1178-93, the dates of the defeat of Mu'izz ad-Dīn Muhammad Ghūrī at the hands of the king of Gujarat, Bhīmadeva (mentioned in ch. 2 of the poem) and Pṛthvīrāja's own defeat by Muhammad Ghūrī in 1193, perhaps more precisely between the years 1191-93. Admittedly this was the first literary text to imagine the career of a king from within a *Rāmāyaṇa* framework; one important predecessor is the *śleṣakāvya* of Sandhyākaranandin, the *Rāma(pāla)carita*, which concerns events in 11th-12th cen. Bengal.[52] But there the epic narrative provides only a rhetorical vehicle, if even that, for the exposition of the life of the Pāla king;[53] in the political imagination informing Jayānaka's history, by contrast, Pṛthvīrāja III (like his ancestor Pṛthvīrāja II, whom we have encountered earlier) *is* Rāma.[54]

The mytho-political equivalence that informs the entire poem is made clear at the very start, when the poet asserts that the only audience he truly cares about is the king himself: "Let him alone who resides in my heart hear me, he who entered a body consisting of Rāma" (i.e., who is Rāma reborn, *jagāma yo rāmamayaṃ śarīraṃ śrotā sa evāstu hṛdi sthito me//* 1.33, p. 14). The actual *avatāra* of Viṣṇu/Rāma as Pṛthvīrāja is preceded by a lengthy description of the pollution of the region of Ajayameru—and especially the *tīrtha* Puṣkara—by the *mlechhas*. Brahmā, for example, is represented as exclaiming in the presence of Viṣṇu, as he begs him to descend to earth,

> "The place where I myself performed the final ablutions after completing the great sacrifice of world creation, the *mleccha* army now uses to relieve their fatigue from their violent destruction of temples and *agrahāras*" (1.50, p. 19).
>
> "The place Śacī would prohibit to the hosts of heavenly courtesans for bathing—and they would laugh secretly, since it was reserved for the highest god [and hence prohibited to Śacī, too]—there now bathe the menstruating wives of these lowest of men" (1.53, p. 20).[55]

Much of the poem is taken up with an account of Pṛthvīrāja's ancestors; in Chapter 6, the immediate genealogy of Pṛthvīrāja is given. King Arṇorāja had two wives, one of whom was the daughter of the celebrated king of the Gujarat Solanki dynasty (whom we have already met), Siddharāja Jayasiṃha. This wife gave birth to Someśvara, of whom the astrologers foretell that *his* first son will be an incarnation of Rāma, his second an incarnation of Lakṣmaṇa, and

his wife an incarnation of Kausalyā:[56] "[Your] son will be Rāma himself, born [again] in his desire to complete the task he had started" (*utpatsyate kaṃcana kāryaśeṣaṃ nirmātukāmas tanayo 'sya rāmaḥ* [6.35, p. 157]); the son is "the enemy of Rāvaṇa becoming an earthly king in the Kali age" (*upayāsyati bhūmipālabhāvaṃ kalikāle daśakandharātatāyī* [7.6, p. 180]), "a form of Viṣṇu become a man" (...*viṣṇumayaṃ mūrtibhedaṃ mānuṣatāṃ gatam* [8.10, p. 192]), "an avatar of Rāma" (...*rāmāvatārasyaiva pṛthvirājasya* [8.62, p. 203]). [In the eighth chapter, Pṛthvirāja and his brother Harirāja are born, as incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Pṛthvirāja's minister, Kadambavāsa, is [like] Hanumān.] In Ch. 10, after consolidating his power by the defeat of his enemies, Pṛthvirāja returns to his capital and first hears of Muhammad Ghūrī (pp. 252ff):

> The victorious king entered the town, and a wreath about the tower of the city of Ajmer—a terrible wreath made with the heads of his enemies—prevented the Goddess of Royalty from leaving it even for a moment. (38)
>
> Every king in the northwest region is as powerful as the wind; but the Lord of horses in addition had true virility, and so surpassed all the others. (39)
>
> But even such a king was robbed of the rule of Garjani [Ghazni], and rendered empty and light as an autumn cloud by the evil Gori [sic: Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad Ghūrī]—he who was given to eating foul foods, the enemy of cows, from whence he got his very name. (40)[57]
>
> He sought, they say, to become Eclipse itself, to occlude the royal fortune of the entire circle of kings.... [what follows is obscure to me]. (41)
>
> What more to say? Taking no heed that the king [Pṛthvirāja] had consecrated himself for the purpose of exterminating all demon-men, he sent an ambassador into the presence of this lion in his den—the king in Ajayameru. (42)[58]

The ambassador is then described, in what I think may be the first representation of a Central Asian in Sanskrit literature:[59]

> His head was so bald and his forehead so broad it was as if God had intentionally made them thus to inscribe [as on a copper plate] the vast number of cows he had slain. The colour of his beard, eyebrows and lashes was yellower than the grapes that grew in his native place [of Ghazni]—it was almost as if the colour black itself had shunned him fearing to share his bad reputation. Horrible was his speech, like the cry of wild birds—there were no cerebrals; indeed, all his phonemes were impure, impure as his complexion [pun: and the hair of his head was as it were mowed off never to grow again]: He had what appeared to be an unspeakable skin disease [i.e., white leprosy] for he was whiter than bleached cloth, whiter than the snow of the Himalayan region where he was born. (43-46)

(There is a lacuna in the next verse, and according to the copyist cited p. 255n, several leaves are missing after v. 47.)

> Then the terrible frown on Pṛthvirāja's face told it was the moment for the call to arms, when [it became known] that the fort of the Gūrjaras at Naḍvala [Naḍḍula

in Marwad] had been overrun by these demons with the bodies of men (*nṛtanubhir asuraiḥ*), who made the very God of Death anxious about superintending his crowded prisons.

Thereafter, in the penultimate chapter of the extant poem, Pṛthvīrāja enters his picture gallery where, recapitulating Bhavabhūti's figuration, he beholds the scenes of his earlier life as Rāmacandra (11.28-104).

* * * *

Whereas the *Rāmāyaṇa* may certainly have played a substantial, in some instances a central role in the political imagination of premodern India, it is a role endowed with a fuller and more referentially direct expression—in royal cultic, inscriptional, and historiographical representations—from the twelfth century onward. The temporal trajectory of this development, especially plotted against the spatial, suggests quite forcefully—as readers will already have inferred—that it was in reaction, almost exclusively in reaction, to the world-historical encounter with the polities of Central Asia—with Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Khaljis—and the new social and political realities issuing in the establishment of the Sultanate to which this encounter ultimately led that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was lived anew in royal discourse. A minimal correlation of the reasonably secure (and generally well-known) historical record of the invasions with the half-dozen or so important materials adduced above suffices to show this.

During the years 1009-1018 Mahmud of Ghazni made repeated raids over the Punjab as far as (but not into) Kashmir and eastern Rajasthan; by September, 1018 he penetrated east of Delhi, and destroyed Mathurā; in December, 1018, he seized Kanauj; thereafter he targeted Kālañjara, capital of the Candellas of Bundelkhand, but was repulsed;[60] in 1025, he destroyed the great temple at Somnath in Gujarat. Though Mahmud died in 1030, Ghaznavid military adventures continued. It is within half a century or so of the death of Mahmud that the Gāhaḍavālas begin to transform Ayodhyā into a major Vaiṣṇava centre (1093ff, a building program that was to continue for a century), and within three generations, the first dedicated Rāma sanctuaries are attested just to the south of Kālañjara among the Tripuri Kalachuris, whose own king Jayasiṃha boasts in 1167 that by his doing "the king of Gurjjara has vanished, and the Turuṣka has lost the power of his arms."[61]

Turkish raids continue throughout the period from the death of Mahmud to the rise of the Ghurids in the last third of the 12th cen. We have no direct evidence of any invasion of the realm of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Gujarat, but Persian sources suggest that the general of the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah may have assembled an army to attack him, and this the *prabandha* material cited above would corroborate.[62] His near contemporary Vigraharāja IV of the Cāhamāna dynasty of Śākambharī (reigned ca. 1152-1167) fought frequently with the Turks. On a pillar that bears an Aśokan inscription from 2000 years earlier (seeking thus, as is the case with other such records, by a decided historism to participate in the imperial charisma of the stone, a project perpetuated by Firoz Shah, who had the pillar transported to Delhi in the mid-fourteenth cen.), Vigraharāja is described as "the god who made Āryāvarta once again true to its name by extirpating the *mlecchas*" and one "of whom no doubt can be entertained that he is the Primal Person."[63] It was his successor Pṛthvīrāja II who in 1168 took the Hansi fort over which Ghaznavids (and Tomaras and Cāhamānas) had fought for some generations. Within a decade, the new power of the Ghurids irrupted into Gujarat, when Bhīma II (or his brother Mūlarāja II, according to other sources) met in battle and defeated Mu'izz ad-Din Muhammad Ghūrī in 1178, and was himself defeated by Muhammad's viceroy Qutbuddin Aibak in 1195-6. Bhīma II was the nominal sovereign of Lavaṇaprasāda, and it is likely to Lavaṇaprasāda's

expulsion of Aibak from Gujarat that the inscription noticed above refers.[64] Further to the east, Muhammad suffered another defeat in 1191 at the hands of Pṛthvirāja III at Tarain (80 miles w. of Delhi), only to return to crush him and 150 chieftains in his alliance the following year. Within two years the last king of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, Jayacandra, was slain in battle with the Turks, Banaras was looted, and two years later, Kanauj. Malwa and Bundelkhand continued to be targets, and in 1202, Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khalji raided Bihar and established himself in Bengal, continuing to push further east (an inscription found at Kanaibarshi (Gauhati, Assam) reads, with annalistic simplicity: "On the thirteenth day of Chaitra of the Śaka (*sic*) year 1127, the Turuṣkas came to Kāmarūpa, and went down to defeat").[65] By 1206, almost all of north India from the Ravi river to Assam had come under Turkish military domination.

The last phase of these political events pertinent to this discussion begins near the end of the 13th century, when Jalaluddin Firoz became the first Khalji Sultan of Delhi, soon followed by his nephew Alauddin. Within a few years (1296-1309), and with spectacular success, Alauddin fought against and finally subjugated the kings of Aṇahilavāḍa (the Solanki Karṇa II), those of present-day Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, and, notably, the Yādavas of Devagiri, who as we saw had commenced around this time, under the patronage of Rāmacandra, the last Yādava king of Devagiri, the enhancement of the Rāma sanctuary on Rāmtek. Alauddin's general Malik Kafur began his campaign against the Kākatiyas of Warangal in 1302, and in 1309 finally defeated King Pratāparudra, with whom one of the few, and even fewer dated, Rāma sanctuaries in Andhra is associated, as I indicate above. Governors of the Delhi Sultanate were appointed throughout the Deccan, and soon thereafter the Vijayanagar kingdom was established (1346).

We have encountered—it bears repeating—a number of cases where *Rāmāyaṇa* mythemes in inscription and possibly in temple cult had something of a role to play in inflecting the political imagination prior to or outside of the Turkish in-migration and the founding of the Sultanate (such is the case in some Coḷa inscriptions, for instance); conversely, this political narrative apparently failed to play any role in a number of places where these events had equally profound consequences (Bengal is such a case; note that here, too, we find no evidence of a vernacular *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition until Kṛttivāsa's version of perhaps the later part of the 15th cen.). Nevertheless, there is a striking concomitance between the activation of the political imaginary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the historical events of the 11th-14th centuries.

The explanation of such a concomitance invites can only be highly nuanced, and must await another occasion. For to do justice to the importance and complexity of the problem it would be necessary to explore, among other things, the nature of historical imitation and the functional and psychosocial role of the "political imaginary"; to try to identify the peculiar imaginative resources the *Rāmāyaṇa* offers that made it the narrative of choice for processing the political events of the period; to explore the question of premodern communal relations, and relatedly and not least, to query the very value of contemporary critical historiography.

References

1. The number of works on Rāmāyaṇa themes ascribed to kings in this period is large, including the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* of Bhoja; *Rāmābhyudaya* of Yaśovarman (lost); *Udāttarāghava* of Anaṅgaharṣa Mayūrarāja, a Kalachuri prince; "King Bhimata of Kālañjara is eulogised by Rājaśekhara as author of five plays of which the one on the Rāmāyaṇa story, the *Svapnadaśānana*, which is also lost, was the best"; *Kundamālā* of Dhiranāga, King of Anūpa (cf. V. Raghavan, *Some Old Lost Rāma Plays* [Annamalai University, 1961]); and "The Rāmāyaṇa in Sanskrit Literature", in *The Rāmāyaṇa Tradition in Asia* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1985). Worth considering

in this light is also Kulacékarāḷvāra (ca. 800), a king of the Kongu-Chera line and author of some of the most notable devotional poetry to Rāma (and to whom Zvelebil is prepared to ascribe the founding of Rāma worship in Tamil country [*Tamil Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 102].

2. See my *Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and Epic of Ancient India, Vol. II: Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), Introduction, pp. 9-24.
3. The logic of the argument presented below might seem to require that the political-cultural processes I describe as specific to western India in the 12th and 13th centuries should themselves recuperate, indeed imitate, earlier ones. Yet the data I have been able to gather suggests that—with perhaps one exception, Gupta India, which may itself not have had any historical effectivity—this is not the case; the tradition of invention, so to put it, begins in the 12th cen.
4. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (repr. ed. Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1965), p. 47 (first published 1913).
5. Bakker, Hans, *Ayodhyā* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1986), pp. 24ff. As Bakker points out, it is likely that only at this moment is Ayodhyā in fact turned into "Ayodhyā", emerging momentarily from the mists of legend only to sink back into them for the next half-millennium.
6. Bakker, *Ayodhyā*, p. 62. See further below on Rāmtek.
7. Krishna Sastry, V.V., "The Narrative Panels of the Rāmāyaṇa in Andhra Sculpture" (ms.), referring to B. Rajendra Prasad, *Art of South India—Andhra Pradesh* (Delhi, 1980), p. 72.
8. For the dating see Hermann Goetz, *Studies in the History, Religion and Art of Classical and Mediaeval Art of India*, ed. Hermann Kulke (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), p. 106; for the Badami Cālukyas' remains, Nagarajarao, M.S., ed., *Cālukyas of Badami* (Bangalore: Mythic Society, 1978), p. 306, and Sivaramamurti, C., "The Rāmāyaṇa in Indian Sculpture", in *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Asia* (Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1980), p. 638.
9. Nagaswamy, R., "Sri Rāmāyaṇa in Tamilnadu in Art, Thought and Literature" (in *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions in Asia*), pp. 409ff.
10. Simha, B.P., "Representation of Rāmāyaṇic Scenes in An Old Temple Wall at Aphṣaḍ", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 54 (1968), pp. 216ff, provides photos of the panels so far unearthed. Cf. *CII*, III, pp. 202ff, ed. Fleet.
11. Mirashi, V.V., *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, pp. 450ff; cf. p. clxiii. (For "Māyūrikas" the text actually reads *mayūtikā*. The Sāvantas are, according to Mirashi, "the aboriginal tribe of the Sāontas in the Bilaspur District", p. 452.) As Mirashi notes, in the same temple there is found an eighth century inscription recording that this was (originally) built as a temple to Viṣṇu (p. 451, n. 2). "The Rewa Stone Inscription of Vijayasiṃha, Kalachuri year 944" (= AD 1193), ibid., pp. 346ff. Malayasimha, a feudatory of Vijayasimhadeva of the later Kalachuri dynasty, built a Rāma temple (v. 27, rāmadevālaya-). Cf. also Bakker, *Ayodhyā*, pp. 64-65.
12. Bakker, *Ayodhyā*, pp.- 51ff.
13. Cousens, Henry, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berār*, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1897, pp. 7ff.
14. Jamkhedkar, A.P., "Ancient Structures", Marg, 37.1 (1985-86), pp. 25-36; Hans Bakker, "The Antiquities of Rāmtek Hill, Maharashtra", *South Asian Studies*, 5 (1989), pp. 79-102.
15. Given the fact that all the other Vākāṭaka structures remain intact, there seems to be little force in Bakker's statement that "Although I did not find remains of pre-Yādava constructions within these (Rāma) precincts, it can safely be assumed that, since these temples occupy the most prominent spot on Rāmtek Hill, they replace earlier buildings...." (p. 97). Even if this were true, there is no reason to believe these earlier structures included a Rāma temple.
16. This records among other things that the hill, Tapaṃgiri (line 22.1), was the place where long ago Nṛsiṃha slew (Hiraṇyakaśipu) (23); 34ff, there follows a long encomium of tīrthas, followed by the special powers of this one (41.3ff, esp. 44ff, better than Kāśī, Ujjayinī, Mathurā, Dvārakā, Purī). Ganeṣa dwells there; 45ff. "Here on this mountain of Rāma Dharmeśvara ever dwells, in compassion safeguarding *dharma* that is oppressed by the Kali age. (Next follows the verse that substantiates Cousens's local legend). Here on this king of mountains (dwells) under the name of Dhūmrākṣa the sage among śūdras, Śaṃbūka, who attained the abode of Purāri (when slain) at the hand of Śrīrāma with the (sword) Candrahāsa"

(and many other forms of gods well here, etc.); it ends with a long *stotra* to Rāma, sadly much damaged. I now find that Bakker has contributed an article on this and other records on the hill ("The Rāmtek Inscriptions", *BSOAS* 52 (1989), pp. 467-96).

17. To what degree Śārṅgadhara Viṣṇu becomes an allomorph of Rāma in this period merits further analysis.
18. In the Purushottamapuri Plates (*Śaka* 1232 = AD 1310) (*EI*. 25 (1939-40), pp. 199ff) is to be found the claim that Rāma defeated the Mlecchas, v. 18, and identifies his minister as a descendant of Vasiṣṭha, vs. 19ff (this record also contains the very odd account of Rāma's coup d'état), while in the Paithan Plates (*Śaka* 1193 = AD 1271-2 (*IA*. 14 (1885), pp. 314ff) are found the sectarian identification (line 47) and his identification with Nārāyaṇa (line 58).
19. Verma, Onkar Prasad, *A Survey of Hemadpanti Temples in Maharashtra* (Nagpur: Nagpur University, 1973). The temple at Rāmtek, it should be noted, seems to be the only Rāma temple associated with him (and in fact the only Rāma temple in the Deccan; none at all, for instance, is mentioned in Henry Cousens, *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan* (Archaeological Survey of India, 1931)).
20. The *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, Vratakāṇḍa, pp. 1034-35 of the BI ed. (cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 47). The section in Vratakāṇḍa Part I, pp. 941-46 is borrowed from *Agastyasaṃhitā* 26. The latter is the earliest northern text to prescribe the Rāmanavami; some southern Pāñcarātra texts, where Rāma never supplants Viṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa as the object of a cult, are earlier. See P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Poona: BORI, 1962-75), Vol. 5, pp. 84-88, and Bakker, 153ff.
21. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 10.533, p. 288. I also find an undated but possibly rather early record of the construction of a temple of god Vīrarāghava in Chittore district (no. 226, p. 11). Dagens's detailed work in western Andhra—an admittedly strongly Śaivite region—attests to this differential development of decorative and cultic centrality of Rāma: *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes play a very considerable role on the pillars of temples throughout the region between Alampur and Śrīśailam from the 10th cen. on, but cultic images of Rāma are found only far later: "Rāma...seems not have gained full autonomy as a major god until very recently, perhaps as late as the 18th cen." In fact, independent temples dedicated to Viṣṇu in general are exceedingly rare until the adoption of Vaiṣṇavism by the Vijayanagar kings. Dagens, Bruno, *Entre Alampur et Śrīśailam: Recherches archéologiques en Andhra Pradesh*, Vol. I (Pondicherry: Institut francais d'Indologie, 1984), pp. 614-15, and cf. pp. 63 and 174-75.
22. The temple "was dedicated to Ramachandra according to epigraphs on the principal shrine and northeast columned hall (*South Indian Inscriptions* IV, nos. 151 and 253). No foundation date is known for the temple, but an inscription on the basement of the east wall of the principal shrine (*South Indian Inscriptions* IV, no. 252) mentions the ruler Devaraya (I, 1406-1422, or II, 1424-1446 ?). Thus the establishment of the temple can be no later than the first half of the fifteenth century" (Fritz, John et al., *The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara: Preliminary Report* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Vijayanagara Research Centre, 1984), p. 62).
23. Fritz, John, "Vijayanagar: Authority and Meaning of a South Indian Imperial Capital", *American Anthropologist* 88.1 (1986), p. 53; "Was Vijayanagar a 'Cosmic City?'" in A.-L. Dallapiccola and S. Zingel-Avé Lallement, eds., *Vijayanagar—City and Empire* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1985), p. 266.
24. Nagaswamy, R., *Masterpieces of Early South Indian Bronzes* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1983), pp. 7, 154-59.
25. He remarks, in pondering why Rāma representations are found only in Śaiva temples, that "Rāma and the Rāma theme, in the context dealt with here, pertain primarily to an association with the kingship", rather than being intended, say, to stimulate moral reflection. "If the main function of the cycles was to suggest and underline aspects of the character and achievements of the kings with whom the temples bearing them were associated, then the role of Rāma as an object of devotion need not have been the main emphasis. However, the divine aspect of Rāma could well have been used to suggest the same aspect of kingship....If the reliefs refer primarily to the kingship, used in a position subordinate to the *major* iconographic program, no conflict with the Śaiva focus of the temple as a whole would

have been involved" (Sanford, David Theron, "Early Temples Bearing Rāmāyaṇa Relief Cycles in the Chola Area: A Comparative Study" (Unpublished diss., UCLA, 1974), p. 264. What certainly should be emphasized with respect to western India in the 12th cen. is that a Rāma cult almost certainly did not displace other forms of sectarian worship. On the contrary, many of the instances of kings identifying themselves with Rāma through inscriptions, or temple cult, are thoroughly Śaiva; a good example is Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, whose most famous architectural achievement is the Sahasraliṅga tank at Aṇahilavaḍa.

26. What I also have not yet had the time to explore in detail, but what is likely to be a development parallel to the rise of Rāma-dedicated temples is the incidence of Rāma sculptural remains (beyond those associated with temple narrative panels). These are extremely rare prior to the 12th cen.; I find one fifth-century terracotta figure of Rāma (bearing a verse of Vālmīki's), which Pratapaditya Pal has recently discussed (*Indian Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986-87), Vol. 1, p. 232). There appears to be virtually nothing of the sort in Coḷa territory. By the 12th cen. in the Deccan, however, a change seems to have set in. On a recent visit to Bhāsavakalyāṇi, the former capital of the Western Calukyas, I noticed a large number of substantial *Rāmāyaṇa* pieces in the courtyard of the *durga*.

27. Not often noticed, for instance, is the passage in the (ninth cen.?) *Viṣṇudharmottara* that prescribes the *svarūpa* of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for worship (cited *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* Vratakāṇḍa, pp. 1035).

28. It is striking, for instance, that not a single Rāma temple is documented—Rāmacandra is scarcely even mentioned—in any Sanskrit record in UP from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century (cf. Pushpa Prasad in *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate 1191-1526* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990).

29. The only articles I know of are those of D.C. Sircar, "Rāmāyaṇa in Inscriptions", in *Rāmāyaṇa Traditions*, pp. 322ff, and an earlier more general piece by D.B. Diskelkar (sic), "Qualifications and Subjects of Study of Inscriptional Poets", *Journal of Indian History* 38.2 (1960), p. 553. Neither presents substantial data.

30. "The Supiā Pillar Inscription of the Time of Skandagupta, Year 141", *CII*, Vol. 3, p. 318.5. Pratapaditya Pal, *loc. cit.*, asserts that the bowman motif on the gold coins of Skandagupta alludes to Rāma, but this is really just an assumption.

31. Puri, B.N., *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986, second revised edition), p. 221. *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*, *CII*, Vol. 6, ed. V.V. Mirashi, 1977.

32. For the early Calukyan knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see the copper-plate record of Maṅgaleṣa, *IA* 7, p. 161, line 3. The Gaṅga reference is found in the Maṇṇe Plates of Mārasiṃha, Śaka 719 (AD 798), ed. Ramesh, K., *Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas* (Delhi: Agam Prakasham, 1984), p. 196: "[King Mārasiṃha] disports himself [*rāmāyate*] at the front of battle, and behaves like Rāma [*rāmāyate*] with respect to the wives of others." The one Paramāra reference is in the Nagpur *praśasti*, *EI* 2 (1894), v. 15.

33. *Sāmānyo 'yaṃ dharmasetur nṛpānāṃ kāle kāle pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ/ sarvān etān bhāvinaḥ pārthivendrān bhūyo bhūyo yācate rāmacandraḥ//* (v.l. *rāmabhadraḥ*). This comes to be appended to the traditional minitory verses of Vyāsa from about the beginning of the ninth century, and first in Rāṣṭrakūṭa domains. Among the earliest instances I have located are the Sisavai Grant of Govinda III (AD 807) (Rāṣṭrakūtas of Gujarat) *EI*, 23.212 (Rāmabhadra), and the Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarṣa I (AD 815-75), *EI*, 6.105 (Rāmabhadra).

34. The first record is found in *SII*, Vol. 2.348, v. 22, the second in Vol. 3.421, v. 80, #205. Rāma is otherwise utterly absent from the corpus of Pallava inscriptions save for a mention of his name in a list of avatars that is found in the fragment of a Mahabalipura temple inscription, T.V. Mahalingam, *Inscriptions of the Pallavas* (Delhi: Agam Prakasham, 1988), p. 624. Pṛthivipati, a feudatory of Parāntaka I, is awarded the sobriquet *saṃgrāmarāghava*, "Battle-Rāma", for his defeat (again) of a Sinhalese king, *SII*, Vol. 2.383, v. 10.

35. *EI*, 18, pp. 21ff, esp. p. 37, lines 139ff.

36. "Kauthem Plates of Vikramāditya V, Śaka 930" (AD 1008), *IA*, 1887, pp. 15ff, especially p. 21, lines 11-12. The impulse to establish such a connection is ancient, possibly going back as far as the Andhra Ikṣvākus. Cf. Sircar, D.C., *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1939), pp. 10ff. It is found in middle-

period India among the Pratihāras (who figure themselves as descendants of Lakṣmaṇa in the Sāgartāl inscription of Bhoja I, and among the Paramāras, who invoke a Rāmāyaṇa mytheme in their origin myth. But note that their political discourses, like their ritual practices, are otherwise devoid of Rāma.

37. *EI*, 12.269ff, lines 88ff contains the narrative of the king. Vikramāditya VI is referred to as "Cālukyarāma" in the Kannada portion, v. 20, of the Gadag grant of his twenty-third year (*EI*, 15, pp. 348ff). In the *Vikramaṅkadevacarita* Bilhaṇa writes thus of the father of Vikramāditya VI: "Then came *Āhavamalladeva*, also known as Trailokyamalla (i.e., Someśvara I). The goddess of Royalty has never left his swordblade. Because of his purifying history (*pavitracāritratā*) he has been represented by poets as a second Rāma in stories, tales, poems, and plays" (1.87-88).

38. I forego here detailed consideration of all those inscriptions asserting the identity of the king and Viṣṇu, though I believe, as in the case of the Gāhaḍavālas, these are almost certainly intended as references to Rāma. Cf. *EI*, 9, pp. 319ff, v. 16: *vārānasīṃ bhuvanarakṣaṇadakṣa eko duṣṭāt turuṣkasubhaṭāt avituṃ hareṇa/ ukto harih sa punar atra babhūva tasmād govindacandra iti sa prathitābhidhānaḥ*, "Asked by Hara to protect Varanasi from the foul Turk warrior—for he alone was able to guard the earth—Hari came into being here, with the well known name of 'Govindacandra'"; and the copper-plate inscription of his grandson Jayacandra cited in Bakker, p. 53 n. 4: *tasmād adbhutavikramād atha jayacandrābhidhānaḥ patir bhūpānām avatirṇa eṣa bhuvanoddhārāya nārāyaṇaḥ*, "From him of miraculous power there arose Jayacandra, lord of kings, who was (in fact) Nārāyaṇa descended to save the earth."

39. This was first published in *EI* 1 (1892), pp. 20ff; I have used here the record as edited in *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Part III, p. 46, lines 6ff.

40. The history of the historization of this term in Indian polities has not been traced; as for Gujarat, this is not the first instance. In the Brāhmaṇavāḍā copperplate grant of Mūlarāja II, dated VS 1232 (c. AD 1176), we find, in reference to his father Ajayapāla that "he caused Rāmrājya to descend to earth" (*-avatāritarāmarājya-*, line 9) (A.S. Gadre, ed. *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I (Baroda: n.p., n.d. (ca. 1943)), p.73). There is no record of Ajayapāla's having fought with the Central Asians. It may be, however, to his notorious (and according to legend brutal) re-assertion of Śaiva Brahmanism (as against Kumārapāla's Jainism) that the epithet refers; in the Devapattana *praśasti* he is said to have "planted once more the trees of vedic dharma" (*...bhuvaṃ babhārājayadeva bhūpaḥ/ ucchārayan bhūpa ? taruprakāṇḍān uvāpa yo naigamadharmavṛkṣān*, *EI* 2.442, v. 21).

41. Sircar, "Rāmāyaṇa in Inscriptions", merely alludes to the inscription; the most substantial recent work on the Cāhamānas, Sharma, Dasharatha, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, 2nd rev. ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), has no light to shed on it.

42. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 67. Cf. also the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 32 (Mahipāla of Delhi recaptures Thanesar, Hansi, and Kangra in 1044).

43. Kilhaṇa is mentioned (spelled Kelhaṇa) in the Sundhā Hill *praśasti* of the Chauhans of Naddula: "Having defeated soundly the mighty Turuṣka, he built a tower of gold, like a crown of the dwelling of Someśa" (*nirbhidyocchaiḥ prabalakalitaṃ yas* (sc., *nṛpaḥ Kelhaṇaḥ*) *turuṣkaṃ vyadhatta śrisomeśāspadamukuṭavat toraṇaṃ kāñcanasya*), *EI* 9 (1907-8), pp. 70ff, p. 77, v. 34.

44. *Pace* Bhandarkar, p. 17.

45. Majumdar, Asoke Kumar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956).

46. *EI* 40, Part 1, 1973, pp. 27ff, v. 15 "'The Supreme Person himself has come as avatar to earth.' ...So men of wisdom spoke at the hour of his birth."

47. Muni Jinavijaya (Ed.) (Śantiniketan: Singhi Jaina Jnanapitha, 1933), Singhi Jain Series, pp. 72-73.

48. Uncertain; I read hesitantly *veṣākāraka* ("men in disguise"), for *veṣakāraka*.

49. Cf. also the traditional verse appended to the cycle of Siddharāja: "Just as Rāma, a treasure of virtues, was born of Daśaratha, so the world-conquering Jayasiṃha is born of him (i.e., Karṇa)", *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 55, v. 88.

50. The first eight of the 12 extant chapters were edited first by Belvalkar in the BI (Calcutta, 1914ff); the only edition of the entire work is that of Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and Chandradhar Sharma Guleri (Ajmer: Vedic Yantralaya, 1941; my thanks to James Nye

of the University of Chicago Library for procuring this rare work for me). Serious analytical work on this text is non-existent, and in fact almost nothing has been written on it beyond brief notices (e.g., Sarda, Har Bilas, "The Prithviraja Vijaya, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913, pp. 259ff; Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 112, 220, 378; Chandra Prabha, *Historical Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit* (New Delhi: Shri Bharat Bharati, 1976), pp. 145-78. The work is quoted by Jayaratha in his commentary on Rūyyaka's *Alaṃkārasarvasva* ca. AD 1200 (Dasgupta, S.N. and De, S.K., *History of Sanskrit Literature Classical Period*, Vol. I (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1962), p. 360n; cf. also *JRAS*, 1913, p. 261).

51. "Jayānaka" is the name of a Kashmiri poet introduced in the poem itself (12.63, 68), and usually taken as the name of the author. Note, however, that to one Vināyaka Paṇḍita is attributed a striking verse in praise of Pṛthvīrāja found in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (#1254): "I have little relish for paying homage to Śiva, no desire to worship Krishna; I am stiff when it comes to bowing down to Śiva's consort, indifferent to temple of Brahmā. It was through King Pṛthvīrāja, by his sacred sign upon our face (?), that we were protected from enemy destruction (*asmākaṃ paramardano 'sti vadane nyastena saṃrakṣitaḥ pṛthvirājanareśvarāt*), and so I worship the very grass in his capital."

52. Revised ed. by Radhagovinda Basak (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1969); cf. *EI* 9, pp. 321-22. The story has nothing to do with Central Asians, but rather concerns political developments interior to Bengal. The slot of Rāvaṇa, though with no demonization, is taken by the Kaivarta king Bhīma, cf. 1.12 and com. ad loc. (The work of Gauḍa Abhinanda, the *Rāmacarita* (another Pāla work of the mid-ninth century), has no recoverable connection with any historical king.)

53. Indeed, the very form of *śleṣa* serves rather to establish difference of reference rather than identity. Moreover, the lives of Rāmapāla and Rāmacandra are not even really presented as parallel, let alone identical.

54. Such total identification seems not to have been made without some resistance. In both the *Prabandhakośa* of Rajaśekhara (Śāntiniketan: Singhi Jain Jnanapitha, 1935), pp. 81-82, and in the *Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha* (Calcutta: Singhi Jain Jnanapitha, 1936), pp. 8-9, the story is told of "Vikramāditya", who sought to arrogate to himself the title "Abhinava Rāma". He is disabused of his arrogance by an encounter with the power of the real Rāma.

55. *cakre jagatsargamahādhvarānte mayāpi yatrāvabhṛthābhiṣekaḥ/*
tatrādhunā devagṛhāgraharahiṃsāklamaṃ melcchacamūś cchinatti//
tāṃ yatra tattattridiveśaveśyāṃ snātiṃ śacīṃ svargaṇikāgaṇaḥ prāk/
snānān niśiddho nibhṛtaṃ jahāsa majjanti tatrādhamapuṣpavatyaḥ//

56. An intriguing connection is that Pṛthvīrāja's father Someśvara married the daughter of the Kalachuri king of Tripuri, in whose realm some of the earliest Rāma cultic activities have been traced; perhaps pursue this, since there seems to have been earlier marriage alliances: note that the queen of the Kalachuri king Jayasimhadeva of Rewa AD 1167 is named Kelhaṇadevī (*EI* 21.92), perhaps linking her with the Ki(e)lhaṇa who was minister to Pṛthvīrāja II).

57. *kadaśanakuśalo gavām aritvāt samuditogoripadāpadeśamudaḥ*. Does Jonarāja with his gloss *samudite* (or *-taḥ*)...*vyapadeśo mudrā yasya*, miss the *schema etymologicon* here (*gavām ariḥ* = *goriḥ*)?
According to Bosworth's careful reconsideration, the first major success against Ghazna of the Ghūrids, a local family of central Afghanistan (which was in fact Islamized first by Mahmud of Ghazna) was in late 1148, when Saif ad-Dīn Sūrī captured the town; 'Alā ad-Dīn Husain attacked it in 1152 and 1157. For some 12-15 years (perhaps 1160-1173, the dates are difficult to establish precisely), Ghazna was then occupied by Oghuz "military adventures", until it was captured by Mu'izz ad-Dīn Muhammad Ghūrī, who used the town as a springboard to the Panjab first in 1178 (cf. Bosworth, Clifford Edmund, *The Later Ghaznavids: Splendour and Decay* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1977), pp. 5, 68-9, 111-29). Is it possible that these Oghuz horsemen are the referent of *hayapati* in verse 39? The accession of Pṛthvīrāja III seems to have taken place by 1178 (cf. D.C. Sircar in *EI* 32 (1957-58), pp. 299ff, esp. p. 302), not in 1180 (Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasty*, p. 81).

58. "demon-men", *nararakṣasāṃ* (*mlecchānām*, Jonarāja).

59. Though not necessarily their first appearance. In the drama *Lalitavigraharāja* of Somadeva (ca. 1153), composed in honour of Vigraharāja IV and preserved in monumentally inscribed form, there are introduced two Turuṣka prisoners at the beginning of the fourth act (they speak Māgadhī but are not described), and later an ambassador from Hammīra, who speaks Sanskrit and indeed, cites the *purāṇas* ("(no king) is not (in part) Viṣṇu" (reading *nāviṣṇuḥ pṛthivīpatir ity eva*); ed. Kielhorn, "Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere" *Festschrift zur Feier des hundertfünfzigjährigen Bestehens der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse*, Berlin, 1901, esp. pp. 10-15 = *Kleine Schriften* I (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969), esp. pp. 106-11).
60. As his father had earlier been; see the Candella inscription from Mahoba: "There appeared (in the Candella dynasty) a blessing for the earth called the illustrious Dhaṅga, who...by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hamvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth." Hultzsch argues that this refers to Subuktagin, cf. *EI* 1 (1892), pp. 217ff.
61. *naṣṭaṃ gurjjarabhūbhujā, bhujabalaṃ muktaṃ turuṣkeṇa ca* (*E.* 21, p. 95 = *CII*, IV, p. 327). Jayasiṃha's son Vijayasiṃha repeats the claim in a record dated AD 1180, where the reading *kubalaṃ* is likely a corruption; cf. *CII*, IV, p. 649 and n. 3.
62. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 495-96. It remains uncertain whether the mysterious *rākṣasa* named Barbaraka, whom Jayasiṃha defeated and with whom he is ever associated in legend, is in fact to be identified with Bahalim, the viceroy of the Ghaznavid Bahram Shah, AD 1116-1157, pp. 495-96, and 408-9.
63. *āryāvarttaṃ yathārthaṃ punar api kṛtavān mlecchavicchedanābhiḥ devaḥ*, and *śaṅkā vā puruṣottamasya bhavato nāsty eva*. The text is found in "Delhi-Siwālī Pillar Inscription of Vīsaladeva" ed. by Kielhorn, *IA* 19, p. 218 (the inscription is dated VS 1220 = AD 1164). The pillar text is reproduced in the 14th cen. anthology of Sanskrit poetry from Śākambharī itself, the *Paddhati* of Śārṅagadhara #1255-56; see also Kielhorn's note on p. 216.
64. Bühler in *EI* 1 (1892), pp. 22-23.
65. *IHQ*, 3.843; cf. *JIH*, 15.175.

23

The Cult of Paraśurāma and its Popularity in Orissa

Thomas Eugene Donaldson

Paraśurāma, i.e., Rāma with the *paraśu* (axe), the sixth *avatāra* in the conventional list of *Daśāvatāras* of Viṣṇu, is generally considered to be a historical figure who eventually became deified.[1] In the *Śāradā-tilaka Tantra* (17.155), for example, he is referred to as "the first brave man".[2] There is disagreement, however, as to whether he was a brahmin or a *kṣatriya* (warrior). Although he is called a brahmin in all versions of the myth, his martial actions are those befitting a *kṣatriya*.[3] Traditionally the Paraśurāma period is ascribed to *circa* 2550-2350 B.C., thus comprising twelve generations till the rise of king Sagara of Ayodhyā and the Solar dynasty, and is dominated by the Haihayas and the Bhṛgus in turn.[4] In the fully developed Paraśurāma myth there are five separate yet interrelated themes: 1) the historical background and the birth of Paraśurāma; 2) the death of his mother, Reṇukā; 3) the abduction of the celestial cow, the death of his father Jamadagni and Paraśurāma's revenge against Kārtavīrya and the *kṣatriya* race; 4) Paraśurāma's penance on mount Mahendra; and 5) the reclamation of land from the ocean.

1. Historical Background and Birth of Paraśurāma

The Bhṛgus (Bhārgavas) dwelt in Gujarat and were the priests of Kṛtavīrya, a Haihaya king who is said to have bestowed great wealth on the Bhṛgus. On the refusal of the Bhṛgus to return this wealth, Kṛtavīrya's descendants ill-treated them, eventually slaughtering them and even cutting asunder the foetus in the womb of their wives. The Bhṛgus fled to Kānyakubja for safety. In order to wreak vengeance on the wicked Haihayas, the Bhṛgus engaged in collecting arms and sought marital alliances with the *kṣatriya* ruling families. Ṛcīka, son of Urva and a famous *ṛṣi* skilled in archery, sought in marriage Satyavatī, the daughter of king Gādhi of Kānyakubja. The king did not approve of the match and attempted to evade it by demanding an almost impossible price in the form of a thousand black-eared horses. Ṛcīka, however, fulfilled the condition, acquiring the horses from Varuṇa, and married Satyavatī.[5] From this union was born Jamadagni. He became skilled in archery and arms and made an alliance with the ruling family of Ayodhyā by marrying Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇu, a junior king in the line. Reṇukā gave birth to five sons, the youngest being Paraśurāma. In the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (VI.16-17) version, the Bhṛgu wives, pursued by the Haihayas, fled to the Himālayas where they paid homage to the Devī Jagadambikā who promised that a son, born from a thigh of one of the wives, would redress their wants for the propagation of the family. The lustrous light of this boy, upon birth, blinded the pursuing *kṣatriyas* and they, realizing how they had greatly oppressed the Bhṛgu women, bowed down and took refuge in them.

asking that if their sight was restored they would quit their vicious acts and promising that in the future there would be no more enmity between the Bhṛgus and *kṣatriyas*. The boy (Aurvya) granted them their eyesight and they returned home.[6]

There are numerous attempts in the texts to explain the martial propensities of Paraśurāma, as in the *Mahābhārata* (3.33.115) where, after the marriage of Ṛcika with Satyavati, the *ṛṣi* Bhṛgu, the founder of the family, asked Satyavati to choose a boon. She asked for a son for herself and one for her mother, queen of king Gādhi. Bhṛgu granted her boon with the stipulation that at the time of her season, when she and the queen have bathed for the son-bearing rite, they must each embrace a tree, she the *udumbara* and the queen an *aśvatta*. When they embraced the trees, however, they mixed them up. Upon his return, realizing the mix-up, Bhṛgu told Satyavati: "Your son shall be a brahmin who will live like a baron; your mother's great son shall be a baron with the conduct of a brahmin, a great hero who will travel the road of the strict." Satyavati beseeched Bhṛgu continuously: "Do not let my son be such, but rather my grandson!" Bhṛgu finally relented and said, "so shall it be." When the time came Satyavati gave birth to a son, Jamadagni, endowed with splendour and brilliance. He grew up surpassing many seers in Vedic learning, including archery as well as the fourfold weapon lore. He performed great austerities and subjugated the gods with his self-restraint. He went to king Prasenajit and wooed Reṇukā whom the king gave to him as a wife. Reṇukā gave birth to five sons, the last being Paraśurāma, a brahmin who lived like a baron as prophesied by Bhṛgu.[7]

Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti-parva, 50) and in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV.7) the mix-up was due to ignorance. In order to effect the birth of a son, Ṛcika himself prepared a dish of rice, barley, and pulse, with butter and milk, for his wife to eat. At her request, he consecrated a similar mixture for her mother so that she could give birth to a prince of martial prowess. Leaving both dishes with his wife, Rcika departed to the forest. When the time arrived for the food to be eaten, the queen said to Satyavati:

> Daughter, all persons wish their children to be possessed of excellent qualities, and would be mortified to see them surpassed by the merits of their mother's brother. It will be desirable for you, therefore, to give me the mess your husband has set apart for you, and to eat that intended for me; for the son which it is to procure me is destined to be the monarch of the whole world, whilst that which your dish would give you must be a Brahman, alike devoid of affluence, valour, and power.

Satyavati agreed to her mother's proposal and they exchanged dishes. When Ṛcika returned home and sensed what had happened, he scolded Satyavati, telling her it was wrong to have eaten the consecrated food prepared for her mother, in which was infused the properties of power and strength, strength and heroism; in her own portion he had infused the qualities suited to a brahmin—gentleness, knowledge and resignation. In consequence of having reversed his plans, he said to her: "thy son shall follow a warrior's propensities, and use weapons, and fight, and slay. The mother's son shall be born with the inclinations of a Brahman, and be addicted to peace and piety." Satyavati fell at his feet, claiming the exchange had been done through ignorance, and asked that if it must be so, "let it be my grandson, not my son." Ṛcika relented and in due time Satyavati gave birth to Jamadagni while her mother brought forth Viśvamitra.[8]

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (II.4.92-95), the *carus* (sacrificial offerings) were prepared by Bhṛgu who charged them with specific *mantras* pertaining to Rudra and Viṣṇu. When they were exchanged, Satyavati ate the *caru* imbued with Vaiṣṇava fire. Hence, Paraśurāma,

the grandson of unmeasured splendour, became equal to Indra in valour and had the traits both of a brahmin and a *kṣatriya*.[9]

That the exchange was destined to happen also appears in the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsana-parva, 52-57) where the *ṛṣi* Cyavana of the Bhṛgu race overheard in an assembly of gods that, in consequence of a contention between brahmin and *kṣatriya* energy, there would occur an intermixture in the Bhṛgu race as a result of a stain communicated to them by the race of Kuśika. Cyavana became desirous of consuming the race of Kuśikas and proceeded to the palace of Kuśika. He pretended to take up residence for the sake of observing a vow and asked the king and his wife to serve him. After many tests, including sleeping on one side for twenty-one days and then on the other side for a similar period, Cyavana could find no fault with the king and, rather than exterminating his race, he granted him the boon, cherished by the king in his mind, that a brahmin would spring from his race: "the person that will be the third in descent from thee shall attain to the status of a Brāhmaṇa. Through the energy of the Bhṛgus, thy grandson, O monarch, will be an ascetic endued with the splendour of fire. He shall always strike all men, indeed, the inhabitants of the three worlds, with fear." Being questioned by Kuśika, Cyavana related how, through an irresistible decree of Destiny, the *kṣatriyas* and the Bhārgavas would be in conflict with the *kṣatriyas* exterminating the race of Bhṛgu, sparing not even the infants in their mothers' wombs. There would then be born in the Bhṛgu race the *ṛṣi* Urva who cherished a great wrath upon learning of the extermination of his race. To his son, Ṛcika, the whole science of arms in its embodied form would come for the extermination of the entire *kṣatriya* race. Receiving that science by inward vision, he would through yoga communicate it to his son, Jamadagni. Jamadagni would wed a girl of the Kuśika race, the daughter of king Gādhi, and beget a regenerate son endued with *kṣatriya* accomplishments. In the Kuśika race would be born a son, known as Viśvamitra, a *kṣatriya* endued with the virtues of a brahmin. Two women would be the cause of this exchange. All of this would happen at the command of Brahmā.[10]

In the earliest appearances of the Paraśurāma myth in the *Mahābhārata*, there is no indication that he is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. This is mentioned only in two late passages (Śanti-parva, 48.76-83 and 340.84.103-04).[11] Here, as in numerous other texts, including the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.16.27)[12] and the *Agni Purāṇa* (4.12-13),[13] the world was overrun with *kṣatriyas*, who were haughty and overly proud of their strength and possessions so that, to protect the gods, brahmins, mankind and the earth, Viṣṇu assumed a mortal form, manifesting himself as Bhārgava-Rāma, son of Reṇukā and Jamadagni, for removing the pressure on the earth and for the sake of peace.

2. The Slaying of Reṇukā

The motif of Paraśurāma slaying his mother appears only sporadically throughout the texts and seems to serve primarily to show his great devotion to his father and the Bhṛgu or Brahmin caste, his mother being a *kṣatriya* princess, and to identify the *paraśu* as his primary weapon. The earliest reference to this motif and his unfolding mythology appears in the tour of sacred fords in the *Mahābhārata* (3.33.115-16) where the Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira, spending the night at Mahendragiri (mountain in southern Orissa), asks Akṛtavraṇa about the coming of Bhārgava Rāma (Paraśurāma). The hermit Akṛtavraṇa, the constant companion of Paraśurāma, narrates to him the story of Paraśurāma. On an occasion when Reṇukā went to the river to bathe, she chanced to see king Citraratha of Mṛttikāvati playing in the water with his wives. After clandestinely observing his sports, she returned to the hermitage excited with impure thoughts. Jamadagni perceived her agitation and, knowing she had fallen from perfection, vilified her. One by one he ordered his sons to kill her. The first four sons, failing to carry out his order, were cursed

and lost their minds, becoming idiots and behaving like animals or birds. Afterward Rāma returned to the hermitage and, when ordered to kill his wicked mother by Jamadagni, he immediately took his axe and cut off her head. After the fury of Jamadagni subsided, he told Rāma to choose as many boons as he desired. Rāma promptly asked that his mother be resurrected and that his brothers be restored to normality. This was granted and Jamadagni also granted him matchlessness in battle as well as longevity, etc.[14]

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.16.1-8), the episode appears after Paraśurāma had returned from performing a year's penance for killing Kārtavīrya-Arjuna, the son of Kṛtyavīrya. In this version Reṇukā went to the Ganges to fetch water when she chanced to see Vitraratha, king of the Gandharvas, who was sporting with celestial nymphs in the river. Reṇukā momentarily conceived a longing for Vitraratha and, while gazing at him, forgot the time fixed for the *homa* worship. Realizing the reason for her delay, and being afraid of Jamadagni's curse, she hastened back and placed the pitcher of water before him. She remained standing in front of him with folded palms. Gathering the faithlessness of his wife, the *ṛṣi* became enraged and commanded his sons to kill her. None obeyed him. Rāma, fully aware of the powers of Jamadagni, promptly despatched his brothers along with his mother, when directed to do so by his father. Pleased, Jamadagni asked Rāma to seek a boon. Rāma then requested the boon that all those who had been killed, should be restored to life, and should not remember who slew them.[15]

In a South Indian variation of the myth, Paraśurāma beheaded a dark-skinned low-caste woman at the same time as Reṇukā. Paraśurāma pleaded with Jamadagni to revive Reṇukā. Given permission at last, Paraśurāma went in the dark and revived both bodies, but accidentally he placed the wrong head on each body. The woman with Reṇukā's head was accepted as Reṇukā whereas the other woman became a Mātaṅgī, i.e., a low caste woman.[16] Elsewhere in South India only the head of Reṇukā is worshipped and it is identified with Māriatāl, the goddess of small pox. Māriatāl (Reṇukā) was given the miraculous power of drawing water without using a vessel. As summarized by Jouveau-Dubreuil,

> the liquid became solid in her hands as soon as she dipped them in the tank, and so she brought it to her husband's house. She was to keep this power only as long as her heart was pure; one day when she was taking water, she saw reflected on the surface of the tank the forms of beautiful Gandharvas, from which time the liquid became solid no more.
>
> Jamadagni ordered his son Paraśurāma to cut off her wicked head, which was done. Māriatāl obtained the favour of having her head put on her body again, but by mistake it was put on the body of a Pariah woman.[17]

In the shrine of Māriatāl are also to be found images of Mātaṅgī (the Pariah woman whose body she received), of the demon Kāttān, with Pāppāti and Chettipen his mistress, and other demons in addition to the head of Māriatāl. In the Tamil country, Reṇukā is particularly worshipped as Ellammā and various temples are dedicated to her, such as the Reṇukāmbāl temple at Paḍaivīḍu in North Arcot district, as well as shrines dedicated to her husband Jamadagni.[18]

In yogic practices, the story of Paraśurāma slaying Reṇukā has the following meaning:

> Reṇu or Reṇukā means 'semen'. Her five sons are the five centres of the body. The smallest is the centre of extreme-purity (viśuddha cakra), behind the forehead, here represented by Paraśurāma. The mind is the abode of lust, symbolized by

> the forest where Citraratha and his heavenly damsels dwell. Once the mind has stimulated the power of sex, the yogi cannot recover his mastery over himself, the brilliance of his inner light, until he has burned up lust by bringing the power of his seed up to the fifth centre.[19]

In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (47.94-113) Viṣṇu himself is guilty of cutting off the head of Bhṛgu's wife, the mother of Śukra, to protect Indra and the gods who were being harassed by the *Asuras*. Viṣṇu thought about the great sin of killing a woman but, being urged by Indra who had sought refuge within him, he severed her head with his *cakra*. Bhṛgu then cursed Viṣṇu for killing his wife, telling him that he would be born seven times among men for the sin of killing a woman. Since then, owing to Bhṛgu's curse, Viṣṇu manifests himself among men for the good of mankind, whenever there is a decay in righteousness. Bhṛgu then picked up the severed head of his wife and joined it to the trunk, thus reviving her.[20] In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.23.59-68), however, the act of Paraśurāma beheading his mother is associated with Śiva incurring the sin of brahmin-slaughter by cutting off one of the heads of Brahmā. Śiva, disguised as a hunter, chides Paraśurāma, implying that perhaps he had been instructed by Śiva, overwhelmed by the sin of brahmin-slaughter, to do the same thing:

> I think, O sage, that within a short while the fulfilment of penance has been achieved by you now on account of the identity of qualities between you and Rudra.
>
> By killing your own mother, you have been repudiated and expelled by almost all the people of the world. Under the pretext of performing a penance, you confine your activities to the dense forest devoid of people.
>
> It is for dispelling the sin arising from Brahmin-slaughter, the murder of an elderly lady (your mother) that you are performing this penance but it won't be destroyed on account of this penance.
>
> There are means of expiation and atonement for other types of sin. But understand that there is no expiation (from sin) to those who injure and hurt their mothers.
>
> If, O Rāma, the main characteristic feature of virtue is considered to be non-violence by you, why did you cut off the head of your mother with your own hand?
>
> After committing the terrible murder of your own mother, (a sin) despised by all the worlds, you profess to be a righteous man and you censure others as you please.[21]

After relating to him that it is for the sustenance of others that destruction of living beings is carried out by him, whereas Paraśurāma has forsaken his father and killed his mother, Śiva advises him to quit his futile penance and to go elsewhere where people do not know him.

3. The Abduction of the Celestial Cow, Jamadagni's Death and Paraśurāma's Revenge

The central core of the Paraśurāma myth involves the abduction of the celestial cow, the death of Jamadagni at the hands of *kṣatriyas*, and Paraśurāma's revenge not only against Kārtavīrya but against all *kṣatriyas*. In the earliest version of the myth, appearing in the *Mahābhārata* (3.33.116-17), once while the five sons of Jamadagni were out gathering fruit, king Kārtavīrya-Arjuna arrived at the hermitage and was welcomed by Reṇukā.

Kārtavīrya, maddened by war craze, did not accept the welcome but instead ransacked the hermitage, broke down all the big trees and abducted the calf of the whining sacrificial cow. Paraśurāma, informed of the carnage of Kārtavīrya upon his return, was seized with fury and stormed after the king. They engaged in battle and Rāma cut off the king's thousand arms with his arrows. Infuriated by the death of Kārtavīrya, his heirs rushed upon the sage Jamadagni in Rāma's absence and slew him, Jamadagni refusing to fight back and calling for Rāma. Upon his return and seeing his slain father, Rāma lamented and performed the necessary funeral obsequies. After burning his father on the pyre, Rāma swore to massacre all of the *kṣatriyas*. Twenty-one times he destroyed the whole *kṣatriya* race and he built in Samantapañcaka (Kurukṣetra) five lakes of blood from which he offered libations to the race of Bhṛgu. Ṛcika eventually persuaded Paraśurāma from his killing. Paraśurāma then performed a sacrifice to Indra and presented the earth to his priests. To Kaśyapa he gave the golden altar which, with the sage's permission, was divided in pieces among the brahmins.[22]

This portion of the myth is repeated, with slight variations or embellishments, in the Rājadharma section of the *Mahābhārata* and in various Purāṇas such as the *Agni Purāṇa* (4.12-20), the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.15-16), the *Brahma Purāṇa* (104.106-16), the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa, 24-44), the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (1.142.8-9), the *Śiva Purāṇa* (Umā-saṁhitā, 3.56-59), the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Upodghātapāda, 21-58), the *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IV.16.14-16), the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (II.32.38-47), the *Matsya Purāṇa* (43,44), the *Padma Purāṇa* (4.1-68 and 6.269-71), and the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Revā-khaṇḍa, 218). In the Rājadharma section of *Mahābhārata* (Śānti-parva, 50), the sons of Kārtavīrya become the indirect cause of his death, stealing the calf of the sacred cow without his knowledge. Here, as in the *Agni Purāṇa* and elsewhere, the twenty-one times slaying the *kṣatriyas* is explained as occurring in successive generations, as fast as they grew up. After the completion of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, Paraśurāma gave the earth as a sacrificial present to Kaśyapa. In order to preserve the remnant of the *kṣatriyas*, Kaśyapa, pointing with his hand that still held the sacrificial ladle (*śruk*), told Paraśurāma to repair to the shores of the southern ocean: "It behoveth thee not, O Rāma, to reside within (what is) my dominion." At these words, the ocean suddenly created for Paraśurāma, on the other shore, a region called Śūrpāraka. Kaśyapa then made a present of the earth to the brahmins and himself entered the great forest.[23]

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.15,16) account, on the other hand, Kārtavīrya, out of covetousness for the wish-yielding cow, commanded his men to forcibly take the cow and its calf to his capital at Māhiṣmatī. Informed of the wicked deed, Paraśurāma rushed after the king with an irresistible force and a great battle erupted. With the defeat of Kārtavīrya, his thousand arms and his head being severed by Paraśurāma's axe, his ten thousand sons fled in panic and Paraśurāma returned to the hermitage with the cow and its calf. Jamadagni, disapproving of his son (a brahmin) killing the king, had him expiate his sin by bathing in holy waters while devoting himself to Lord Viṣṇu. Somewhat later, in the absence of Paraśurāma, the sons of Kārtavīrya, desirous of revenge, entered the hermitage and killed Jamadagni, severing his head and carrying it away. Learning of this dastardly act, Paraśurāma hastened to Māhiṣmatī and built a huge mountain of the heads of the sons of Kārtavīrya in the centre of the city, their blood creating a terrible river. He then completely annihilated the *kṣatriyas* twenty-one times. Recovering the head of his father, he joined it to the trunk and performed sacrifices. As *dakṣiṇā* (gift for performing the sacrifice) he divided the earth among the priests and retired to Mahendra mountain.[24]

The texts frequently vary in respect to the conduct of king Kārtavīrya, as to his role in the abduction of the cow, and in respect to the conduct of the cow (Kāmadhenu or Kapilā) and its miraculous powers. In the *Padma Purāṇa* (6.241.3-38), for example,

when king Kārtavīrya attempted to seize the cow, the latter, by dint of her power, defeated his army and then disappeared, flying off to the heaven of Indra. The frustrated king, mad with rage, then felled Jamadagni with his fist.[25]

The legend becomes greatly expanded in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Upodghātapāda, 21-58) where thirty-seven chapters are devoted to it and Paraśurāma is additionally associated with Sagara (king of Ayodhyā), an encounter with Rāma (son of Daśaratha), with reclamation of land from the sea, and with the breaking of one of the tusks of Gaṇeśa. Particular attention is paid to visits made by Paraśurāma to his forefathers, in serial order from Ṛcīka (grandfather) back to Bhṛgu (founder of the family), and the propitiation of Śiva for all sorts of powerful weapons. Śiva, disguised as a hunter, tests Paraśurāma. Satisfied, Śiva imparts to Paraśurāma the knowledge of secret missiles for killing demons and advises him to go on pilgrimage to perform penance so as to attain the ability to master these weapons. During his pilgrimage Paraśurāma kills a tiger to save a brahmin boy. This boy, Akṛtavraṇa, becomes his constant companion. Kārtavīrya, returning from a hunting expedition, visits Jamadagni's hermitage on the banks of the Narmadā. He receives a royal reception and a comfortable night's stay for his army due to the miraculous powers of the celestial cow who created an entire city resplendent like the abode of Indra. On his departure the next day, the king is swayed by his minister Candragupta to confiscate the Kāmadhenu. In the absence of Paraśurāma, Candragupta returns to the hermitage and tries to persuade Jamadagni to part with the cow. Failing, he then commands his men to take it by force. In the scuffle over the cow, Jamadagni, not wanting to lose the power of his penance, refuses to fight back and is beaten unconscious. The cow flies away in the sky and Candragupta returns with the calf to king Kārtavīrya. Reṇukā laments over the beaten body of Jamadagni, beating her breast twenty-one times. Paraśurāma, seeing her beat her breast, vows to exterminate the entire *kṣatriya* caste as many times. Bhṛgu, by chance, visits the hermitage and revives Jamadagni. Paraśurāma consults Brahmā who advises him to approach Śiva about the strategy of killing Kārtavīrya. Śiva gives Paraśurāma various weapons and the *Trailokya-vijaya mantra*. After receiving the protective *kavaca* (cuirass) and *mantra*, Paraśurāma goes to Puṣkara (hermitage) where he practised with great devotion, absorbed in meditation for a hundred years. He next goes to Agastya's hermitage and listens to the *Kṛṣṇa-Premamṛta* hymn. Pleased, Kṛṣṇa manifests himself to Paraśurāma and orders him to annihilate the *kṣatriyas* twenty-one times, informing him that Kārtavīrya, an incarnation of his *cakra* (discus), had finished his assigned task and that from now on Paraśurāma would be moving about in this world charged with a part of his energy.[26]

Accompanied by Akṛtavraṇa, Paraśurāma went to Māhiṣmatī, made obeisance to the Narmadā, and challenged Kārtavīrya to fight. In the ensuing battle Paraśurāma defeated many of the kings sent against him but his weapons proved ineffectual against king Sucandra until the goddess Bhadrakālī appeared. Paraśurāma paid obeisance to her and she asked him to choose a boon. Paraśurāma asked for a boon to conquer in battle king Sucandra. She instructed him to hurl the miraculous missile having the fire-god for its deity and, after performing the *acamana* rite, he discharged it and Sucandra was immediately consumed by fire. In his fight against Kārtavīrya he was felled but was resuscitated by Śiva. He eventually killed Kārtavīrya with the Pāśupata missile and then slaughtered the remaining *kṣatriyas*. Paraśurāma returned to the abode of Śiva, to report his exploits, but is prevented from entering the private chambers by Gaṇeśa, as Śiva was together with Pārvatī. In anger Paraśurāma hurled his axe at Gaṇeśa and knocks off one of his tusks. Pārvatī, upset at Paraśurāma's haughty conduct, wanted to leave Śiva to return to her father's house but is conciliated by Rādhā. Paraśurāma then eulogised Rādhā and returned to his father's hermitage where he reports his revenge on Kārtavīrya. Jamadagni advised Paraśurāma to perform expiation for twelve years. Paraśurāma, accompanied by Akṛtavraṇa, departed to Mahendragiri where he built a hermitage and performed his penance.[27]

With Paraśurāma away, the sons of Kārtavīrya who had escaped the slaughter entered Jamadagni's hermitage and killed him, taking away his head. Grief-stricken, Reṇukā died instantly. After completing his penance, Paraśurāma learned of the death of his parents. He instantly recalled to mind his divine charioteer (Sahasaha) and his weapons. He advanced against the Haihayas and vowed to perform the libation offerings to his parents with the blood of their bodies. After killing all of the *kṣatriyas* on the surface of the earth, Paraśurāma became calm and returned to Mahendra mountain to perform further penance. This action was repeated twenty more times over the next twenty generations, making twenty-one times altogether that he annihilated the *kṣatriyas*. Thereafter he captured alive twelve thousand kings and took them to Kurukṣetra where he filled five tanks with their blood and performed *śrāddha* of his Pitṛs. He next travelled to the holy site of Candrapada at Gayā where the Pitṛs appeared in the sky and commanded him to desist from killing *kṣatriyas* and to perform expiatory rites and perpetual *Dharma*. Afterwards he again returned to Mahendra mountain to perform penance and made there a permanent abode for himself. After performing an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice he gave to Kaśyapa all the earth except for the excellent Mahendra mountain which he reserved for his own residence. Thereafter he performed penance and lived happily on the mountain in the company of Akṛtavraṇa.[28]

This emphasis on magic missiles, protective *mantras*, and the intervention of gods becomes even more pronounced in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa, 24-44) where Jamadagni himself displays his military prowess. When Kārtavīrya sent a messenger to abduct the cow, the cow gave birth to various weapons and an army which defeated the messenger and his party. The king, angered, then issued a challenge to Jamadagni. The cow (Kapilā) instructed Jamadagni in military arts and the sage himself took command of the armies created by Kapilā. Again and again the sage Jamadagni defeated king Kārtavīrya in battle but, being merciful, each time declined to kill him. Despite these defeats and humiliations, Kārtavīrya persisted in asking for the cow. Eventually, with the aid of the iron spear named Ekapuruṣa-nāśinī given to him by Dattātreya and a *mantra* invoking and focusing the lustre of brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, the king penetrated the heart of Jamadagni. Kārtavīrya performed penance for the slaughter of a brahmin and cheerfully returned to his capital. The grieving Reṇukā immolated herself on the funeral pyre with her husband. In the ensuing battles between Paraśurāma and the Haihaya kings, before they can be killed in battle the protective amulet worn around their neck has to be removed. In the battle against Sucandra, for example, Paraśurāma disguised himself as a hermit and begged the Bhadrakālī amulet while in the cases of Puṣkarākṣa and his son, protected by the amulets of Mahālakṣmī and Durgā respectively, it was Viṣṇu who so disguised himself and begged the amulets. In the battle against Kārtavīrya, protected by the amulet of Dattātreya, Śiva performed this task. Paraśurāma, wearing the amulet of Kṛṣṇa, then killed Kārtavīrya with the Pāśupata weapon. In the scene where Paraśurāma broke the tusk of Gaṇeśa, the angry Pārvatī cursed him for his haughtiness: "for this fault of yours you will never be held auspicious by the people nor will you be worshipped by anyone in the world." She then angrily rushed to kill him but Paraśurāma bowed to his preceptor (Śiva) and remembered Hari. The youthful Kṛṣṇa then appeared, rescuing Paraśurāma, and consoled Pārvatī. Kṛṣṇa then told Paraśurāma to adore Gaṇeśa and to worship Durgā.[29]

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (II.32.10-56), Kārtavīrya's death at the hands of Paraśurāma is the result of a boon and a curse. Upon completing a severe penance, Kārtavīrya propitiated Datta and received four glorious boons, the fourth being he would be victorious in numerous battles after killing thousands of enemies but would meet death in a battle with a superior warrior. With the help of Sūrya, Kārtavīrya burnt everything including the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha (Āpava). Āpava then cursed him: "O Arjuna, the extremely powerful Rāma,

the foremost among those who strike with weapons, will cut off and shatter your thousand arms. The powerful Brāhmaṇa and Sage of great strength will kill you."[30]

The myth of Paraśurāma, as amplified in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and other late texts, became the source of newer versions in still later works such as the *Sahyādri-khaṇḍa*, *Datta Purāṇa*, *Kerala-māhātmya*, etc., which add new myths often associated with geographical preferences, while some works, such as the *Paraśurāma Kalpasūtra* and the *Jāmadagnya-dhanur-veda*, are even attributed to him.[31]

Various scholars have interpreted the Paraśurāma legend of *kṣatriya* extermination as representing a caste-conflict between brahmins and *kṣatriyas*. Alain Danielou, for example, suggests that Paraśurāma re-established the social order that had been disturbed by what has been called "the revolt of the *kṣatriyas*", the effort of kings to wrest spiritual leadership from the priestly order. Accordingly, Paraśurāma "defeated and destroyed the chivalrous aristocracy which thought itself the master of mankind, and he re-established the principle of a monarchy controlled by a priestly class."[32] Another interpretation mentioned by Danielou is that the story "represents the final defeat of the non-Aryan kingdoms and of their kings, who had been invested with priestly functions by the Aryan theocracy."[33]

Other scholars opine that the myth does not represent a caste struggle but rather the Bhṛgu version of a feud between the Bhṛgus and the Haihayas. Until the advent of Kārtavīrya, the Bhṛgus and Haihayas apparently were on friendly terms, though the Haihayas' policy of expansion had been recognised by the Bhṛgus who attempted to thwart this policy through matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā, as in the case of Ṛcīka and Jamadagni. It has been suggested that Kārtavīrya-Arjuna, an ambitious ruler and son of Kṛtavīrya, raided Jamadagni's hermitage or stronghold to forestall Bhṛgu designs on the borders of his kingdom. Under the leadership of Paraśurāma, the northern allies of the Bhṛgus, such as the kings of Vaiśālī, Videha, Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā, defeated the Haihayas, possibly in twenty-one battles. Despite this victory, however, the Bhṛgus had ultimately to migrate to North India and along the western coast of South India. That it was not a caste-struggle seems implied, "for, right from the days of Cyavana Bhārgava, Bhṛgus had marriage alliances with *kṣatriyas*, and Rāma's mother, Rāma's grandmother (Ṛcīka's wife) were *kṣatriya* princesses. The real cause was economic and political rivalry, and attempts of Haihayas to spread their kingdom to the Doab and other parts of northern India."[34]

4. Paraśurāma's Penance on Mahendra Mountain

Except for a few South Indian versions of the Paraśurāma myth which identify the mountain on which he performed penance as Gokarṇa,[35] from the very beginning and in most orthodox texts his penance is associated with Mahendra mountain, one of the seven Kulagiris or seven principal chains of mountains in India mentioned in the Purāṇas. Although some texts loosely employ Mahendra Parvata for the whole range of the eastern *ghāts*,[36] invariably Mahendra mountain as employed in the myth of Paraśurāma refers to Mahendragiri in southern Orissa. This seems evident in the earliest version, in the *Mahābhārata* (3.114.1-25), where the Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira visits the sacred sanctuaries of Kaliṅga (Orissa), including Virajā on the Vaitaraṇī, prior to his sojourn on Mahendra, after which he went south to the Godāvarī river. Paraśurāma not only made his hermitage on Mahendra mountain but, as narrated in various texts, including the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.16.20), the *Śiva Purāṇa* (*Umā-saṁhitā*, 3.56-59), and the *Brahma Purāṇa* (104.112-16), he still resides there. As stated in the latter text, "for the welfare of the worlds, lord Jamadagnya, the scion of the family of Bhṛgu, of great fame and great penance stays even today on the most excellent mountain Mahendra like a Deva."[37] According to the *Śiva Purāṇa*,

> Even today Siddhas and Cāranas see this storehouse of penance deathless and invincible engaged in worshipping the phallic image. Rāma stays on the mountain Mahendra and performs penance. At the end of the Kalpa he will attain the region of the sage.[38]

In the *Mahābhārata* (3.115.1-15), as indicated, he appears there to ascetics on the fourteenth and the eighth. In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.47.52b-54), as mentioned, he granted the entire earth to Kaśyapa except for Mahendra mountain which he kept for his own residence.

Although Mahendragiri was his hermitage for penance, myths associated with Paraśurāma in his hermitage revolve around his mastery of weapons rather than his austerities, as in the story of Karṇa's death in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti-parva*, 2-5). Desiring to do battle with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna, Karṇa approached Droṇa and expressed his wish to become acquainted with the Brahmā weapon and its *mantras*. Droṇa replied that none but a Brāhmaṇa, who has duly observed all vows, should be acquainted with the Brahmā weapon, or a *kṣatriya* that has practised austere penances. Karṇa obtained his leave and, as instructed, proceeded to Mahendra mountain to visit Paraśurāma. To gain the favour of Paraśurāma, he introduced himself as a brahmin of Bhṛgu's race. One day, during his sojourn on Mahendra, Karṇa inadvertently slew the *Homa* cow of a brahmin. He informed the brahmin of his act, hoping for forgiveness, but the angry brahmin cursed Karṇa that in his battle against Arjuna, the wheel of his chariot would be swallowed up and he would be killed by Arjuna. Karṇa returned timidly to Paraśurāma and continued to serve him. Paraśurāma, pleased with Karṇa's ascetic penances, taught him everything about the Brahmā weapon and the *mantras* for withdrawing it. Eventually he found out that Karṇa was a *kṣatriya* and not a brahmin. Karṇa admitted that he had lied in the desire to obtain the weapon. Paraśurāma replied:

> Since thou hast, from avarice of weapons, behaved here with falsehood, therefore, O wretch, this Brahmā weapon shall not dwell in thy remembrance! Since thou art not a Brāhmaṇa, truly this Brahmā weapon shall not, up to the time of thy death, dwell in thee when thou shalt be engaged with a warrior equal to thyself.[39]

Despite his military prowess, however, Paraśurāma was not invincible as evident in the story of Śikhaṇḍin in the *Mahābhārata* (*Udyoga-parva*, 174-89) where he suffered defeat at the hands of Bhīṣma. After installing his half-brother Vicitravīrya on the throne and wishing to provide him with wives, Bhīṣma abducted the three daughters of the king of Kanci who were holding their *Svayamvara*. When the wedding day drew near, the eldest daughter, Ambā, having already chosen in her heart a bridegroom, approached Bhīṣma and he granted her freedom to go to him, the king of the Salvas. When she approached the king, however, he refused to have anything to do with her, as she had first belonged to another, i.e., to Bhīṣma, her abductor. He told her to return to Bhīṣma. Thus repulsed, the tearful Ambā, upon leaving, reflected that Bhīṣma was the cause of her shame and that he must pay, whether her instrument be fighting or asceticism. She related her plight to the *ṛṣi* Hotravāhana who advised her to seek out Paraśurāma, performing asceticism on Mahendra mountain, who was mighty in arms and penance and would, no doubt, slay Bhīṣma at her request. At that moment Akṛtavraṇa appeared and he informed them that Paraśurāma would arrive the following day. Upon arriving, Paraśurāma heard Amba's plight and was reminded by Akṛtavraṇa of his vow, made before brahmins after he had slain all the *kṣatriyas*, of slaying "in battle the person,

be he a *Brāhmaṇa*, a *Kṣatriya*, a *Vaiśya*, or a *Śudra*, who would be a foe to the *Brāhmaṇas*", or a further promise that as long as he lived he would not abandon those that came to him in fright and sought his protection. Paraśurāma then vowed that if Bhīṣma did not obey his behest he would slay him. They then all set forth towards Kurukṣetra where Paraśurāma met Bhīṣma and asked him to take back Ambā. Despite being his pupil, however, Bhīṣma refused, claiming that renunciation of a preceptor is sanctioned by the ordinance of a preceptor who is filled with vanity, that one is not guilty of slaying a brahmin who has killed in battle and taken up weapons like a *kṣatriya*: "when a Brāhmaṇa taketh up weapons, he becometh a *kṣatriya*." A fierce battle ensued which lasted for twenty-three days. Paraśurāma had to admit defeat and his forefathers admonished him never to display rashness again, exclaiming that to fight is the duty of a *kṣatriya*, that he should throw away his bow and practise austerities. Ambā, her vengeance left unquenched, vowed to defeat Bhīṣma herself and, through practising austerities, achieved her goal by metamorphosing into a male (Śikhaṇḍin), whom Bhīṣma would not kill knowning of his femininity, having vowed never to slay a woman or one that was formerly a woman.[40]

Although Mahendra mountain was thus famous as a hermitage for Paraśurāma in these myths, it was also associated with other gods, being mentioned as a resort for Indra in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.13.17),[41] as a Śākta-*pīṭha*, and as a famous pilgrimage site for *ṛṣis*, etc., including the Pāṇḍava brothers. In the *Varāha Purāṇa* (96.11-13), after severing the fifth head of Brahmā, Rudra went to the steep mountain of Mahendra, "the remover of sins", and while staying there broke the skull into three portions.[42] Today it is preeminently a Śaiva pilgrimage site and the only possible association with Paraśurāma is that it is considered the residence of Gokarṇeśvara Śiva, Gokarṇa occasionally being mentioned in some versions of the myth as the site for Paraśurāma's penance. Historically, Mahendra mountain, inhabited originally by tribals such as the Śavaras and Pulindas, was often a bone of contention between warring factions, probably due to its strategic geographical location, controlling the eastern land route between north and south India. With the advent of the Eastern Gaṅgas in Kaliṅga at the end of the 5th century, its importance as a religious centre was greatly enhanced with the installation of their family deity, Lord Gokarṇeśvara, on top of the mountain.[43] In the inscriptions of Anantavarman Codagaṅga (A.D. 1077-1147), it is revealed that Vīrasiṁha's son Kāmarṇava came to Kaliṅga with his four brothers like the five Pāṇḍavas. They killed one Śavarāditya in battle and then worshipped Lord Gokarṇeśvara on top of the mountain. Kāmarṇava distributed land among his four brothers and established a kingdom around Mahendragiri.[44] The Gaṅgas thus pay their respects to Lord Gokarṇeśvara in the preambles of their charters while the *pravaras* (legendary *ṛṣis* mentioned in the daily prayers of brahmins) are invariably Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Āpnavana and Jamadagni.[45] The Oriya *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa (15th century), on the other hand, gives a different account of the origin of Lord Gokarṇeśvara. According to this account, obviously influenced by the story of Karṇa mentioned earlier as well as that of Kārtavīrya-Arjuna, the five Pāṇḍava brothers while in exile came to Mahendra mountain to perform *śrāddha* of their father. While out hunting for a rhinoceros, Arjuna mistakenly killed a sacred cow called Kapilā which was grazing at the foot of the mountain. When the brothers came to know about the mistake, they prayed to Lord Kṛṣṇa who arranged a Devasabhā (meeting of the gods) on top of Mahendra mountain. *Śiva-liṅgas* sprang from the places where parts of the cow's body fell. The *Śiva-liṅga* which sprang from the ear of the cow was worshipped by the Pāṇḍava brothers as Gokarṇeśvara.[46] According to local legend the temples on top of Mahendra mountain were built by and named after the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their mother, Kuntī, so that today the Gokarṇeśvara temple is named the Kuntī temple.

The Gokarṇa (cow's ear) associated with Paraśurāma in the myths is invariably situated on the west coast of India,[47] in north Kanara in the Karwar district of Karnataka, and

is a famous pilgrimage site for Śiva, its Mahādeva temple supposedly established by the demon Rāvaṇa. A Tamil version of the myth summarized by Shulman reads as follows:

> Rāvaṇa tried to uproot Kailāsa; Śiva pressed him into Pātāla with his toenail. Rāvaṇa tore off one of his heads and made a vīṇā, using the tendons of his forearm for strings, and the music he sang appeased Śiva. When Rāvaṇa asked for a liṅga to take back to Laṅkā, Śiva gave him a liṅga so heavy it had to be carried in both hands. The gods, alarmed that Laṅkā would become great and that they would have to hide, sent Vināyaka in the form of a Brahmin to intercept Rāvaṇa. The demon handed the liṅga to the false Brahmin while he went off to worship; Vināyaka set the liṅga down, and it struck roots as deep as Pātāla. Rāvaṇa returned to find he could no longer move the liṅga, after repeated efforts he succeeded only in bending it into the shape of a cow's ear (*gokarṇa*). That place is known today as Gokarṇa.[48]

In other versions, as in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (*Koṭirudra-saṁhitā*, 28.1-76), Rāvaṇa cut off nine of his heads to win the boon from Śiva and he had the disguised brahmin (Gaṇeśa) hold the *liṅga* while he went off to pass urine. In a similar version described by Thomas, upon his return Rāvaṇa saw the *liṅga* sinking into the ground and caught hold of it. The *liṅga* transformed itself into a cow and continued to sink until only its ears remained above ground.[49] A variation of the myth appears in Orissa to explain the huge size of a Śiva-*liṅga* found at Kumbharagadhi in Balasore district, measuring twelve feet in height. Brahmā granted Rāvaṇa the strength to carry the huge *liṅga* from Kailāsa to Laṅkā but warned him that he must not put the *liṅga* on the ground, if it touched the ground it could not be carried any further. Indra, Varuṇa and the other gods, fearful of boons which might be granted to Rāvaṇa for worshipping the *liṅga*, made him feel a strong urge to urinate. Rāvaṇa requested a brahmin passing by to carry the *liṅga* while he relieved himself. The brahmin agreed out of fear but the weight was too much for him and he dropped the *liṅga* to the ground. The *liṅga* thus remained fixed to the ground at that place (Kumbharagadhi). The urine of Rāvaṇa spawned a small river which is locally known as Virkiti.[50]

5. Reclamation of Land from the Ocean

In the Sagara episode in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.47-58), the sons of Sagara, in searching for the sacrificial horse absconded by Vāyu, dug up the earth near the ocean as deep as the netherworld. They spotted the horse near the sage Kapila and falsely accused him of stealing it. He immediately burnt them to a crisp. Aṁśumān, the grandson of Sagara, after being crowned, asked for the redemption of the sons so that they could enter heaven. Kapila granted this boon through Bhagīratha, the grandson of Aṁśumān, yet to be born, who would perform penance so that Gaṅgā (the Ganges) would descend from heaven, her water touching the bones of the burnt-up sons thus ridding them of their sins. Due to the excavations dug by these sons of Sagara, however, with the descent of the Ganges the ocean became greatly expanded and many sacred spots became submerged, including Gokarṇa. The brahmins of Gokarṇa thus went to Mahendra mountain to beseech Paraśurāma to reclaim their land. Paraśurāma agreed to help them and returned with them to Gokarṇa. Paraśurāma asked Varuṇa to take up his form and grant him his vision. Varuṇa did not heed Paraśurāma's request so Paraśurāma, blazing with anger, took up his bow and fixed to it a terrible missile having Agni for its deity. The waters of the ocean became greatly agitated and its inhabitants became frightened. Varuṇa then

assumed his real form and sought refuge in Paraśurāma. He conceded to vacate the submerged land. Paraśurāma withdrew his missile and mentally decided the boundary of the land to be reclaimed. Wishing to point it out, he took his *śruk* and, facing north, threw it into the ocean. The reclaimed land henceforth became known as Śūrpāraka-*tīrtha*.[51]

In South Indian versions of the myth, the formation of the Malabar coast is ascribed to this action and they relate that Paraśurāma, after compelling the ocean to retire, introduced brahmins and colonists from the north into Kerala or Malabar. In such a myth mentioned by Jouveau-Dubreuil, Varuṇa conceded to Paraśurāma the amount of land which he could cover with the flight of an arrow:

> The ascetic Nārada then told Varuṇa that Paraśurāma being no other than Viṣṇu, could cover an immense distance with his arrow. Varuṇa was frightened and implored Yama for help, who transformed himself into a termite (white ant) and gnawed through the bowstring, so that it only had enough strength to hold the bow taught. The territory covered forms Malayam (the coast of Malabar).[52]

A somewhat different version appears in the Hart-lot Ghaut legend of Konkan where the gods, previously sojourning in the Himalayas but feeling their presence was no longer needed due to its conversion to Buddhism, were attracted by stories of the region to the south encompassed by oceans in which Sāmudra (Varuṇa) reigned. Paraśurāma, tired of ice-bound mountains, travelled to Sāmudra's shores accompanied by his disciple brother. Outraged by their presence, Sāmudra challenged them to battle. The night before the battle Sāmudra sent a carpenter bee to bore into the underside of Paraśurāma's bow so as to weaken it. The next day, as Paraśurāma drew an arrow to the tip, a crashing sound followed the bowstring's twang. Although the mighty bow broke in half, so great was its strength, so superhuman was the power of Paraśurāma, that the arrow pierced the bosom of Varuṇa, travelling a distance of thirty-six miles. Defeated, Varuṇa retreated to a line thirty-six miles from the Syādri range of mountains, leaving a long basin thousands of cubits deep, thus forming the Konkan.[53]

In another version, upon completing the extirpation of the *kṣatriyas*, at the instance of Viśvāmitra, Paraśurāma gave the whole earth to the brahmins. Thus left with nowhere to call his own where he could live, he sought Subrahmaṇya's assistance and, by penance, obtained from Varuṇa land to live on, its extent being determined by the distance covered by his throw of the *paraśu*. According to this version he threw it from Kānyakubja to Gokarṇa, the area thus reclaimed being known as the land of Paraśurāma. "To people this land, he imported brahmins from abroad settling them in sixty-four gramas, and making laws and institutions for them and for other settlers who came at the same time."[54] In the 18th century Jacobus Canter Visscher records a somewhat different version whereby Paraśurāma resided at Gokarṇa and, discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the area for her misdeeds, he decided to move so as not to endure public shame. He seized a rice-winnow and hurled it with tremendous force over the sea. It travelled as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up, being transformed into the tract of land now known as Malabar. Paraśurāma resolved to take up his abode with his mother in this strange land, hoping here to find a hiding place for her disgrace:

> Meantime, the fishermen of the mountains, hearing of the miracle, flocked into these lowlands and made for the seashore. The prophet met them, and, knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain

> and settle there; and in order the more to attract them, he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins, promising at the same time to support them according to his custom, by which he was pledged to provide food daily for 3,000 of that caste. He then took the fishing nets with which they were laden, and tore them into strands, which he twisted together, to make the three cords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of their dignity tied in a knot on the shoulder, and falling down below the waist. These Brahmins of Malabar are called Namboories and are reproached by the other Brahmins for their descent from fishermen.[55]

Other accounts insist that Paraśurāma stood on the promontory of Delhi and shot his arrows to the south, over the site of Kerala.[56]

Reference to "the land of Paraśurāma" also appears in the *praśasti* of numerous South Indian inscriptions, especially those of Rajendra I (A.D. 1012-44) where it is associated with the king's military exploits. In his Tiruvalangāḍu plates, for example, it is recorded that, after his conquest of the Telugu country, the king advanced against and conquered the country created by Paraśurāma. It is further stated that excepting Śiva, none else could even contemplate in his mind to humiliate that country which is protected by Paraśurāma and which since then has not been injured by enemies. In his Tirukkaḷar plates it is stated that Paraśurāma deposited the crown of the kings of Kerala made of pure gold, worthy of Lakṣmī, in Sandimattivu, whose fortifications he considered to be impregnable and that Paraśurāma in anger bound the kings twenty-one times in battle.[57] Kannada inscriptions of the early 12th century likewise refer to legends of Paraśurāma in relation to the creation of Konkan.[58]

The myth of floods and land reclamation is popular throughout India, as in the story of Dwarka carved out of the sea by Kṛṣṇa or of Śiva throwing his lance against the sea to reclaim the city of Madurai.[59] In the tour of the sacred sites of Kaliṅga in the *Mahābhārata* (3.33.114.15-25), Viśvakarmā offered up a sacrifice on the shore between the Vaitaraṇī and Mahendra and gave the earth as payment to Kaśyapa. Despondent, the earth began to submerge, not wanting to be given to any mortal. Kaśyapa appeased her, however, and the earth then emerged from the water in the form of an altar. Yudhiṣṭhira climbed the altar (Puri?) and then continued to Mahendra mountain. The later myths which associate reclaimed land with Paraśurāma seem to be based on the version of the *Rājadharma* section of the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti-parva*, 50) where, after performing the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice and giving the earth to Kaśyapa, the latter, not wanting Paraśurāma to reside within his dominions, told Paraśurāma to repair to the shores of the southern ocean. The ocean then created for Paraśurāma, on the other shore, a region called Śūrpāraka. This would seem to imply that Śūrpāraka was situated in South India. It is also situated in South India elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* (2.23.28.40-45), south of Surastra where it had the oligarchy named Upakṛta, or as a sacred ford with two altars of Jamadagni (3.33.86.10), while in other cases it is located in western India (3.33.118.10-15) on the sea near Prabhāsa, modern Somnath in the peninsula of Kathiawar, or the country around the mouth of the Narmadā (*Anuśāsana-parva*, 25.1736).[60] In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (194.26-35) the region at the confluence of the Narmadā and the ocean was so intimately associated with Paraśurāma that it was called Jamadagnya[61] while in the *Harivaṁśa* (96.5300) it is stated he built the city of Śūrpāraka there.[62] Following Burgess, other modern scholars have identified Śūrpāraka with the modern town of Sopārā in district Thana of Maharashtra.[63] Pargiter suggests the country Śūrpāraka comprises the littoral tract from near Bassein to the river Narmadā.[64] In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.58.7-37), as mentioned, Paraśurāma asked Varuṇa to restore the holy spot of Gokarṇa as it was prior to being submerged by the ocean, but once reclaimed it is called Śūrpāraka, suggesting the two are identical. The reclaimed land measures either four-hundred or six-hundred *yojanas* from south

to north though curiously it is additionally claimed as being the eastern boundary of the Earth which could suggest Orissa.[65]

In his interpretation of the Paraśurāma myth, Karandikar opines that the Bhṛgus were great navigators and expert mariners who controlled the maritime trade between India and the western world. They occupied the coastal line on the Arabian sea and amassed a great fortune through their trade with foreign countries. The reason for the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict, accordingly, was that king Kārtavīrya-Arjuna did not wish that these agents (the Bhṛgus) of foreigners should thrive at the cost of the people, but wanted to keep the trade and commerce of the Indian people under the control of an Aryan state. Kārtavīrya thus sought the help of the Atris, equally expert ship-builders, who built for him a fleet of a thousand ships or a ship with a thousand oars (hence his thousand arms):

> Karkoṭaka Nāga, Rāvaṇa and others who were defeated by Arjuna were seeking some opportunity to wreak vengeance on him. Arjuna's effort at getting control of the sea-trade was an eyesore to the Bhṛgus, and further fuel was added by Arjuna's demanding back the wealth he had bestowed on the Bhṛgus. Paraśurāma led the opposition with the aid of the parties defeated by Arjuna, killed him, and destroyed the Haihaya power. The annihilation of the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times is interpreted as the destruction of the population in the Narmadā region a number of times in order to wipe out the memory of the popular king Arjuna. On the devastated Haihaya realm Paraśurāma founded new cities, and colonized some tracts in the west coast, founding Śūrpāraka which became the centre of trade. The result of Paraśurāma's activities was to divert the trade from the hands of the Aryans in the north to the Dravidians in the south.[66]

His conclusion, that trade was diverted from the north, apparently rests on his belief that Śūrpāraka is situated in the south. In the earliest versions of the myth, after defeating the Haihayas, Paraśurāma retires to Mahendra mountain where he still resides while in his earliest association with South India, he is forced to go there by Kaśyapa. In either case it is not by choice and certainly not for colonization. The temporary effect of Paraśurāma's conquests is evident by the rise to power of the Haihayas after his forced retirement. It is probably at this time that the Bhṛgus migrated along the southern part of the west coast. Paraśurāma's return to active life to reclaim land is pure fiction. In the Konkan legend mentioned earlier, in fact, Paraśurāma recognized that the newly claimed land could not be habitated for many eons and set out for Śrī Laṅkā. Much later the land became inhabitated by herdsmen from the mountain plateau and then eventually the Mhārs of the Deccan who brought in *śudras* to till the land. Eventually traders and *kṣatriyas* made incursions and built strongholds but no brahmins ventured to make their permanent residence there. While still sparsely populated, Paraśurāma, sojourning in Burma, received constant reports from birds that he should return to the Konkan as it sadly lacked governing and guiding, especially a guiding priesthood. Paraśurāma thus returned to the land he had reclaimed. Upon his arrival the inhabitants beseeched him to be their god and protect them, to give them priests. Deeply moved, Paraśurāma despatched guides to the seashore to bring back in earthen jars some of the spume or dried foam of the ocean. Paraśurāma poured it on the ground. Miraculously a band of priests arose from the ground and paid homage to Paraśurāma. He instructed them to build a shrine to him and to become the spiritual guides of the people, to teach them and to protect them from other gods, stating that his spirit would always be at his shrine. These priests became the forefathers of the famous Chitpāvan brāhmaṇas

of Konkan. According to the Shenwis from the Sarasvati river region in Kathiawar, in retaliation for being slandered by the Chitpāvans, Chitpāvan has at least two meanings—"pure-hearted or sinners pardoned" and "a dead body raised" and that they were not miraculously created by Paraśurāma from the spume of the ocean but rather from corpses of Arab sailors which Sāmudra, in revenge for his defeat by Paraśurāma, derisively cast upon the beach of the river Waṣiṣṭi. Upon his return to Konkan, after it had become habitable, Paraśurāma, at a loss from whence to people the country, proceeded to resuscitate these corpses.[67] This second meaning is also employed in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Sahyādri-khaṇḍa*) where Paraśurāma, not finding any brahmins for the performance of a *śrāddha*, created for the purpose sixty men from the Citā or funeral pyre and consecrated them as brahmins.[68]

In a local legend in a report submitted by the Oorakam Devaswam authorities to the Rāja of Cochin in 1898 it is stated that after the reclamation of Kerala from the sea, Paraśurāma brought several colonies of brāhmaṇas from the East Coast to people his land, including a colony from the vicinity of Tiruvalur in the Coḷa country. These brahmins were averse to leave their homes and to migrate to a distant country as they were enjoying prosperity under the auspices of the god Mahādeva at Tiruvalur:

> Paraśurāma, however, persuaded them to accompany him promising that similar, if not greater, prosperity and affluence would attend them in their new abode. He settled his colony at Peruvanam the consecrated forest-ground where the renowned *ṛṣi* Pooru performed his penances...Having established his colony of Brahmans there, the sage installed the Śivaliṅgam and Salahramam left by the *ṛṣi* Pooru at his death...Paraśurāma then instituted an annual festival in exact imitation of its prototype at Tiruvalur to be celebrated in the month of Meenam (March-April).[69]

6. Character and Status of Paraśurāma

In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.47.39-42), we are told that sages living in all the holy centres came to Mahendra mountain desirous of seeing Paraśurāma as he performed penance while in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.16-25) we are informed that, in the coming *Manvantara*, Paraśurāma will become the propagator of the Vedas, one of the seven sages. In the *Kalki Purāṇa*, Kalki is stated to have learned *Śastra* at the feet of Paraśurāma while in numerous South Indian literary works, such as the *Maṇimēkalai* (22.11.25,34) and the *Ahanānūru* (220.11.5-7), it is stated that, after exterminating the *kṣatriyas* and completing the Vedic sacrifice, he tied round his waist the chord of the sacrificial post.[70] Elsewhere, as indicated, he made laws and institutions for the settlers in his reclaimed land. In the Konkan and Karnataka regions, where the cult of Ellammā (Reṇukā) and Paraśurāma was especially popular among a section of non-brahmins, the adherents, in imitation of Paraśurāma and Ellammā, dedicate their lives to a life of celibacy and even carry the *cauḍiki*, a musical instrument associated with Paraśurāma in these areas. Legends about Paraśurāma and Reṇukā in the south, in fact, have even "formed the basis of the origin of several castes among the lower strata of society."[71] In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.40.34-38) he is called the greatest of men, capable of creating, protecting and destroying everything, still, in order to conceal his supernatural power he carried on the usual activities of ordinary people:

> He was a wielder of bows. He was the greatest among heroes. He was the possessor of splendour. He was the leader of good men. He was the speaker of facts in an

> assembly. He had put in sufficient efforts in the realm of fine arts, lores and sacred literature. He was a wise scholar conversant with the injunctions (of sacred scriptures). Thus he spread his name, fame and intrinsic ability in the mortal world.[72]

Described as a paradoxical figure, "appalling and yet appealing at times", his character is that "of a gigantic hero of martial splendour on one occasion and at another a peace-loving social reformer", as one honoured not only in the Brahmanical society but also in the lower strata.[73]

Despite his brahmin status in the myths, his activities are primarily those of a *kṣatriya*, as indicated, and his act of slaughtering the *kṣatriyas* twenty-one times is especially appealing to kings who frequently compare themselves with his battlefield prowess in their inscriptions. Curiously, though he was never anointed a king nor married,[74] yet he performed the *Aśvamedha* (horse sacrifice).[75] Though supposedly purified by performing this sacrifice, yet he failed to attain perfect lightness of heart. As stated in the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana-parva*, 85), it was not until he additionally made gifts of gold unto the brāhmaṇas that he became cleansed of his sins.[76] His gift of the earth as *dakṣiṇā* to Kaśyapa is also the act of a *kṣatriya* as only a *kṣatriya* is competent to make gifts of earth.[77] In the *Varāha Purāṇa* (48.22), where ten kinds of *Dvādaśī-vrata* are named after the *avatāras*, Paraśurāma is to be propitiated for the sake of gaining wealth while elsewhere (15.15) being born of a golden egg, he is called one who is the protector of the noble and the meek.

His fame rests primarily on his battlefield prowess and on his mastery of weapons and it is this martial propensity and skill that appealed to the kings who compare themselves with him in their inscriptions. Even the Kalacuri kings, whose forefathers suffered defeat at his hands, occasionally invoke his name, as in the Khaira plates (A.D. 1076) of Yasaḥkarṇa[78] or the Kumbhi plates (A.D. 1180) of Vijayasiṁha,[79] where, after tracing their family lineage from the legendary Kārtavīrya of the Haihaya race, the kings are eulogized as vying with Paraśurāma by extirpating the hostile *kṣatriyas* and bestowing the earth on brahmins. References to Paraśurāma also appear in the Coḷa inscriptions of South India, particularly in the *praśasti* of inscriptions of Rājendra I, as mentioned. In verse 83 of his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu copper plates, for example, for having conquered the country created by Paraśurāma, "he caused abundant joy to all kings that held a bow"[80] while in verse 94 the king laments that he could not personally meet Paraśurāma on the battlefield. The king,

> having heard of the humiliation to which the rulers of the earth were subjected by Bhārgava on the battlefield (and), not being able to meet him in battle on the earth, set his mind upon the country called after him.[81]

Similar comparisons appear in Orissan inscriptions, as in the Kenduli copper-plates of Narasiṁhadeva IV (A.D. 1377-1413) which states that Narasiṁhadeva II (A.D. 1278-1307) "put down all his enemies like Rāghava, Arjuna and Paraśurāma",[82] or in verse 5 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription (A.D. 1058) where Dharmaratha (A.D. 980-1005) is eulogized as the second Paraśurāma, "who suppressed his enemies by his invincible hand possessing strength of the thunderbolt and was powerful like the mid-day sun."[83] Kapilendradeva (AD 1434/35-67) was not only eulogized as an incarnation of Paraśurāma, but even composed a drama called *Paraśurāma-Vijaya* which extolled the greatness of Paraśurāma.[84]

That Paraśurāma was not invincible is evident in the battle against Bhīṣma mentioned above and that he himself became haughty, like the *kṣatriyas* he slaughtered, is narrated

in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.74-76) where, upon learning that Rāma had broken the great bow of Śiva in the contest at Mithila, Paraśurāma hastened to meet him, bringing his bow of Viṣṇu handed down from Ṛcīka who had received it from the god. His approach to king Daśaratha and his retinue was announced by inauspicious signs and they became fearful that Paraśurāma would annihilate them. Paraśurāma accepted the homage of the ascetics and then challenged Rāma to fix an arrow to his bow of Viṣṇu and bend it. If Rāma could accomplish this difficult task, thereby proving his prowess, then he could engage him in single combat to demonstrate his valour. Rāma easily bent the bow but angrily addressed Paraśurāma:

> Thou art a brahmin and, being a kinsman of Viśvāmitra, I reverence thee; I cannot, therefore, direct a death-dealing shaft upon thee, O Rāma! Yet I have resolved to destroy that aerial refuge and even the peerless realms thou has conquered by thine asceticism. Nay, this arrow of Viṣṇu's, the destroyer of hostile cities, the might of which subdues pride and ascendancy, may not be loosed in vain.[85]

Admitting defeat and vowing to honour his word to Kaśyapa, Paraśurāma, after asking that his power of movement not be deprived, directed Rāma to destroy the realms he had attained by penances with his arrow. Rāma did so and Paraśurāma, after paying obeisance to Rāma, withdrew to Mahendra mountain. Thus was Paraśurāma excluded from a seat in the celestial world.

In some cases there is an attempt to tarnish his feat of destroying the *kṣatriyas* twenty-one times, as in the *Mahābhārata* (*Aśvamedha-parva*, 29) where some of the *kṣatriyas* escaping the slaughter fled to the mountains. Due to their inability to find brahmins, and through fear of Paraśurāma to discharge the duties ordained for their order, their progeny became Vṛsalas. After completing the annihilation twenty-one times, a celestial voice addressed Paraśurāma with the following words: "O Rāma, O Rāma, desist! What merit dost thou see, O son, in thus destroying repeatedly these inferior Kṣatriyas?"[86] In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (II.32.25b ff), on the other hand, Paraśurāma is warned by Pauṣkara against hurting, insulting, killing, or doing anything objectionable to brahmins,[87] suggesting that he either was not a brahmin or was not conversant with their great sanctity or power for doing good.

In the earliest versions of the myth, Paraśurāma essentially inherits his knowledge in the mastery of weapons, the science being passed on from Ṛcīka to Jamadagni and hence to him, though he appears to be the first to make use of this knowledge.[88] This mastery is particularly associated with the bow and arrows, with both Ṛcīka and Paraśurāma being cited for their skill in archery, and in the earliest version this is the weapon employed by Paraśurāma, rather than the *paraśu*, for cutting off the thousand arms of Kārtavīrya while in later myths it is invariably the weapon invoked in the reclamation of land. In an abbreviated account of the myth in the *Mahābhārata* (*Aśvamedha-parva*, 29-30), when Kārtavīrya, fresh from conquering the earth and overly proud of his might, asked Varuṇa if there was anyone equal to him with the bow in battle, Varuṇa informs him of Paraśurāma[89] while in later versions Śiva becomes his preceptor in the science of weapons. In some versions the bow that Paraśurāma wields is that of Śiva while in other cases it is that of Viṣṇu. In his humiliating defeat at the hands of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.76), he relinquishes his bow, given by Viṣṇu to Ṛcīka and handed down to him, to Rāma and retires to Mahendra mountain. In still other cases his bow is named Vijaya, made by Viśvakarmā for Indra but later given to Paraśurāma, which he in turn gave to Karṇa for his battle against Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata* (*Karṇa-parva*, 31), the latter wielding the bow Gāṇḍīva.[90]

The *paraśu* or axe, by which Bhārgava-Rāma is distinguished from Daśaratha-Rāma, is employed in the earliest version of the myth to sever the head of his mother Reṇukā, though in later versions it is also used against Kārtavīrya and the other *kṣatriyas*. Whereas the bow is a popular weapon wielded by numerous gods and legendary heroes, the *paraśu* is associated primarily with Śiva,[91] being his major weapon in South India, and Śiva presents it to Paraśurāma, as in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (*Umā-saṁhitā*, 3.56-57) where Paraśurāma, distressed upon seeing his father killed by the *kṣatriyas*, propitiated Śiva by his penance. "From the delighted lord Śiva he secured a sharp-edged axe. With that he exterminated the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times." In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.24.33-88) episode of Paraśurāma performing penance for acquiring knowledge of weapons, Śiva advised him to traverse the entire earth and purify his body by taking holy baths in all the sacred *tīrthas*, after which he would acquire all the miraculous weapons. After following Śiva's instructions he returned to his Himalayan refuge to perform further penance. In the meantime a war broke out between the *Asuras* and the *Devas*. The *Devas*, being defeated, sought refuge with Śiva and requested of him that he should defeat the *Asuras*. Śiva promised the *Asuras* would be slaughtered and instructed them to fetch Paraśurāma who was performing penance in the Himalayas. This they did and when Paraśurāma arrived, Śiva ordered him to kill the entire host of *Asuras*. Śiva then transferred to Paraśurāma all of his lustrous white splendour, full of miraculous missiles, and handed him his own *paraśu*, telling him: "Go ahead with this weapon alone and fight with your enemies. You yourself will duly come to know and possess the skill in war." Paraśurāma then exterminated all of the *Asuras* and by so doing gratified all of the *Devas*. He then returned to his own hermitage.[92]

Later on in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.25.39-41), as a boon, Śiva presented to Paraśurāma an excellent chariot, two inexhaustible quivers of arrows, the divine bow named Vijaya and an indestructible coat of mail. Somewhat later, while visiting Śiva and Pārvatī, Śiva told him that henceforth he would be like Skanda (his son) unto him and, for his battle against Kārtavīrya and the *kṣatriyas*, he taught him the *mantra* for his *kavaca* (*Trailokya-vijaya*) and gave him the following weapons (2.3.32.54-61): *nāgapāśa*, the missiles Pāśupata, Brahmāstra, Nārāyaṇāstra, the Āgneya, the Vāyavya, the Varuṇa, the Gandharva, the Garuḍa, the extremely wonderful weapon Jṛmbhaṇāstra, the mace, the spear, the *paraśu*, the trident and the excellent *daṇḍa* (baton). In his fight against the army of Kārtavīrya (2.3.39.4b-8), his bow is named Pināka and he additionally has an iron club.[93] He thus is a master of all weapons as frequently stated and none excelled him in their use.[94]

Despite the popularity of the Paraśurāma legend, Paraśurāma himself remains a relatively minor *avatāra* mostly devoid of a cult following except for the cases mentioned above. Although inscriptions as early as the 2nd century A.D. in western India mention his worship he is not at this date considered to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.[95] The same is true in early literary works in South India, such as the *Maṇimekalai*, where again he is not associated with the Vaiṣṇava pantheon. One of the first records including him as an *avatāra* is the 7th-8th century Pallava Grantha inscription in the Ativarāha cave temple at Mahamallapuram.[96] He also does not appear as an *avatāra* in such lists in the orthodox Sanskrit texts, the conventional list of ten becoming popular only around the late 8th or early 9th century. Even in some later lists, however, he is occasionally replaced. The same is true in respect to sculptural representations, as in Bengal where he is sometimes replaced by Trivikrama.[97] In the *Viśvaksena-saṁhitā* he, along with the Buddha, is included among the secondary *avatāras*. He is invariably considered to be an "Āveśāvatāra", i.e., as being possessed only temporarily by Viṣṇu, so that his *avatārahood* appertained to him only for a brief period, passing on to Rāghava Rāma, son of Daśaratha, once he appeared on the scene.[98] In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.37.28-33a), for example, with the death of Kārtavīrya, the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's *cakra*, the

energy passed unto Paraśurāma. Kṛṣṇa then tells Paraśurāma that he would be born in the family of Raghu under the name Rāma and while going to Ayodhyā he would take away his proud brilliance and splendour.[99] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.76), as indicated, he is vanquished and deprived of his power by Rāma.

In the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (*Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa*, 44.11-27), as indicated, due to his haughtiness in breaking the tusk of Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī cursed him that he would not be worshipped by anyone. This is most likely an attempt to explain in myth why there are so few temples dedicated to him, as in the case of Brahmā in the same text (*Kṛṣṇa Janma khaṇḍa*, 32-33) where the *apsarā* Mohinī cursed him to be excluded from worship in the world because he rejected her advances.[100] Although small in number, and often minor shrines in larger temple complexes, temples dedicated to Paraśurāma, Jamadagni and Reṇukā appear in widespread areas from Nirmand in Kulu district in the north to Kerala in the south, though the majority of them are found in Mysore and coastal regions on the west, as at Candragutti in Shimoga district, Hiremagaḷūr in Kaḍūr district, Cikkanāyakahalli in Tumkur district and Saundatti in Belgaum district.[101] At Tiruvannur in Kozhikodu district and at Trichur in Kerala there are subshrines dedicated to Paraśurāma in the compounds of larger temples while the Viṣṇu temple at Śirudāvūr in Chingleput district is referred to in Coḷa inscriptions as the Paraśurāma Viṇṇagaram.[102] There are also temples in Gujarat dedicated to Paraśurāma[103] while the Reṇukāmbāl temple is situated at Paḍaivīḍu as mentioned previously.

In addition to being propitiated for prosperity, as mentioned in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, Abbe Dubois cites a ritual associated with rubbing oil on the body on fast days in which Paraśurāma is one of seven personages that are invoked, the anointer letting seven drops of oil fall on the ground as libation to these seven prior to anointing his head.[104] Though associated with either Viṣṇu or Śiva in the myths, in later texts he is also associated with the Devī. In the *Paraśurāma Kalpasūtra*, often attributed to Paraśurāma, the details of the worship of Śrīvidyā are delineated while in the *Tripurā-rahasya* (I.18-20) Paraśurāma is incidentally referred to as a devotee of Tripurā, another name for Śrīvidyā.[105] In numerous local legends, Paraśurāma is said to have visited the particular site in order to perform homage to the presiding Devī, thereby elevating her status and importance in the minds of the local populace.

7. Iconography and Sculptural Imagery

Included among the descriptions of Paraśurāma in iconographic sections of texts, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (3.85.61-62)[106] and the *Rūpamaṇḍana* (3.26)[107] merely state that he should have matted locks (*jaṭā-mukuṭa*), wear an antelope-skin and carry a *paraśu*, suggesting he probably has only two arms. Jouveau-Dubreuil also mentions a two-armed form holding a *paraśu* and a fan of palm leaves called *visṛt*.[108] In the *Agni Purāṇa* (49.5) he is four-armed and holds the bow, arrow, sword and *paraśu*.[109] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX.15.28-29) prescribes a *paraśu*, bow, arrows and a shield. He has matted hair resplendent like the sun and wears a black antelope-skin.[110] A two-armed and a four-armed form are mentioned in the *Vaikhānasāgama* (patala 59). The two-armed image should hold a *paraśu* in the right hand while the left hand should display *śuci-mudrā*. He wears a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, *yajñopavīta* and other ornaments. If four-armed, the image should hold the conventional *āyudhas* of Viṣṇu.[111] A similar four-armed image is mentioned in the *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra*, though only the conch, *cakra* and *gadā* are named.[112] Except for the last two four-armed images, which attempt to associate Paraśurāma with Viṣṇu though curiously the *paraśu* is eliminated, the iconography is more closely related with the image of Śiva, both in respect to weapons and his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* coiffure.

There are only a few scattered sculptural panels which depict Paraśurāma in his battle against Kārtavīrya and the *kṣatriyas*. A possible example appears at Basohli, on the opposite wall of the Baoli of Dhan near Thara-Kadwal,[113] while another example is carved on a pillar from Amanpur in Etah district of Uttar Pradesh. In the latter example Paraśurāma is two-armed and attacks Kārtavīrya with a *paraśu* held in his right hand, the left arm being broken off. He wears an antelope-skin, *yajñopavīta* and a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The king has multiple arms all of which are broken.[114] A third example appears on an 18th century wooden *toraṇa* framing an image of Vaikuṇṭha in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple at Chamba where the *avatāras* are carved on either side, each housed in a separate panel. Paraśurāma grasps the hair of Kārtavīrya with his left hand while his right hand brandishes a *paraśu* over his head. He wears a pointed crown while Kārtavīrya has six arms.[115] The theme becomes popular in painting with one of the best examples appearing in Basohli where two incidents are combined. In the right half of the painting Paraśurāma, with his left foot placed on the neck of the fallen Kārtavīrya, pulls his hair with his left hand while raising the *paraśu* over his head with his right hand. Most of Kārtavīrya's multiple arms are already severed. In the upper left corner the cow-of-plenty is depicted in a flying gallop. In the lower left is a scene of Reṇukā mourning over the corpse of Jamadagni.[116] In a late 18th century *paṭa* from Nepal, now in the Denver Art Museum, where the *Daśāvatāras* are aligned in two registers on either side of an image of Śiva embracing Pārvatī, Paraśurāma is again depicted attacking the many-armed Kārtavīrya with his *paraśu*.[117]

Less popular are illustrations of Paraśurāma beheading his mother. A rare example of this motif appears on the *śikhara* of the Siddheśvara temple at Barakar, near Asansol in West Bengal, where the *Daśāvatāras* are carved on the moulding. Paraśurāma strides toward his mother with his left elbow uplifted and his raised right hand wielding the *paraśu*. Reṇukā kneels toward her son and has her hands folded in *añjali*. In one of the niches of the Reṇukāmbāl temple at Paḍaivīḍu (North Arcot), Reṇukā is depicted putting the *tilaka* mark on the forehead of Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma is standing with his hands in *añjali*. A bow hangs on his right shoulder. The image dates to the 15th century or later.[118]

Images of Paraśurāma are generally confined to *Daśāvatāra* panels, as on lintels, to the back-slab of Viṣṇu images, are carved as panels of wooden doors, or are fixed in niches of Vaiṣṇava temples. On the *Daśāvatāra* lintel in the Khajuraho Museum, Paraśurāma assumes a standing pose and holds the *paraśu* in his right hand while his left hand is on his hip. A similar standing image appears on a lintel[119] as well as on the back-slab of numerous 10th-12th century Viṣṇu images from Bihar/Bengal while on the back-slab of several Viṣṇu images from Khajuraho he is depicted in a seated pose holding the *paraśu* in one hand.[120] In other examples, however, he holds the *paraśu* in the right hand and the bow in the left hand, as on the back-slab of a Dattātreya image from Badami,[121] in a niche on the outer wall of the *Puṣpāñjali-maṇḍala* in front of the Mahālakṣmī shrine in the compound of the Śrīkūrmam temple at Śrīkākulam in Andhra Pradesh[122] and in a niche of the outer wall of the temple at Tirukkaṇṇamangai in Tanjavur district dating to the late Coḷa period.[123] The *paraśu* and bow are likewise held by Paraśurāma in a modern ivory image from Trivandrum, forming part of a *Daśāvatāra* series, where he is depicted with a beard.[124] A rare four-armed example from a *Daśāvatāra* series, dating to the 12th century, appears at Garhwa fort in Allahabad. Paraśurāma stands in a *dvibhaṅga* pose and holds a lotus in his front right hand while the *paraśu* is in the back hand. The front left hand is placed on the hip while the back arm is broken off. He wears an ornate tiara, ear-pendants, *vanamālā* and embroidered drapery. A devotee kneels on his right.[125]

There are very few surviving independent images of Paraśurāma, whether serving as

an *āvaraṇa-devatā*, *pārśva-devatā*, or presiding deity. A mutilated Gupta image discovered at Timba, a village near Amreli in Gujarat, holds a *paraśu* in his right hand to suggest it might represent Paraśurāma though it more likely depicts Śiva.[126] U. Agrawal tentatively identifies two images on the walls of the Pārśvanātha temple at Khajuraho as Paraśurāma. Each is four-armed. They hold a citron, conch, lotus and a *paraśu*.[127] Their iconography thus differs substantially from any of the textual accounts though it must be pointed out that many of the deities at Khajuraho hold a citron in one of their hands. One of the best surviving examples which positively represents Paraśurāma is the 11th century image from the Rāṇihāṭi Deul in Dacca district.[128] Paraśurāma is four-armed and stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose. He holds the *paraśu* over his right shoulder while his lower right hand is in *varada*. His uplifted back left hand holds a *cakra* while the lowered hand has a conch. He wears a *vanamālā*, a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and is richly ornamented. Garuḍa kneels on the pedestal beneath the feet of Paraśurāma. In a 14th century image from Chamba the major right hand holds a *paraśu* over his shoulder while the left hand holds a conch. The back hands hold arrows and the bow. He wears a *vanamālā* and a pleated *dhoti*.[129] Three of the hands thus hold the weapons prescribed in the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, though the fourth hand holds the conch rather than the sword or shield. There is also a four-armed image on the Kodaṇḍarānasvāmi temple at Ariyalūr in Tiruchirapalli district which dates to the 15th-16th century. He holds the *paraśu* and conch in his right hands while the left hands hold the *cakra* and display *varada*. He wears a long *vanamālā*, a tall *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* and a *channavira*.[130] On the *citragopuram* of the Azhagianambirayar temple at Thirukarangudi in Tirunelveli district is a four-armed image which possibly represents Paraśurāma (or Harihara). His right hands display *abhaya* and hold the *paraśu* while the uplifted left hand holds a conch and the lower hand is on the hip. He is flanked by smaller images of Brahmā and Śiva with their major hands in *añjali*.[131] In the Paraśurāma temple at Saundatti in Belgaum district Paraśurāma holds the *cauḍiki* in both hands. The *paraśu* and a trident are placed on his right and left respectively.[132]

Bronze images of Paraśurāma are even more rare though there are several examples in the Reṇukāmbāl temple at Paḍaiviḍu. He is two-armed and holds the bow and arrows.[133]

Various Pañcarātrāgama works specify the location of Paraśurāma as a *parivāra-devatā* in a Viṣṇu temple complex, including the *Agastya-saṁhitā*, the *Hayaśirasa-saṁhitā* and the *Kapiñjala-saṁhitā* which situate the Paraśurāma shrine at the southeast corner of the compound.[134]

8. Paraśurāma Cult in Orissa

Although Mahendragiri is the only Orissan site mentioned in the mythology of Paraśurāma, king Kapilendradeva, as indicated, composed the *Paraśurāma-Vijaya* and his legend is popular throughout the country. Local legends often single out various misshaped rocks, etc., which were supposedly cleft by his *paraśu* or pierced by his arrows. The presiding deity of the Bhaṭṭārikā temple near Baramba, on the north bank of the Mahānadi, for example, is a strangely formed piece of stone of the rocky slope which rises behind the present temple, its peculiarity explained by a legend that Paraśurāma once pierced this stone with an arrow.[135] Sonepur in Bolangir district has many associations with Paraśurāma through the goddess Sureśvari who is identified with Reṇukā, his mother, though the image is actually an eight-armed Mahiṣamardini. Other associations with the Paraśurāma myth include Syenagiri where he practised austerities; the *amghāt* of the Mahānadi where he threw down his bell and launched his historic battle against the *kṣatriyas*; the *yajñakuṇḍa* on the bank of the Tel; the palmgrove known as death's pit or Mārāgadia near the Rāmeśvara temple where he is said to have consigned the

dead; and the Vīra Mṛtsna-*pīṭha* or "Khaul hole" where he buried his *mantras*.[136] At Banki, on the south side of the Mahānadī and close to the extinct Reṇukā river in Cuttack district, the hill upon which the Carccikā temple is situated is known as Ṛcīkagiri while near to the east is the Gādhei river, named after the father-in-law of Ṛcīka. The neighbouring area is called the Paraśurāma-*kṣetra* and according to local legend Paraśurāma stayed in this area for a long time in order to propitiate the goddess. A rock boulder in the premises is regarded as the original seat of the deity before the construction of the present temple while nearby are the footprints of Paraśurāma which are under active worship.[137] On the doorframe of the sanctum is a panel, above an image of Durgā seated on her lion, which depicts Paraśurāma kneeling before a standing, four-armed Devī holding a lotus, *kartri*, *kapāla* and mace (Fig.1). Paraśurāma has the bow and quiver of arrows draped on his shoulders as he places an offering of flowers before the Devī. On the panel on the opposite side of the door is an emaciated ascetic, possibly Ṛcīka or Jamadagni, paying homage to a similar four-armed Devī. He is seated in *vajraparyaṅka* beneath a tree, suggesting a hermitage on a mountain (Ṛcīkagiri?) and clasps his hands in *añjali*. His hair is dishevelled and he has a beard (Fig. 2).

The most important site from an archaeological significance, also known as Paraśurāma-*kṣetra*, is Tirthamaṭha, situated in the hamlet of Tanra (Turanga) in the Erasama area of Cuttack district. The thatched houses of the *maṭha* are erected on all sides of the inner courtyards. Within are collected numerous detached sculptures of the Buddhist and Brahmanical pantheons. Within the left side room of the passage leading to the second courtyard are images of a ten-armed Mahiṣamardinī and an eight-armed Siṁhavāhinī Durgā. Whereas Mahiṣamardinī is worshipped as Bhavānī, Durgā is worshipped as Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma. Durgā is seated in *lalitāsana* on a *viśvapadma* (Fig. 7). Her right hands display *varada* and hold a conch, sword and rosary while her left hands hold a trident, shield, *nāga-pāśa* and a vessel. She is richly ornamented and her hair is matted on top of her head. Stylistically the image can be dated to the late 9th century.

The main shrine is situated in the middle of the second courtyard. The sanctum preserves numerous stone images, brass figures, swords, manuscripts and a wooden image of Jagannātha. Included among the stone images are three of Viṣṇu and one each of Sūrya and Trivikrama, along with two images of Paraśurāma. The three Viṣṇu images, one of whom is worshipped as Jamadagni (Fig. 6), are all identical in respect to iconography. Viṣṇu stands in a *samabhaṅga* pose with his major right hand lowered in *varada* while the uplifted back hand holds the *cakra*. The raised back left hand holds a lotus while the lowered hand carries a conch. He wears a *vanamālā*, a pleated *dhoti* and a truncated *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. He is flanked at the base by *ṛṣi* Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūdevī. On stylistic grounds these images can be dated to the second half of the 9th century. The discovery of two Paraśurāma images at the site, of the same approximate date, suggests there must have been a temple dedicated to him in the immediate vicinity which would have been one of the earliest anywhere in India.

The earliest surviving image of Paraśurāma as an *avatāra* appears on the north side of the Siṁhanātha temple, dating to the second half of the 9th century, which is situated on an island in the Mahānadī river in Cuttack district. Although a Śaiva temple, the iconographic program of the *jagamohana* combines aspects of Vaiṣṇavism with Śaivism, including Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* themes as well as six of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. The image of Paraśurāma, unfortunately, is badly damaged with his head and both hands missing.[138] Whereas the other three *avatāras*, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha and Trivikrama, are popular motifs on early Śaiva temples, this juxtaposition of the three Rāma *avatāras* is quite unusual, particularly as they do not form part of a complete *Daśāvatāra* series. These six *avatāras*, and three "divine" and the three "human" incarnations, correspond to the earliest list presented in the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti-parvan, 349.37).

The earliest surviving Vaiṣṇava temple in Orissa, the Nīlamādhava temple at Gandharāḍi dating to the early 10th century, originally had a series of the *Daśāvatāras* placed in niches as *āvaraṇa-devatās* but unfortunately only four fragmented images have survived—Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha and Vāmana. The earliest surviving complete set of *Daśāvatāras* in Orissa appears on two fragmented 10th century Viṣṇu images from Saintala in Bolangir district. They are carved on the back-slab and pedestal. In one case the image of Paraśurāma is missing while in the other example he is badly damaged. Also dating to the 10th century is an image of Paraśurāma in the compound of the collapsed Gangeśvara temple at Samkhajodi in the forest reserve of Ranapur *tahsil* of Puri district. Paraśurāma holds the *paraśu* in his right hand while his left hand displays *varada*.[139]

On the 11th century Maṇibhadreśvara temple at Bhubaneswar the *Daśāvatāras* serve as *āvaraṇa-devatās* though only eight have survived. The images of Rāma and Paraśurāma were placed on the flanks of the projecting portal, rather than in their respective alignment in the series, where they functioned as a second set of door guards. Whereas the image on the north is missing, the image on the south, generally identified as Rāma, stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose and is two-armed (Fig. 10). He holds the bow and arrows in the left hand while the right hand holds what appears to be a club, an *āyudha* not generally associated with Rāma. It is not a *gadā*, however, and there appears to be a projection near the top, mostly broken off, suggesting it may be a *paraśu;* the shaft, in fact, is identical with that of a *paraśu* on other 11th century images.[140] Although the bow and arrow is equally associated with Rāma and Paraśurāma, this image most likely represents Paraśurāma as Rāma is generally not provided another weapon. This identification is also consistent with the alignment of the other *avatāras* in respect to circumambulation while the southeast location corresponds with the Pañcarātrāgama texts. If, on the other hand, the damaged figure in the lower corner of the niche is a monkey, then this would be an image of Rāma.

Another set of *Daśāvatāras* appears on the back-slab of the composite Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image from Dharmaśālā, now in the Orissa State Museum, which dates to the late 12th or early 13th century. Paraśurāma is two-armed and stands in a relaxed pose. He holds the *paraśu* in his right hand while the left hand holds the bow and arrows.[141] A similar image, belonging to a *Daśāvatāra* series, serves as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* on the upper *jāṅgha* of the 13th century Mādhavānanda temple at Mādhava in the Prācī valley.[142] On the much later Jagannātha temple at Belagunta in Ganjam district, where the *Daśāvatāras* are carved on panels of a wooden door, Paraśurāma again holds the *paraśu* in his right hand and the bow in his left hand. He is depicted striding to his right.[143] A composite six-armed figure serving as an *āvaraṇa-devatā* on the western side of the mid-17th century Bada Jagannātha temple at Sambalpur combines aspects of several *avatāras*. Whereas the other two images on this side represent Nṛsiṁha and Varāha, this six-armed figure combines aspects of Paraśurāma, Rāma and Vāmana with Kṛṣṇa. Two hands hold the flute of Kṛṣṇa to his lips, two others hold the bow and arrow of Rāma, while the remaining two hold the *paraśu* of Paraśurāma and the *kamaṇḍalu* generally associated with Vāmana.[144] This is an unusual composite image and, in that Kṛṣṇa is not considered as an *avatāra* in Orissa but as one with Viṣṇu, it apparently embodies the concept evident in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, also noticed on the composite Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image from Dharmaśālā, that Kṛṣṇa as Jagadīśa-Hari is responsible for these incarnations.[145]

In modern painted examples of the *Daśāvatāras*, as on the interior walls of the *nāṭa-mandira* of the Maṅgalā temple at Kakatpur, along the Prācī river in Puri district, Paraśurāma is two-armed, carries the *paraśu* and bow, and is bearded (Fig. 4). In a painted series within the Virajā compound at Jājpur, Paraśurāma is depicted standing on one foot with his upraised hands holding a *paraśu* and a bow (Fig. 5). A quiver is behind his back and he has a thick beard. He appears to be on a mountain near the sea though it

is not clear if the scene refers to his reclamation of land or to his hermitage on Mahendra mountain. In a wall painting from the Birañci-Nārāyaṇa temple at Buguda in Ganjam district, illustrating scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Paraśurāma is depicted twice.[146] He first approaches Daśaratha, who has his hands folded in *añjali*, and then he presents his bow to Rāma. In both cases Paraśurāma is bearded and holds the *paraśu* in his right hand and the bow in his left hand. Rāma grasps the bow with his left hand while his right hand holds an arrow as he readies to bend the bow. This theme of Paraśurāma challenging Rāma as narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is popular in painting throughout India.[147] In the example painted on the *maṇḍapa* walls of the Raghunātha temple at Cuttack, where Paraśurāma approaches Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Daśaratha, Rāma is already in the act of stringing an arrow to the bow (Fig. 3). Paraśurāma holds the *paraśu* over his right shoulder and has a thick beard.

The two independent images of Paraśurāma at Tīrthamaṭha, as indicated, can be dated on stylistic analysis to the second half of the 9th century which would make them the earliest known large images. They each stand in a slightly flexed *tribhaṅga* pose with one hip, though the opposite one, pushed out. In the first image the pleated *dhoti* and the truncated *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* are almost identical to those on the Viṣṇu image to suggest that they may have been carved by the same sculptor (Figs. 6, 8). The four-armed Paraśurāma holds the *paraśu* diagonally in front of his chest with his major right hand while the left hand holds the bow away from his body with his left hand. His uplifted back right hand holds an arrow while the corresponding left hand holds a lotus. He wears a *yajñopavīta* and is richly ornamented. His head is framed by a pointed halo and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. Paraśurāma is flanked by an attendant figure on either side, each of whom looks up at him. The attendant on his right holds a quiver of arrows while the one on his left rests one arm on a shaft (of a *paraśu*?) while his other hand is at his hip. The pedestal is decorated with lotus rhizomes. The second Paraśurāma image is more fully rounded in form (Fig. 9). His major right hand is extended away from his body and holds an arrow while the bow held in the corresponding left hand faces inward rather than outward. His uplifted back right hand holds the *paraśu* while the raised back left hand holds a conch. He is richly ornamented and has a *yajñopavīta* and *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*. His halo is rounded and a *vidyādhara* is at each upper corner of the back-slab. The attendant on his right rests one hand on a staff while the other is at his hip. The figure on his left, however, kneels and has his hands in *añjali* in the manner of a devotee. In respect to iconography, Paraśurāma holds three of the *āyudhas* named in the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the lotus or conch (both Vaiṣṇava symbols) replacing the sword or shield mentioned in the texts. Considering the rarity of Paraśurāma images, the fact that two major independent images are found at this site is quite significant and attests to the early popularity of the Paraśurāma cult in Orissa.

Conclusion

This early popularity of Paraśurāma is due as much to his association with Śiva, frequently being called his greatest devotee, as it is to his role as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.24.87-88), after receiving the *paraśu* from Śiva and slaughtering the *asuras*, Paraśurāma returned to his hermitage where he made the image of a hunter of deer (representing Śiva) and devoutly worshipped it while in the myths pertaining to the reclamation of Gokarṇa, the brahmins beseeching Paraśurāma were obviously Śaivas who wished to reestablish their temple of Gokarṇeśvara which had been inundated by the flood. Gokarṇa, of course, is equally associated with mount Mahendra and in some of the Purāṇas it is stated that Paraśurāma is still performing worship to Gokarṇa (Śiva)

on top of this mountain. In the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* (Gaṇeśa-khaṇḍa, 30.21-32) and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.32.54) Śiva even tells Paraśurāma that he will be like Skanda (his son) to him while in the episode of breaking the tusk of Gaṇeśa, Rādhā consoles Pārvatī, telling her that there was no difference between Viṣṇu and Śiva or between them, that they were all one:

> You and I are one. There is no difference between us. You are Viṣṇu and I am Śiva who has duplicated in form.
> In the heart of Śiva, Viṣṇu has assumed your form and in the heart of Viṣṇu, Śiva has assumed my form.
> This Rāma, O highly fortunate lady, is a Vaiṣṇava transformed into a Śaiva. This Gaṇeśa is Śiva himself transformed into Viṣṇu.
> No difference is really seen between us both and between the two lords.

Rādhā then placed Gaṇeśa on her lap. Pārvatī became delighted and lifted up Paraśurāma, who had fallen at her feet, and placed him on her lap as if he were her son (2.3.42.47-55a).[148]

Śiva is the preceptor of Paraśurāma in respect to the science of weapons and inevitably Paraśurāma is compared with Śiva both in mastery of weapons and fury on the battlefield, as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I.47) where he is described as resembling the

> inaccessible Kailāsa mountain or the irresistible Fire of Time, blazing with flames that none may gaze upon. An axe hung from his shoulder and he grasped a bow, the cord of which shone like lightning, and a formidable dart, so that he was like unto the Destroyer of Tripura.[149]

A similar comparison with Śiva appears in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (2.3.57.57-58) when he draws his bow against Varuṇa: "as he drew the bow, Rāma's body with the face with the eye-brows knitted, became like that of Śiva desirous of burning the Tripuras formerly."[150] It is Śiva who gives weapons to Paraśurāma, including the *paraśu*, which enable him to defeat his enemies, as mentioned in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (Umā-saṁhitā, 1.25-27) where Upamanyu describes Śiva to Kṛṣṇa:

> I saw his sharp-edged axe decorated with serpents etc. It was as terrible as the god of death holding the noose in his hand. It was like an indescribable ray of the sun and the features of the fire at the end of Kalpas. It had the size of a full-grown man. Bhārgava Rāma had used it in battle for the extermination of Kṣatriyas.
> It was given to Rāma by Śiva formerly. Strengthened by it the delighted sage burnt the Kṣatriyas twenty-one times.[151]

Included among the many weapons given by Śiva to Paraśurāma is the trident, also peculiar to Śiva, and while describing the trident of Śiva, Upamanyu states that the arrogant Haihaya king was killed with it,[152] an obvious reference to Kārtavīrya being killed by Paraśurāma. In the image of Paraśurāma playing the *caudiki* from Saundatti, as indicated, he is flanked by the *paraśu* and the trident, the two pre-eminent weapons of Śiva.

Though a great devotee of Śiva, images of Paraśurāma seldom appear on Śaiva temples, probably because he was never considered to be an *avatāra* of Śiva. In the compound

of the collapsed Gangeśvara temple at Samkhajodi, mentioned earlier, the image of Paraśurāma, being the only non-Śaiva image at the site, may have been incorporated into the original iconographic program while on a small shrine within the compound of the Mukteśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, also dating to the 10th century, is an image from a second set of *dvārapālas* which may represent Paraśurāma (Fig. 11). Whereas the inside set of door guards conform to the conventional iconography of Śaivite *dvārapālas*, the guards of the outside set display complementary Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava features. The *dvārapāla* on the proper left, for example, holds a *kapāla* and a long staff in his two hands and wears a tall *jaṭā-mukuṭa* decorated with a crescent-moon to suggest his Śaivite character. The guard on the right, in contrast, holds two arrows in his right hand and the bow in his left hand while wearing a tall *kiriṭa-mukuṭa* to suggest his Vaiṣṇavite character. In that this is a Śiva temple, the latter guard most likely represents Paraśurāma, to whom Śiva gave his bow as well as his *paraśu*, rather than Rāma as I originally suggested.[153]

Though not an *avatāra* of Śiva, Paraśurāma is a name of a Śiva-*liṅga* and there are numerous Śaivite temples, particularly in South India, named variously Paraśurāma-liṅgeśvara or Paraśurāmeśvara, with the best known being the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Gudimallam in Chittoor district. Paraśurāmeśvara is also the name of one of the earliest surviving temples at Bhubaneswar, dating to the second quarter of the 7th century. An 8th-9th century inscription over the south door of the *jagamohana* records the donation of two *āḍhakas* of rice made by one Pramadācārya to be first given as an offering to Pārāsaśvara Bhaṭṭaka and then distributed among ascetics and others. A. Ghosh and K.C. Panigrahi suggest that the name Pārāsaśvara was most likely a corruption of Pārāsareśvara and that the temple was originally named after the Pāśupata teacher Pārāśara, a successor of Kuśika, one of the four disciples of Lakulī. Panigrahi concludes that up till the 11th century the temple was known as Pārāsaśvara and not Paraśurāmeśvara, that the latter is a later corruption or invention.[154] In that Paraśurāma is a name of a Śiva-*liṅga*, as mentioned, there is no need to postulate that the present name is a later corruption or invention. The original name may, in fact, have been Paraśurāmeśvara, particularly as it was erected during the hegemony of the Śailodbhavas whose primary deity was Gokarṇeśvara, his shrine being situated on Mahendra mountain, the site of Paraśurāma's hermitage in the myths. Testimony to the antiquity of the temple's association with Paraśurāma appears in one of the fourteen principal *yātrās* (festivals) of the Liṅgarāja temple, in which a proxy of the divinity pays homage to earlier Śaivite icons, the festival being known as the *Paraśurāmaṣṭami-yātrā*. It is the tenth of these *yātrās* and is celebrated on the eighth of the waxing moon in the month of Āṣāḍha (June-July). In the *yātrā*, the proxy (Candraśekhara) of the Liṅgarāja temple is carried in procession to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple and entertained there with flowers, incense, music and dancing.[155] According to local belief, Liṅgarāja visits the Paraśurāmeśvara temple on this day to hand over the guardianship of the world to Paraśurāma because from this day on he sleeps for a period of four months (the *Śayana Caturdaśī-yātrā*, which actually commences on the 14th of the waxing moon). Paraśurāma is considered to be a legendary hero of such valour that only he can be entrusted unaided with the guardianship of the whole world.[156] Temple festivals thus play an equally important role in perpetuating the memory of Paraśurāma as a great warrior.

References

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3. Some scholars contend that he was in fact a *kṣatriya*. See introduction to the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, translated and annotated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare, edited by J.L. Shastri, AITM vols. 22-26 (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi: 1983-84), I, p. lxxi.
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14. *Mahābhārata*, translated and edited by van Buitenen, II, pp. 445-46. In the *Śiva Purāṇa* (*Rudra-saṁhitā*, 4.9.23) it merely mentions that he cut off the head of his own mother. See *Śiva Purāṇa*, translated by "A Board of Scholars", AITMS vols. 1-4 (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi: 1982 reprint), II, p. 751.
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2/4-ARMED PARAŚURĀMA DESCRIPTIONS FROM TEXTS

Text	right hands 1	2	2	1 left hands	Coiffure	Features
Rūpamaṇḍana (3.26)	paraśu			?	jaṭā-mukuṭa	antelope-skin
South Indian (Dubreuil)	paraśu			viśrī		
Vaikhānasāgama (59)	paraśu			sūcī-mudrā	jaṭā-mukuṭa	yajñopavīta
Viṣṇudharmottara (3.85.61-62)	paraśu			?	jaṭā-mukuṭa	antelope-skin
Agni Purāṇa (49.5)	paraśu	arrows	bow	sword		
Bhāgavata Purāṇa (9.15.28-29)	paraśu	arrows	bow	shield	jaṭā-mukuṭa	antelope-skin
Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhara	conch	cakra	gadā	?		
Vaikhānasāgama (59)	conch	cakra	gadā	lotus		

2/4-ARMED PARAŚURĀMA IMAGES IN INDIA

Site/Temple	right hands 1	2	2	1 left hands	Coiffure	Features
Barakar: Siddheśvara temple	paraśu			upraised		attacks Reṇukā
Basohli (painting)	paraśu			Kārtavīrya		attacks king
Chamba: Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple	paraśu			Kārtavīrya	crown	attacks king
Etah: Amanpur (U.P.)	paraśu			x	jaṭā-mukuṭa	attacks
Nepal (Denver Art Museum)	paraśu			?	crown	
Bengal lintel	paraśu			on hip		
Khajuraho lintel	paraśu			on hip		
Mathura Museum	paraśu			on hip		
Badami: Dattatreya image	paraśu			bow		on back-slab
Śrikākulam: Śrikūrmam temple (A.P.)	paraśu			bow		in niche
Tanjavur: Tirukkaṇṇamangai	paraśu			bow		in niche
Trivandrum (ivory image)	paraśu			bow		beard
Paḍaiviḍu: Reṇukāmbāl temple	arrows			bow		(bronze)
Paḍaiviḍu: Reṇukāmbāl temple	añjali/bow			añjali		Reṇukā applying tilaka
Saundatti: Paraśurāma temple	cauḍiki			cauḍiki		flanked by paraśu & trident

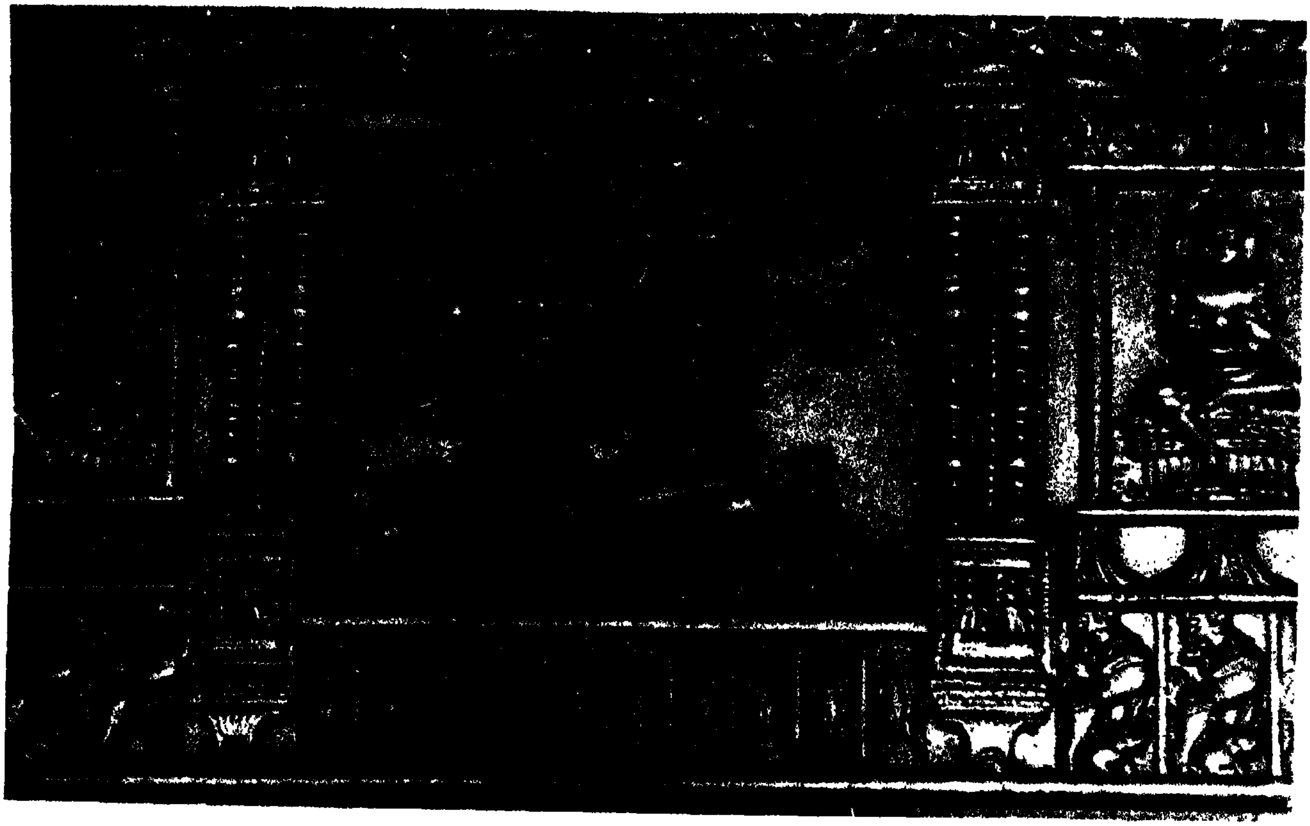
Allahabad: Garhwa fort	lotus	paraśu	x	on hip	tiara	vanamālā
Chamba	paraśu	arrows	bow	conch	tiara	vanamālā
Ariyalur: Kondaṇḍarānaswāmi temple	paraśu	conch	cakra	varada	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	vanamālā
Thirukarangudi: Azhagianambi-rayar	abhaya	paraśu	conch	on hip		flanked by Brahmā & Śiva
Dacca: Ranihati Deul	paraśu	varada	cakra	conch	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	vanamālā
Khajuraho: Parsvanatha temple	paraśu	citron	conch	lotus		

2/4-ARMED PARAŚURĀMA IMAGES FROM ORISSA

Site/Temple right hands	1	2	2	1 left hands	Coiffure	Features
Banki: Carccikā temple	bow/arrows					
Balagunta: Jagannātha temple	paraśu			bow/arrows		wooden door; striding
Bhubaneswar: Maṇibhadreśvara	paraśu?			bow/arrows	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	niche sculpture
Buguda: Birañci-Nārāyaṇa	paraśu			bow		painting; gives bow to Rāma
Cuttack: Raghunātha	paraśu			(empty)	unkempt	painting; bearded
Dharmaśālā: Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa image	paraśu			bow/arrows		
Jājpur: Virajā temple	paraśu			bow	unkempt	painting; bearded
Kakatpur: Maṅgalā temple	paraśu			bow	tiara	painting; bearded
Mādhava: Mādhavananda temple	paraśu			bow/arrows		niche sculpture
Mukteśvara compound	arrows			bow	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	door guard
Samkhajodi: Gangeśvara temple	paraśu			varada		
Tirthamaṭha: No. 1	paraśu	arrows	lotus	bow	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	attendants
Tirthamaṭha: No. 2	arrows	paraśu	conch	bow	kirīṭa-mukuṭa	attendants



Ch. 23, Pl. I Banki: Carccikā temple; Paraśurāma paying homage to Devī (above) and an 8-armed Siṁhavāhinī Durgā (below).



Ch. 23, Pl. II Banki: Carccikā temple; *ṛṣi* Rcika/Jamadagni paying homage to the Devi.

Ch. 23, Pl. III Cuttack: Raghunātha temple; Paraśurāma approaching Rāma, Lakṣmana and Daśaratha.





Ch. 23, Pl. IV Kakatpur: Maṅgalā temple; detail of *Daśāvatāras* with Paraśurāma at the far right.



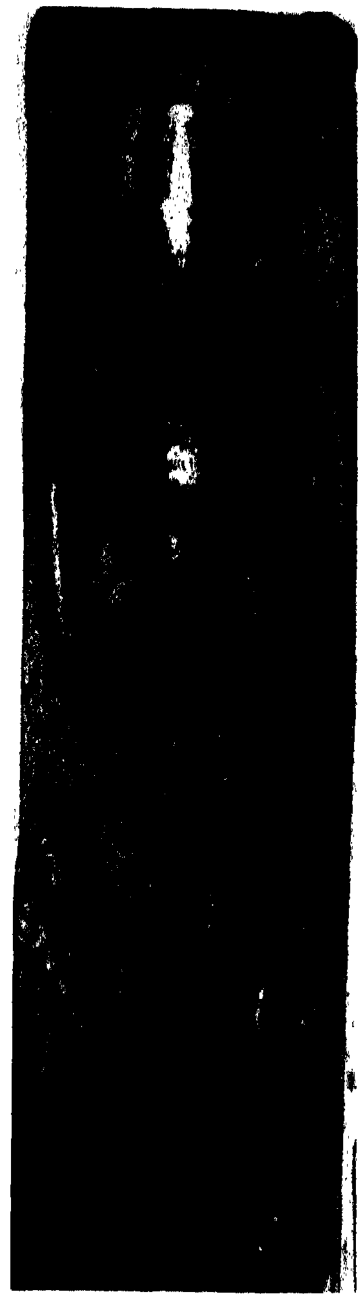
Ch. 23, Pl. V Jajpur: Viraja temple; detail of *Daśāvatāras* with Paraśurāma at the far right.



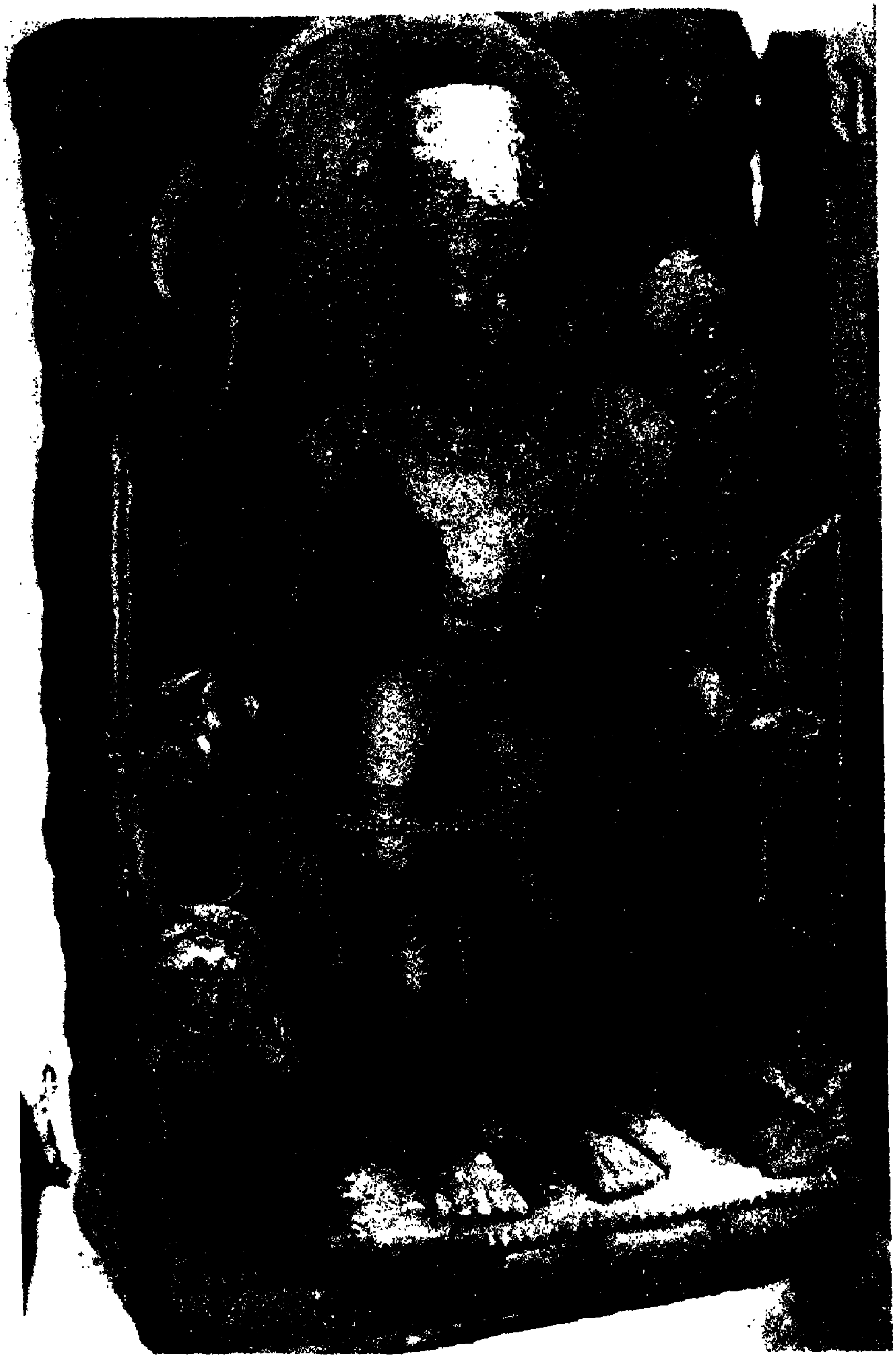
Ch. 23, Pl. VI Tirthamatha: Visnu worshipped as Jamadagni.



Ch. 23, Pl. VII Tirthamatha: Durgā worshipped as Renukā.



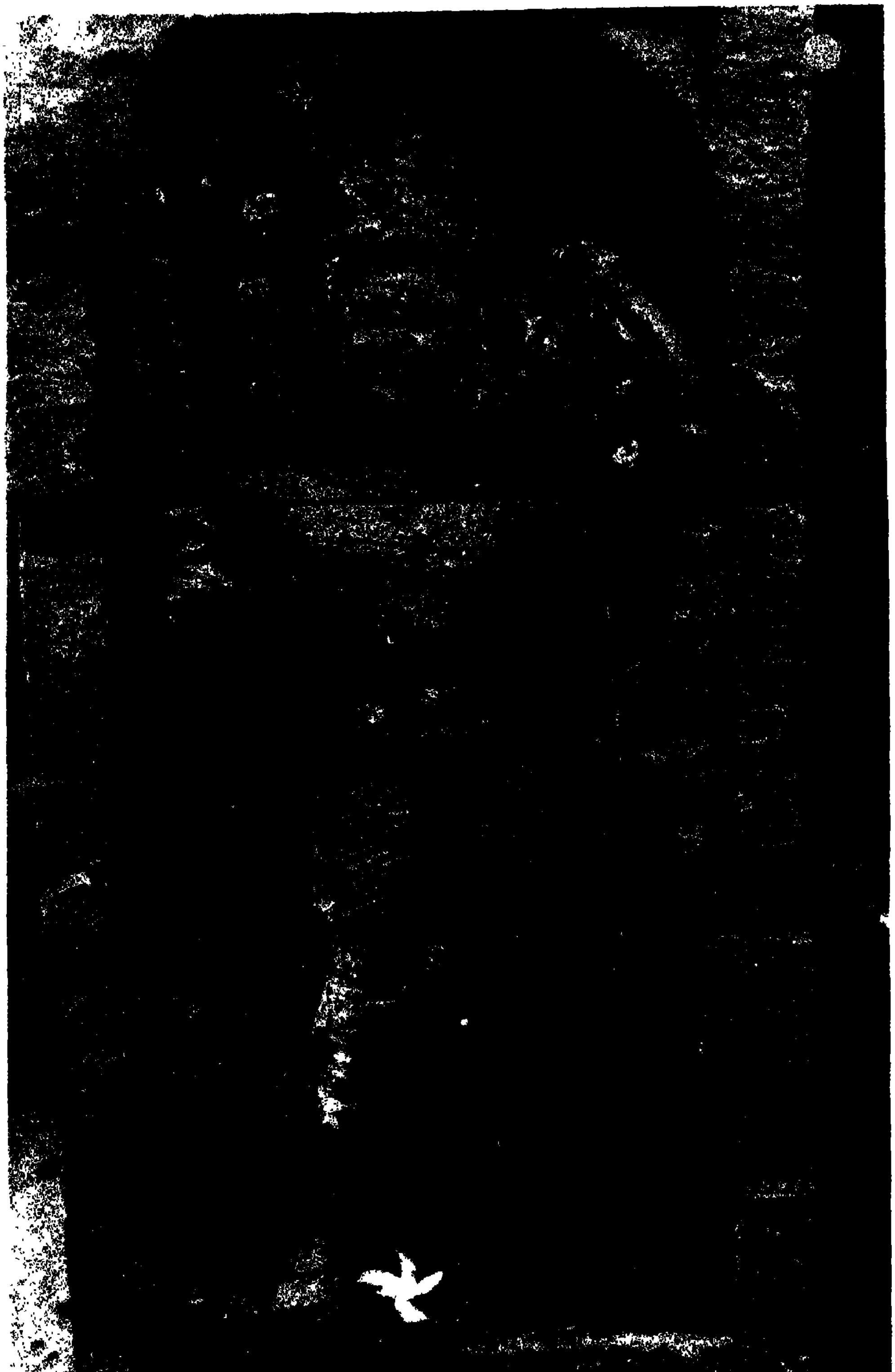
Ch. 23, Pl. VIII Tirthamatha: 4-armed Paraśurāma image No. 1 Late 9th century.



Ch. 23, Pl. IX Tirthamaṭha: 4-armed Paraśurāma image No. 2 Late 9th century.



Ch. 23, Pl. X Bhubaneswar: Manibhadreśvara temple; Paraśurāma/ Rāma as *Daśāvatāra* in exterior niche.



Ch. 23, Pl. XI Bhubaneswar: Mukteśvara compound; Paraśurāma as Śaiva door-guard.

Manuscript Sources for Old Gujarātī/Old Western Rājasthānī Dialectology

Ernest Bender

In the course of my collating Old Gujarātī manuscripts directed to the preparation of edited texts I noted in the variant readings occasions for comparisons and identifications with contemporary Gujarātī and Rājasthānī dialectal distributions. The data for this paper is derived from the *Sālibhadra-Dhanna-Carita* of Matisāra, a critical edition and translation of which, together with a grammatical analysis and glossary, has been prepared by me and will be published by the American Oriental Society.

The dates of the copied manuscripts range over a period of two centuries — from V.S. 1681 (A.D. 1624), three years after the date of composition, to V.S. 1885 (A.D. 1828).

We now consider the linguistic features observed. These are deaspiration, aspiration, consonantal loss of aspirates, consonantal clusters with *y*, consonantal clusters with *l*, and single consonantal supersessions.[1]

Deaspiration:[2]

ṣ (= kh) / k:	*parataṣi* 'discernment' / *paratiki*
jh / j:	*vāṃjhi* 'barren woman' / *bāṃji*
ṭh / ṭ:	*sāmaṭhā* 'enjoyed' / *sāmaṭā*
(t)th / t:	*bohittha* 'boat' / *bohitu*
dh / d:	*jācaṃdha* 'blind from birth' / *jācaṃda*
ph/ p:	*pharasai* 'touch' / *parasai*
bh / b:	*ḍibhau* 'child' / *ḍibau*

Aspiration:[3]

k / ṣ (= kh):	*kūi* 'bin' / *ṣui*
c / (c)ch:	*kācalie* 'cocoanut-shell' / *kāchalie*
j / jh:	*seja* 'bed' / *sejha*
ḍ / ḍh:	*māḍi* 'having set' / *māḍhi*
d / dh:	*doṃkāra* 'sound' / *dhoṃkāra*
p / ph:	*pāsa* 'fetter' / *phāsa*

Consonantal loss in aspirates:

ḍh / h:	*caḍhiva* 'increase' / *cahavā*
dh / h:	*ādhāra* 'support' / *āhāra*

Consonantal clusters with *y*:

g / gy:	*gāne* 'guess' / *gyāne*
c / cy:	*cihuṃ* 'four' / *cyau*
j / jy:	*je* 'who' / *jye*
ḍ / ḍy:	*upāḍyau* 'withdrawn' / *upāḍau*
t / ty:	*etā* 'this' / *etyā*
s / sy:	*āsā* 'hope' / *āsyā*
s/sy(ś)/ch:	*pāsai* 'direction' / *pāsyaî*[5]

Consonantal clusters with *l*:

l / ll:	*pālava* 'hem of garment / *pallava*
l / ly:	*lāvai* 'get' / *lyāvaî*
l / lh:	*salhisyaî* 'pierce' / *sālhasyaî*

Single consonantal supersessions:

g / k:	*vitaga* 'grief' / *vitaka*
g / b / v:	*ugaṭaṇau* 'compound' / *ūbaṭaṇau* / *ūvaṭaṇau*
c / ch / t:	*kācalie* 'cocoanut shell' / *kāchālie* / *kātalie*
c / j / y:	*cūgala* 'slander' / *jugala* / *yugala*
c / s:	*cautvāra* 'room' / *sovāra*
ch / ṣ (= kh):	*pachai* 'after' / *paṣai*
ch/s/sy(= ś):	*chai* 'be' / *sai* / *syaî*
j / y:	*jovau* 'see' / *yovo*
ḍ / r:	*ghaḍi* 'ghaḍi' / *ghari*
d / r:	*dokaḍā* '1/100th rupee' / *rokaḍā*
nh/nn/n:	*nānhaḍiyau* 'child' / *nānnaḍiŏ* / *nānaḍiu*
b / p / v:	*jabāba* 'answer' / *jabāpa* / *jabāva*
b / v:	*bimaṇau* 'twofold' / *vimaṇaû*
m / v:	*kumāra* 'prince' / *kuvāra*
y / v / *:	*hiyaḍā* 'heart' / *hivaḍā* / *hiaḍā*
y / *:	*thāyai* 'be' / *thāai*
r / ḍ:	*vichuryāṃ* 'separated' / *bichuḍā*
l / ḍ:	*sāṃbhalyau* 'remembered' / *sābhaḍyau*
l / r:	*saṃbhālai* 'remember' / *saṃbhārai*
v / b:	*aṭavi* 'forest' / *aṭabi*

v / *:	*samajhāī* 'explained' / *samajhāvī*
h / y:	*deha* 'body' / *deya*
h / s:	*disa* 'day' / *diha*
h / v:	*vāhaī* 'drive' / *vāvaī*
h / *:	*atiunhī* 'exceedingly hot' / *atiunī*

While the colophons of several manuscripts provide the names of the towns of their execution — in Rājasthān, Vikānera (Bikāner, four times) and Kiśangaḍha (Kishangarh, once), and, in northern Gujarāt, Navanāgara (Navanāgar, once), Rādhaṇapura (Rādhanpur, twice), Akbarāvāda (Akbarāvād/Agra, once) and Pāṭana (Pāṭan, once) — the identification of the scribe's dialect with the town of copying may be coincidental, i.e., whether he was a native of that town or an itinerant Jain muni from another dialectal area who was a temporary resident. And, indeed, one scribe notes in his colophon that he made his copy during the period of the *caturmāsika*, the four-month period of the rainy season when Jain munis do not wander about to avoid harming creatures. However, comparisons of the linguistic features considered here with those of the dialectal areas of contemporary Gujarāt and Rājasthān should yield profitable results.

References

1. For a full treatment of these features see Bender, Ernest, *The Sālibhadra-Dhanna-Carita*, to be published by the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
2. For loss of aspiration see Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group, Specimens of Rājasthānī and Gujarātī*, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1968, p. 33; and Allen, W.S., "Some Phonological Characteristics of Rājasthānī", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, London, 1957, p. 5.
3. See Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
4. Pronounced (ś).
5. Diphthongs are indicated by the placement of a circumflex over the second member, i.e., the *i* or *u*, to distinguish them from vowel-clusters, e.g., *aī*, *aū*, etc.

25

On the Status of Old Indo-Aryan Reconstructions

S.M. Katre

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the rapid development of Comparative Philology has provided ample material for a study of different families of languages, and particularly in the context of Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic as well as Tibeto-Burman a vast amount of material has been made available in the light of modern linguistics. The availability of this material has enabled scholars to pursue the historical development of the growth of the different families with a fair amount of certainty. The publication of two important etymological dictionaries of Old Indo-Aryan (Manfred Mayrhofer: *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, Heidelberg, 1953-56) and of Indo-Aryan languages (Sir Ralph Turner: *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, London, Oxford University Press, 1966 ff) has provided comprehensive material for evaluating the nature of the vocabulary of these languages. To a large extent for the Indo-Aryan languages the source of origin is generally related to some form of Old Indo-Aryan and obviously some of these appear as reconstructions with starred forms. In his Prefatory Note to fascicle 1 Sir Ralph indicates that the head-words of the dictionary have the phonetic structure proper to the structure of the earliest form of the language, but many of them are in reality forms of Middle Indo-Aryan clothed, for the convenience of presentation, in an earlier phonetic dress. If we consider some of these head-words a problem regarding their status becomes apparent. For instance we have Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) forms as starred forms: No. 3 **aṁśabhōgin-* 'sharing', 12 **akāla-sasya-* 'harvest out of time' without indicating the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) forms which are at the basis of the attested New Indo-Aryan (NIA) forms cited. On the other hand we have also head-words like No. 15 **akka-* 'vexed', 189 **aḍḍa-* 'transverse' which are evidently not Indo-Aryan (IA) forms.

The first question which arises is with reference to such head-words **aṁśa-bhōgin-*, **a-kāla-sasya-* which have the proper OIA shape but are not recorded in existing lexicons. This raises the question whether such reconstructed starred forms of perfectly valid OIA compounds should be treated as reconstructions or as actually the basic OIA forms which gave rise through corresponding MIA derivatives which are at the basis of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) attested forms.

It is clear from a study of the OIA vocabulary that as it developed within the sub-continent of India it incorporated many expressions from the different linguistic families with which the Aryans came in contact and Sanskritized those expressions to fit into the phonetic shape of OIA. In doing so OIA itself underwent certain changes in its phonetic structure which gave rise to the development of MIA and later NIA structures. The process by which gradually OIA was superseded by MIA and the latter in course of time by NIA was subject to the same process of incorporation of expressions from neighbouring

linguistic stock and to unravel all these ramifications we need more and more material from the unrecorded dialects of the NIA as well as the Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic families of languages.

The importance of OIA in the development of NIA literary languages shows evidence of creation of new expressions from OIA.

While discussing the nature of OIA vocables Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn, 3rd ed., Poona, 1962, p. 10, 1.9) indicates that for each correct expression there are numerous incorrect expressions as for the proper standard form *gō-* 'cow' there are corresponding non-standard or incorrect forms like *gāvī, gōṇī, gōtā, gō-pōtalikā* etc. Some of these are included with a mention in some modern Sanskrit lexicons and the form **gō-pōtalikā* is cited by Turner (8399 **pota*). These forms are considered as Apabhraṁśa 'deviations from the standard speech'. The form **gōṇī* has a corresponding form in Kannaḍa *kōṇa* 'buffalo'. These aberrant forms must have been in parlance, but not recognized as standard literary expressions.

Bound morphemes occurring at ends of compounds have sometimes been given recognition in the standard speech as regular lexemes. Thus from the OIA *vi-dhávā* 'widow' which was split into the artificial division of a compound of the prefix *vi-* with the following bound morpheme *dhavá-* which was then given an independent status as in the citation in *Naighaṇṭuka* ii.3 to denote 'man, husband' and in later literature the expression *Mādhav-a-* is split as **mā-dhava-* 'husband of Mā or Lakṣmī', and a further expression *Umā-dhava-* is generated to indicate 'the husband of Umā'. Justification for the generation of such expressions can only be found in the common usage of the people at large and not confined to rare occasions when they appear in highly sophisticated literature. If such expressions leave a trace in MIA or NIA then we should consider such illustrations as not starred forms but in actual usage giving rise to subsequent developments in the Middle and New IA stages. Another illustration may be given here to indicate this situation. Pāṇini 5.2.23 gives the form **haiyaṅ-gavīnaṁ saṁjñāyām* and Patañjali derives this form from a reconstructed **hiyaṁ-gu-* as a replacement for *hyas-tana-go-doha-* and indicates the meaning as **ghṛ-tá-* 'jelly, clarified butter'. In the sense of biestings we have a corresponding form derived from the bound morpheme **gav-ina-* a Koṅkaṇī form *gīṇa* from MIA **gaīna-* and this form survived in a NIA language which was orally preserved by generations of speakers. Hence the expression *gav-ina-* deserves to be recognized not as a reconstruction but as a legitimate expression current in the speech. Though coming from a different source we have isophonic expressions *gavīnikā, gavīnī* in Vedic literature.

Our own traditional grammarians have classified the lexemes of MIA into three categories: (a) *Tat-sama* or words which have been incorporated, even while undergoing the phonological changes characteristic of each of them, without any change; (b) *Tad-bhava* or words which have undergone the phonological changes characteristic of each of them and (c) *Deśya* or loan-words from sources other than OIA. A study of the OIA vocabulary similarly indicates that it consists of expressions inherited from Pre- and Proto-Old Indo-Aryan sources, having cognates in other sister languages of the Indo-European family and new additions which have been gradually incorporated in it from sources other than Indo-European, and published research on this identifies the most important sources are Dravidian and Proto-Munda (Austro-Asiatic branch) and to a less extent from Tibeto-Burman, Sanskritizing them to fit into the phonological system of OIA. All this has been achieved while OIA itself greatly influenced the growth of these other families. The manner in which this process of Sanskritization has taken place can be illustrated by the OIA reconstructions which arise from the comparison of NIA cognates. Thus 4965 **chaṭ-* 'scatter' which explains Guj. *chaḍvũ* 'to beat, scatter', Mar. *saḍṇē* 'to pound and husk rice' appears again in reconstructions as 1076 **ā-c-chaṭ-* 'scatter, snap', 1649 **u-c-chaṭ(ṭ)-* 'snatch',

and 8494 **pra-c-chaṭṭ-* 'fall' and 11687 **vi-c-chaṭ-* 'be separated'. Similarly 421 **apa-c-chaṭṭ-* 'separate'. Although the distribution of cognates in NIA covers various areas, the fact that they all show compounding of the non-IA morphemes with original OIA preverbs is an active feature of the Sanskritizing process, traces of which are to be found in the MIA stages.

All those instances where the OIA reconstructions (starred forms) consisting of regular compounds, the members of which are all OIA words are only to indicate that in so far as their occurrences are concerned there has been no recorded instance from literature so far available. Thus 12 *a-kāla-sasya-* 'harvest out of season' is a legitimate OIA compound which is reconstructed to explain the genesis of Old Sinhalese *akalahasa* 'lesser of two rice harvests' which is indicated with an asterisk since there is no record of an intermediate MIA descendant. On the other hand 13 **a-kulanīya-* 'without family' is properly regarded as a reconstruction since the form **kul-anīya-*, a primary derivative from OIA **kul-* (*Dhātu-pāṭha* I 895, Boehtlingk's ed.) with affix **-anīyaR* Pāṇini 3.1.96 is not attested in existing lexicons for the legitimate **kōl-anīya-*.

The real problem in such cases is whether such reconstructed forms consisting of real OIA expressions occurring in compounds which have not been recorded in dictionaries would be indicated as starred forms. One factor which may assist in determining their status is whether corresponding forms occur in MIA usage. We may also take NIA literature to find new expressions of such occurrences of purely OIA new compound expressions. The dictionaries do not record all the compound expressions which occur in Sanskrit literature. The prose compositions as well as some of the later Kāvyas consist of compounds consisting of more than three members, besides compounds of compounds ad infinitum, which are not split into their constituent members and recorded in lexicons. Even some simple compounds which occur in NIA literature are not reflected in a Sanskrit lexicon. As an instance we may refer to the opening verse of *Jñāneśvarī* composed in the 13th century where we find the word *veda-prati-pādya* 'taught in the Vedas' which is a pure OIA compound, but is not an entry in a Sanskrit lexicon; similarly in the second verse we find *sakala-mati-prakāśu* 'enlightening the minds of all'. The possibility of generating new word forms are fully available in the structure of OIA and Pāṇini's analysis of it with three building blocks of nominal stems, verbal stems and a whole system of affixes and prefixes allows for the creation of new expressions at the will of the user. The justification for recognizing the validity of such forms lies in usage. If such expressions become current in common use they become a part and parcel of the general usage.

Lists of the Major Purāṇas as Obtained in the Purāṇas

H.G. Shastri

The Purāṇic literature is a repository of ancient Indian tradition — historical, mythological and religious. The tradition was preserved and transmitted by *Sūtas* orally. Its earliest committal to writing seems to have comprised the original *Purāṇa Saṁhitā*, represented to be a single work at the outset.[1] Tradition ascribes it to Vyāsa, who is said to have imparted it to his pupil Sūta Romaharṣaṇa or Lomaharṣaṇa. Three of the six pupils of Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa are said to have contributed three *saṁhitās* of their own. These four works represented the four *mūla-saṁhitās* of the *Purāṇa* according to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[2] In course of time the number of the Purāṇas went on increasing, the ultimate number being fixed to be eighteen. The number, being one of the favourite numbers in ancient India, has remained constant, though some Purāṇas were contributed even subsequently. The latter were designated Upa-Purāṇas and even they numbered eighteen in course of time.

Several *Purāṇānukramaṇikās* (Lists of the Purāṇas) have come down to us. Some of them merely enumerate the names of the Eighteen (Major) Purāṇas,[3] some others also specify the total number of verses contained in each Purāṇa,[4] while a few others also give an idea of their main contents.[5]

Normally we may expect the *Purāṇānukramaṇikā* presented as a separate supplement appended at the end of the last Purāṇa. However, it is peculiar that the list of the Eighteen (Major) Purāṇas is given almost in each one of them, as though none were the first and none the last, but all had already existed when each individual Purāṇa was composed. From this it follows that these lists were obviously interpolated into the present Purāṇas at a later stage.

Al-Beruni (*circa* 1030 A.D.) cites a list of Eighteen Purāṇas as read to him from *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[6] The list quite agrees with the *Purāṇānukramaṇikā*[7] given in Section III of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Hence we can definitely infer that the list given in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* was already known in the 11th century.

The list is given as follows:

(1) *Brāhma* (2) *Pādma* (3) *Vaiṣṇava* (4) *Śaiva* (5) *Bhāgavata* (6) *Nāradīya* (7) *Mārkaṇḍeya* (8) *Āgneya* (9) *Bhaviṣyat* (10) *Brahmavaivarta* (11) *Laiṅga* (12) *Vārāha* (13) *Skānda* (14) *Vāmana* (15) *Kaurma* (16) *Mātsya* (17) *Gāruḍa* (18) *Brahmāṇḍa*.

The list also occurs in *Padma Purāṇa* (Section I),[8] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XII 13),[9] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,[10] *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*,[11] *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*,[12] and *Varāha Purāṇa*,[13] wherein the same names are enumerated in the same sequence.

The lists given in *Matsya Purāṇa*,[14] *Nārada Purāṇa*,[15] *Agni Purāṇa*[16] and *Skanda Purāṇa*[17] fully agree with this list, except in the substitution of *Vāyu Purāṇa* for *Śiva Purāṇa*. But it is well established that the present *Vāyu Purāṇa* really represents a *Mahā-Purāṇa*, while the present *Śiva Purāṇa* is an *Upa-Purāṇa* and that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is a *Śiva Purāṇa* ascribed to Vāyu.[18] It is, therefore, quite probable that the *Śiva Purāṇa* mentioned in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* list is the same as the present *Vāyu Purāṇa* and not the present *Upa-Purāṇa* entitled *Śiva Purāṇa*. Accordingly the *Matsya Purāṇa* list may be taken to be virtually the same as the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* list. The former was already known in *circa* 1100 A.D., as it is quoted by Aparārka in his commentary (*circa* 1100-1120 A.D.) on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* and by Vallāla Sena in his *Dānasāgara* (1139 A.D.).

The list given in *Kūrma Purāṇa* and cited in *Padma Purāṇa* (VI, 219)[21] enumerates the same Purāṇas in the same sequence except in placing 9 *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* before 6 *Nāradīya*. The list given in *Skanda Purāṇa* (VI, 263)[22] too follows the same sequence, except in placing 13 *Skanda Purāṇa* after 17 *Gāruḍa*. The *Liṅga Purāṇa*[23] combines both the modifications in the sequence by placing 9 *Bhaviṣya* before 6 *Nāradīya* and 13 *Skanda* after 17 *Gāruḍa*. *Padma Purāṇa* (Section IV) too places 9 *Bhaviṣya* before 6 *Nāradīya*, but it also reverses the order of Nos. 13 and 14 as well as that of Nos. 15 and 16, and places 12 *Varāha* after 15 *Kūrma*. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives another list in XII, 7. It enumerates the same Eighteen Purāṇas, but in their sequence it is varying from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* list given in its XII, 13 not slightly as Winternitz remarks,[25] but to a large extent. For the sequence given here is 1-4, 11, 17, 6, 5, 8, 13, 9, 10, 7, 14, 12, 15, and 18. It follows the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* list only in the case of Nos. 1-4 and 18.

All these lists commence with *Brahma Purāṇa* and end with *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. The list given in *Vāyu Purāṇa* follows *Matsya* in mentioning *Vāyu* instead of *Śiva*. It is, however, peculiar in many respects. Unlike all the other Purāṇas it commences with *Matsya Purāṇa* rather than *Brahma Purāṇa*, which is often represented as *Ādi-Purāṇa*; and yet it mentions an *Ādi-Purāṇa* separately. Nevertheless the list falls short of the required number by two. A verse mentioning the two Purāṇas is obviously missing. They may be two out of the three Purāṇas missing in the transmitted text, viz., *Viṣṇu*, *Agni* and *Liṅga*. Even the sequence is distorted throughout in this list, as it enumerates Nos. 16, 9, 7, 10, 18, 5, 1 and 14 before *Ādi* and Nos. 4, 6, 17, 2, 15, 12 and 13 after *Ādi*.

The list given in *Devī-Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[28] an *Upa-Purāṇa*, follows the list in *Vāyu Purāṇa* in commencing with *Matsya* and ending with *Skanda*. But it improves upon the latter by omitting *Ādi* and including *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, and *Liṅga*. Thus it enumerates all the Eighteen Purāṇas, but the sequence diverges as follows: 16, 7, 9, 5, 1, 18, 10, 14, 4, 3, 12, 8, 6, 2, 11, 17, 15 and 13.

The list of the Major Eighteen Purāṇas is also cited in two other Upa-Purāṇas. *Saura Purāṇa*,[29] represented as a supplement (*khila*) of *Brahma Purāṇa*, follows the *Matsya Purāṇa* list in general, but places 9 *Bhaviṣya* before 6 *Nāradiya* and 7 *Mārkaṇḍeya* after 8 *Āgneya*. *Bṛhad-dharma Purāṇa*,[30] the other *Upa-Purāṇa*, gives a list commencing with *Brahma Purāṇa*, but it is irregular in several respects. It mentions 4 *Śiva* as No. 10 and yet adds the name of *Vāyu* at the end. It somehow omits 6 *Nāradiya* and 14 *Vāmana*. Ultimately the list falls short of the required number by one. Moreover, the sequence is distorted to such a large extent that only 1, 2 and 13 remain in their original places, the sequence of the other Purāṇas being 18, 3, 10, 5, 9, 17, 11, 4, 12 and 7 in place of 3-12, and 15, 16 and 8 in place of 14-16.

The first list[31] committed to writing by Al-Beruni from dictation enumerates Eighteen Purāṇas in all, but diverges from the other lists to a large extent. It commences with *Ādi*, which is not identical with *Brahma* mentioned separately. Probably it represents

the *Upa-Purāṇa* entitled *Ādi*. The next five Purāṇas are given in the sequence of the incarnations of Viṣṇu as follows: *Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha* and *Vāmana*. Among these *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* is generally represented as an *Upa-Purāṇa* and not as a *Mahā-Purāṇa*. Next follow 4 *Vāyu* and 13 *Skanda*, but *Nandi*, an *Upa-Purāṇa*, is inserted between them. The next three Purāṇas, viz., *Āditya, Soma* and *Sāmba*, too, are Upa-Purāṇas. The last six Purāṇas are Nos. 18, 7, 17, 3, 1 and 9 of the other list cited from *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*. Thus this list omits Nos. 2 *Padma*, 5 *Bhāgavata*, 6 *Nārada*, 8 *Agni*, 10 *Brahmavaivarta*, and 11 *Liṅga* of the list and inserts six Upa-Purāṇas instead. This list cannot be traced to any of the Purāṇas. It was presumably dictated by somebody at random from memory, making no distinction between Mahā-Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas.

As regards numbers of verses of individual Purāṇas, they are given in six Mahā-Purāṇas. But the text of *Vāyu Purāṇa* is incomplete and distorted, as noticed above. The texts in the other five Purāṇas generally give a total number of four lakhs for the verses of the Eighteen Purāṇas taken together. The total numbers of verses of individual Purāṇas turn out to be exactly four lakhs in the case of the text given in *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta*, the particulars being identical in them. The numbers of verses indicated in *Skanda Purāṇa* give 600 more for *Agni* and 200 more for *Brahmāṇḍa*. The corresponding verses in *Devī-Bhāgavata* (an *Upa-Purāṇa*) almost follow the number given in *Skanda Purāṇa*, but it gives 600 more verses for *Vāyu*, 100 less for *Skanda* and for *Brahmāṇḍa*, making the total number 4,01,200 instead of 4,00,800 in *Skanda*. The text in *Agni Purāṇa* increases 10,000 verses of *Brahma* to 25,000 and 81,100 verses of *Skanda* to 84,000, while it reduces 24,000 verses of *Śiva* to 14,000 verses of *Vāyu*, 15,400 verses of *Agni* to 12,000 verses, 14,600 verses of *Bhaviṣya* to 14,000 verses, 24,000 verses of *Varāha* to 14,000 verses, 17,000 verses of *Kūrma* to 8,000 verses, 14,000 verses of *Matsya* to 13,000 verses and 19,000 verses of *Gāruḍa* to 8,000 verses. Thus it makes a total addition of 18,000 verses and a total reduction of 45,000 verses, the ultimate total being 27,000 less than four lakhs. On the contrary, the text in *Matsya* gives a surplus of 3,000 verses for *Brahma*, 600 verses for *Agni*, 1000 verses for *Kūrma* and 200 verses for *Brahmāṇḍa*, with a reduction of 100 verses for *Skanda*. The grand total ultimately contains a surplus of 4,700 verses.

The actual number of verses given in the printed editions of several Purāṇas happens to be considerably less than that mentioned in the lists.[33] The real number of verses would be reduced more in the critical editions omitting interpolated verses.

The number of the Mahā-Purāṇas was fixed once for ever, the number being regarded significant.[34] The sequence given in *Viṣṇu, Matsya* and allied Purāṇas has obviously no basis of the probable dates of their composition. It is suggested to account for the sequence on the basis of the gradual stages of the evolution of the universe.[35]

Some lists[36] given in the Purāṇas associate individual Purāṇas with different *Kalpas*, while some[37] ascribe various religious merits to those who get the respective Purāṇas copied and make a gift of the manuscript. A text[38] in *Padma Purāṇa* represents individual Purāṇas as different limbs of the body of Lord Viṣṇu, while another text[39] in the same Purāṇa classifies the Eighteen Purāṇas into three groups of six each, associated with Viṣṇu in the highest category. It obviously reflects sectarian bias of the followers of Vaiṣṇavism.

Thus a comparative and critical study of the *Purāṇānukramaṇikās* given in a number of *Mahā-Purāṇas* yields many interesting inferences and observations.

References

1. *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Adhyāya* 53, verse 4; *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Revā māhātmya*, *Adhyāya* 1, verse 23; *Nārada Purāṇa*, *Adhyāya* 92, verse 22.

2. Section III, *Adhyāya* 6, verses 15-19.
3. *Padma*, IV, 111, 90-94 (vide f.n. 24)
   Padma, VI, 219, 25-27 (vide f.n. 21)
   Viṣṇu, 6, 21-24 (vide f.n.7)
   Bhāgavata, XII, 7, 23-24 (vide f.n. 25)
   Nārada, *Pūrva Khaṇḍa*, 92, 26-28 (vide f.n. 15)
   Mārkaṇḍeya, 134, 8-11 (vide f.n. 10)
   Bhaviṣya, 1, 61-64 (vide f.n. 11)
   Liṅga, 39, 61-63 (vide f.n. 13)
   Skanda (details given)
   Kūrma, *Pūrva Bhāga*, 1, 13-15 (vide f.n. 20).
4. *Vāyu*, *Anuṣaṅga Pāda*, 42, 3-10 (vide f.n. 27)
   Bhāgavata, XII, 13, 4-8 (vide f.n. 9)
   Agni, 272, 1-23 (vide f.n. 16)
   Brahmavaivarta, IV, 133, 11-21 (vide f.n. 12)
   Skanda, *Prabhāsa*, 2, 18-74 (details given)
   Matsya, 53, 13-56 (vide f.n. 14).
5. *Agni*, 272, 1-23 (vide f.n. 16)
   Skanda, *Prabhāsa*, 2, 28-74 (vide f.n. 17)
   Matsya, 53, 13-56 (vide f.n. 14)
   Nārada, *Pūrvārdha*, 92-109 (details given).
6. Sachau, E.C., *Al Beruni's India* (London, 1914), Vol. I, p. 131.
7. *Adhyāya* 6, verses 21-24.
8. *Adhyāya* 62, verses 2-7.
9. Verses 4-8.
10. *Adhyāya* 134, verses 8-11.
11. *Adhyāya* 1, verses 61-64.
12. Section IV, *Adhyāya* 133, verses 11-21.
13. *Adhyāya* 112, verses 74-77 (Ed. by Harikeśa Śāstrī, 1893).
14. *Adhyāya* 53, verses 13-56.
15. *Pūrva Khaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 92, verses 26-28.
16. *Adhyāya* 272, verses 1-23.
17. *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, *Adhyāya* 2, verses 28-74, verses 5-7 mention *Śaiva* in place of *Vāyu* and place *Bhaviṣya* before *Nāradiya*.
18. Upadhyaya, Baldeva, *Purāṇa-vimarśa* (in Hindi) (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 94-105.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
20. *Pūrva Bhāga*, *Adhyāya* 1, verses 13-15. Here the fourth Purāṇa is entitled *Śaiva*.
21. Verses 25-27. The fourth Purāṇa is entitled *Śaiva*.
22. Verses 81-84.
23. *Adhyāya* 39, verses 61-63. The fourth Purāṇa is entitled *Śaiva*.
24. *Adhyāya* 111, verses 90-94. The fourth Purāṇa is entitled *Śaiva*.
25. Verses 23-24. The fourth Purāṇa is entitled *Śaiva*.
26. Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 531, n. 1.
27. *Anuṣaṅgapāda*, *Adhyāya* 42, verses 3-10.
28. Skandha I, *Adhyāya* 3, verses 1-12.
29. *Adhyāya* 9, verses 6-12.
30. *Adhyāya* 25, verses 20-22.
31. Sachau, E.C., *Al Beruni's India* (London, 1914), Vol. I, p. 130.
32. Vide n. 4, 9, 12, 14, and 16 above; and *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, *Adh.* 2, verses 18-77. Also vide *Purāṇa-vimarśa*, p. 76.
33. Upadhyaya, Baldeva, *Purāṇa-vimarśa* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 77-79.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-86.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.
36. Vide n. 16-17 above.
37. *Skanda Purāṇa*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, 18-77.
38. Vide n. 8 above.
39. Vide n. 22 above. Also vide *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Adhyāya* 53, verses 67-68.

27

RĀMĀYAṆA MANUSCRIPTS

JOHN BROCKINGTON

I well remember my first meeting with Dr. U.P. Shah in July 1969, when I stayed in Baroda for a fortnight to study the work of the Rāmāyaṇa Department, of which he was by then the head. I was then in the early stages of my own research on the *Rāmāyaṇa* (and had recently completed my doctoral thesis) but he welcomed me most warmly, ensured that I had free access to all that was happening in the department and took a keen interest in what I was doing; this included suggesting that I publish in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute* two articles on the nominal and verbal systems of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[1] I have ever since then had a great respect and affection for Dr. Shah and consider it a privilege to contribute to this Commemoration Volume. It seems appropriate to devote this article to the textual study of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, one of the many subjects to which Dr. Shah made an important contribution.

I intend in this article to summarise material deriving from three related activities that I have been engaged on over the last decade or so. These three activities are: investigating the textual history of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* on the basis of manuscripts preserved in Indian libraries, collecting information on *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts of all versions in Britain for the Sahitya Akademi, and cataloguing the epic and purāṇic manuscripts in the enormous Chandra Shum Shere collection of mainly Sanskrit manuscripts in Oxford.

The starting point for my investigations was in fact Dr. Shah's comment in his introduction to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, where he drew particular attention to variations within the manuscripts written in the Malayāḷam script.[2] This comment corroborated my own impression that the Southern Recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not as uniform as has often been stated and led to my planning a research trip to India to look for and examine *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts at the end of 1981. On this occasion I had the privilege of staying with Dr. and Mrs. Shah for a few days, and indeed of being treated almost as a son of the house. As a result of conversations with Dr. Shah, I was able to identify several potentially significant manuscripts to examine, and in particular some in the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

Basically, the issue I wished to examine was the divergence of the text as transmitted into the Northern and Southern recensions, and the interrelationship of these two, in particular through those manuscripts which combine features of both, most often by a conflation of the two at a relatively recent stage in the chain of transmission but perhaps occasionally by retention of older features. I decided to concentrate on the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, where the problem is focused on the anomalous manuscript M4. Dr. Shah had already identified one manuscript in the Trivandrum collection (no. 14052) as being similar to this M4 and I was able to confirm this on personal examination; unfortunately, it contains only about half the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (ending with App. I 18.17, inserted into *sarga* 55). However, I was completely unsuccessful in obtaining a microfilm

then or subsequently and it was not until three years later that I received a transcript in *Devanāgarī*. The closeness of this manuscript and M4 is marked by common absence of material rather than additions, indicating relative antiquity. However, omissions unique to each show that, despite their regular shared readings, neither could have been copied from the other, nor probably from an immediate ancestor. There is some indication that the Trivandrum manuscript is closer to their ultimate exemplar than M4 is. However, they both combine features of the present N and S recensions; within the N recension they align particularly with D1.2 and to a lesser extent V1, which raises once again the issue of the precise status of the W recension.

Incidentally, I also discovered at Trivandrum another fragmentary manuscript (no. 13468) which basically is a manuscript of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* but has two leaves prefixed from near the end of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (covering CE 2.104.1-105.6); from the evidence of the variant readings even in so brief a passage, it obviously belongs with M4 and the Trivandrum manuscript just discussed in an alternative Malayāḷam tradition, which presumably therefore was fairly generally current in Kerala. Two other manuscripts there that I examined in some detail (nos. 13366 and 19421) were, on the other hand, basically in agreement with the usual Southern recension.

There are, of course, large numbers of *Rāmāyaṇa* manuscripts preserved in various collections, most of which are relatively late (thus making it impractical to construct the kind of family tree that is regularly done for, say, Greek and Latin texts). This is true, of course, for most Sanskrit texts and most manuscript collections contain predominantly manuscripts of the 16th to 19th centuries, but for the *Rāmāyaṇa* this means an even bigger gap than usual since the origins of the text. However, the Critical Edition necessarily utilised a relatively small number of manuscripts (29 in the case of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*) and so variant readings and new patterns of omission or addition can be found in virtually every manuscript examined. Many of these will be trivial but others are significant for the attempt to build up a truer picture of the complex relationships between the various recensions and versions. To illustrate my point, I might remark that in the research summarised here I have examined in some detail the evidence of 11 manuscripts of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (as well as referring to others), as compared with the 29 used by the Critical Edition.

Apart from the *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, the Critical Edition groups its manuscripts by the script employed, but the number of manuscripts in each version varies considerably: for example, only one Maithilī manuscript was used and no Oriyā manuscripts, although at least one set of Oriyā manuscripts exists in Calcutta (in the Asiatic Society Library, no. 5614 in the Government Collection). Admittedly, examination of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of this Oriyā manuscript produced no major surprises but it did help to clarify the relationship between the Maithilī and Bengālī versions, since it is not just an offshoot from the Bengālī version but shows also some convergence with the Maithilī manuscript as well as with the Southern Recension. A visit to Darbhanga produced no further Maithilī manuscripts; this is all the more regrettable as the precise status of V1 of the Critical Edition is open to question. Examination of two manuscripts in Bengālī script in Calcutta, both of which belong to the first half of the seventeenth century, also suggests that the Bengālī version within the NE recension, though well established by then, was less uniform than is suggested by the manuscripts used for the Critical Edition. The earlier of the two (no. 4824 of the Government Collection in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, dated Lakṣmaṇa saṁvat 507=1626 A.D.) has indeed a number of variants not otherwise recorded, although on the whole it is a fairly orthodox representation of the Bengālī tradition, whereas the other (ms. 1921 of the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, dated Śaka 1560=1638 A.D.) shows rather more divergence from the Bengālī manuscripts of

the Critical Edition, containing a number of variants shared with non-Bengālī manuscripts and even a couple with M4 alone (at 4.41d and 6.3d).

I was unable to locate any further Nevārī manuscripts of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, although I did discover one of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* (no. 4828 of the Government Collection in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta). The Scindia Oriental Institute at Ujjain yielded several interesting manuscripts, including one (no. 1357) having affinities with the Ś1 D1-7 grouping, which spans the NW and W recensions; this manuscript and two others there (nos. 5554 and 5600) at one point give an indication of a distinct local version, although this needs further investigation.

While I was still in the fairly early stages of processing this material (and before I got the transcript of the Malayāḷam manuscript from Trivandrum, I received a request from the Sahitya Akademi in New Delhi to contribute to a proposed Critical Inventory of Rāmāyaṇa Studies worldwide by collecting information on holdings of relevant material, especially manuscripts, in Britain. While this was largely compiled from existing catalogues, I also visited the John Rylands Library in Manchester (where I found a few uncatalogued items) and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where I knew of the existence of a collection not recorded in the published catalogues. I was able to collect information on this collection from a written handlist and to expand the description of some items by examining them personally. I regret to say that, so far as I am aware, the Inventory for which this was intended has not yet been published, although it would be a significant research tool.

However, my efforts on the manuscripts at Oxford not only provided me with some further material for my textual studies on the *Rāmāyaṇa* but also led to the Librarian of the Indian Institute, the relevant section of the Bodleian Library, inviting me to join the project to catalogue this collection which was then just getting under way, after so many years, for the collection arrived in Oxford in 1909. It is called the Chandra Shum Shere collection after its immediate donor but its acquisition has a history of its own. Macdonell, the then Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, had been to India in the autumn of 1907 on a manuscript search, from which he came back with 100 items (named the Max Müller memorial manuscripts, after the fund which financed their purchase) bought from a Brahman *paṇḍit* in Banaras who possessed a large library and who had expressed a willingness to sell his whole collection for 10,000 rupees. The Bodleian Library seemed to have been reluctant to put up the money and what actually happened was that Lord Curzon, at that time Chancellor of the University of Oxford, prevailed on Maharaja Sir Chandra Shum Shere, Prime Minister of Nepal, to buy the collection and present it in 1909 to the University. The Chandra Shum Shere collection, as it was therefore known, numbered well over 6,000 (Āśutoṣa Tarkatīrtha's numbering went up to 6,330, but omitted those in Śāradā script and some others) and is in all probability the largest collection of Indian manuscripts ever brought to Britain. The epic and purāṇic manuscripts, with which I was concerned, comprise about an eighth of the total.[3]

Intriguingly, the owner from whom they were bought is not named in any records of the purchase and acquisition of the collection. It is, however, highly probable that he was the person recorded on a large number of individual manuscripts as their owner, especially since he also owned three of the manuscripts in the Max Müller Memorial collection. If so, his name was Bālamukunda Mālavīya (or Bālamukunda Śarma Mālavīya or Bālamukunda Karmakāṇḍin as he is also called), who was a well-known scribe and manuscript collector in Banaras in the 1870s. But there are other owner's names that turn up quite frequently, such as Jayarāma Kāla or Dīkṣita, Gaṇeśarāma Vyāsa, and Raghunātha Narahari Pusaḷkar, as well as scribes such as Dīnabandhu Bhaṭṭācārya. Several of the manuscripts owned by Gaṇeśarāma Vyāsa were written quite late in the

nineteenth century and his strongly Vaiṣṇava-oriented collection must have been acquired by Bālamukunda after 1890, but before 1907.

This collection contains twenty-six manuscripts of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, of which eight contain the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. The *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of one manuscript in Telugu script (c.410, of which the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* was written on 7th September 1783) belongs in general to the S tradition along with other Telugu manuscripts and in particular follows the text associated with Govindarāja's commentary, but it also exhibits a significant proportion of new variants, including readings noted in the Critical Edition only from a printed edition.[4] A second manuscript in Telugu script (b.103) is, however, very close to the standard Telugu tradition. Another manuscript in *Devanāgarī*, c.82(2), which also contains Maheśvaratīrtha's *Tattvadīpikā* commentary, generally therefore follows the S recension, though with a significant number of new variant readings, but it also shows occasional links with the NW and W recensions: for example, in 31* 3-4 and 50*, it includes material otherwise restricted to those recensions. Two other *Ayodhyākāṇḍas*, in b.13 and c.342 (along with one from another collection in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Mill 139),[5] align quite closely with the tradition represented by Dt1 in the Critical Edition, though showing greater affinity with each other on several occasions and in particular sharing readings not recorded at all in the critical apparatus.

Since I have given my detailed findings elsewhere,[6] I will just outline here the implications of the material for the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and for existing views on its textual history. First and most importantly, the existence of another manuscript in Malayāḷam script similar to M4 (and a fragment of a third) makes it difficult to dismiss M4 as 'contaminated' or a 'mixed codex'.[7] Admittedly, this alternative Malayāḷam tradition is a blend of Northern and Southern Recensions, but one which evidently enjoyed considerable currency. Moreover, I have found readings which are unique to M4 according to the Critical Edition not only (as is to be expected) in the Trivandrum manuscript discussed above but also sporadically in the other manuscripts examined. To that extent its claims to be taken more seriously, as representing a fairly old tradition, are further enhanced. At the same time, the S recension has been shown to be less consistent internally than is commonly believed and the uniformity of the text associated with the main commentaries on it can be shown to be at least partly illusory, as is illustrated by the manuscripts from the Chandra Shum Shere collection containing Govindarāja's commentary and the *Tilaka* commentary. The resistance to change of the S recension is largely a myth. With regard to the N recension, the association of the Maithilī manuscript, V1, with the Nevārī and Bengālī manuscripts can now be somewhat further defined on the evidence of the Oriyā manuscript which, while showing most similarity with the Bengālī manuscripts, also has links with V1; such agreement suggests that they all derive from a common ancestor and tends to rule out spread from Bengal, at least as the main mechanism. On the other hand the Oriyā manuscript also exhibits occasional convergences with the S recension. All in all, the evidence of a large number of manuscripts shows that the simple opposition between N and S—however useful it may once have been as a heuristic device—does not adequately represent the complexities of the chain of transmission involved. Further research is needed to unravel the full complexities of the textual history of the *Rāmāyaṇa* but it need hardly be said that the Critical Edition, to which Dr. Shah contributed so notably, is indispensable as a basis from which to work.

References

1. 'The Verbal System of the Rāmāyaṇa', *JOIB*, 19, 1969-70, pp. 1-34, and 'The Nominal System of the Rāmāyaṇa', *JOIB*, 19, 1969-70, pp. 369-415.

2. Shah, U.P., ed., *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Critical Edition, vol. VII, Uttarakāṇḍa* (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1975), introduction p. 5; cf. U.P. Shah, 'Rāmāyaṇa Manuscripts of Different Versions', in V. Raghavan, ed., *The Ramayana Tradition in Asia* (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1980), pp. 93-102, esp. pp. 97-8.
3. The first part of the catalogue has now been published: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit and other Indian Manuscripts of the Chandra Shum Shere Collection in the Bodleian Library*, General Editor: Jonathan Katz, *Part I, Jyotiḥśāstra*, by David Pingree (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984). My own part, *Epics and Purāṇas*, is in press.
4. For example, this manuscript reads *māṃ* for *me* at 2.9a, as also do the Chandra Shum Shere manuscripts b.13, c.82(2) and c.342 and another Bodleian manuscript Mill 139, but the Critical Edition notes the variant only from the Kumbhakonam edition. Similarly Ch. Sh. Sh. ms. b.13 and Mill 139 have the reading given by the Critical Edition for the Kumbhakonam edition only in their repeat of 14*10.
5. The *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of b.13-16, which also contains the *Tilaka* commentary, is in the same hand as the rest apart from the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* and so was written around 1817 A.D. (Saṁvat 1874, the date given for the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*). Incidentally, c.342 contains only the earlier part of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, ending at 2 App. I 14.73 (a S insert before 2.32).
6. 'Textual Studies in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 28.3, 1986, pp. 14-24, and 'The Text of the Rāmāyaṇa', to appear in *Indologica Taurinensia* (Proceedings of the Seventh World Sanskrit Conference, Leiden, 1987).
7. This tendency to dismiss the evidence of M4 out of hand is general, as can be seen most recently from Sheldon Pollock's remark in his translation of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (*The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India, vol. II, Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Princeton—U.P., Princeton, 1986, p. 340): 'M4 is a contaminated and virtually worthless manuscript.'

A Note on Passages 9 and 13 of Appendix I of the Uttarakāṇḍa

C. Lakshmi Narasimha Moorty

The Critical Edition of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, edited by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, has the concurrence of all the manuscripts and printed editions as the chief criterion for fixing its text. Only that portion of the text which is supported by all the Ś, Ñ, V, B, D and S versions is constituted as the critical text and all other portions supported by some Mss. and versions or the other are relegated to footnotes or appendix. All the editors of various *kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* followed this principle scrupulously.[1] So did late Dr. U.P. Shah, the editor of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, the last book of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.

Dr. Shah has relegated a total of 13 passages to Appendix and thus eliminated them from the constituted Critical Text. Out of these 13 passages, eleven passages except Nos. 9 and 13 are not supported by all the versions and thus justifiably relegated to Appendix. But what about passages 9 and 13? Both these portions are supported by all versions Ś, Ñ, V, B, D and S. Yet they are not included in the critical text. Thus the two passages will disappear from the body of the Rāmāyaṇa. Prof. Shah has relied on his judgement which falls within the area of Higher Criticism, and which interferes with the Critical Text.

Let us examine to what extent passages 9 and 13 deserve oblivion.

Passage 9 of the Appendix is a part of *sarga* 63, which describes the return journey of Śatṛghna to Ayodhyā, 14 years after the killing of Lavaṇa. The extract describes how Śatṛghna paid a second visit to Vālmiki with a limited retinue and how they all were wonderstruck at the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the twins Kuśa and Lava. Śatṛghna wards off the curiosity of the soldiers to know more about the composition and also about the reciters on the ground that it was not proper to investigate into the matter. The learned editor has relegated the passage to Appendix on two counts, viz., "on its obvious incongruity" and "on the early Testimonia of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*".

Dr. U.P. Shah feels that on the evidence of the passage one must accept that all the soldiers and through them the citizens must have known about the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and about the reciters. "But this does not seem to have happened and no one except the hermits of Vālmiki's hermitage knew of either of the poem composed by the great sage or of the two princes singing it. The incongruity of the passage is obvious."[2] There is no evidence for this conclusion of the editor. It may be that the sage Vālmiki instructed his disciples to sing the *Rāmāyaṇa* during the horse sacrifice. It does not mean that until then the composition was kept totally hidden from the knowledge of the world. There was no need to keep the authorship of the composition and the identity of the twins a secret, especially from Rāma.

From the *Uttarakāṇḍa* it is clear that no attempt was made to conceal the news

of abandonment of Sītā. She was not left to her fate in the forest. On the other hand Sītā was well taken care of. Lakṣmaṇa was instructed to abandon Sītā in the vicinity of the hermitage of Vālmīki. Lakṣmaṇa had advised Sītā to take shelter under Vālmīki, and Vālmīki was introduced as the well-wisher and friend of Daśaratha. Śatṛghna had stopped at Vālmīki's hermitage on his way to Mathurāpura and congratulated Sītā on the birth of the twins. On his return he must have reported the birth of the sons to Rāma. Though there is no explicit reference to Lakṣmaṇa's informing Rāma, there is at the same time no reference to abstaining from telling the news to Rāma. But definitely there is no instruction from Vālmīki not to inform Rāma about the birth of his sons. All this shows that most of the people knew that Sītā was sheltered in the hermitage of Vālmīki and that Sītā had given birth to twins and that they were being brought up by the sage. When Kuśa and Lava recited the *Rāmāyaṇa* everyone, not to speak of Rāma and his brothers, recognised the twins, for they resembled Rāma closely. Though Rāma recognised his sons and knew that Vālmīki was nearby, he did not show any anxiety to settle the matter. He listened to the *Rāmāyaṇa* leisurely for many days (he could listen to only 20 *sargas* a day) and then only sent for Vālmīki and Sītā. All this means that Rāma was waiting for an appropriate time to ask for the test of purity of Sītā. Thus there is no incongruity in Śatṛghna's second visit to the hermitage of Vālmīki.

As regards the Testimonia of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, since all the Mss. have this passage, it is taken by the Editor as a later addition but as a very early one, even earlier than Kālidāsa, "perhaps before N and S developed their individual form."[3] Having accepted the passage as an ancient one, the Editor threw it out of the Text on the Testimonia of Kālidāsa.

Dr. Shah argues, "Fortunately we have the very early Testimonia of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (5th century A.D.) to support our inference. Negative evidence would not have been valuable if Kālidāsa had altogether omitted the reference to Śatṛghna's second visit to Vālmīki's *āśrama*, this time with his retinue. On the contrary, Kālidāsa refers to the incident and takes pain to deny the very fact of this second visit. He says: "The poet's desire to show the cause of Śatṛghna avoiding this second visit would, in view of incongruity of the passage discussed above, suggest that the poet probably wanted to make it clear that this passage (or incident) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not acceptable to him as a genuine one. He clearly denied it."[4]

The Testimonia of Kālidāsa in *Raghuvaṁśa* XV.37, instead of denying the second visit of Śatṛghna, actually supports it. According to Kālidāsa, as per the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, Śatṛghna had to pay a second visit to Vālmīki. But in his *Raghuvaṁśa* Kālidāsa cannot allow Śatṛghna pay a second visit. Why?

Vālmīki's hermitage is on the road to Mathurā from Ayodhyā. While marching to Mathurā Śatṛghna had to pass by Vālmīki's hermitage. It is improper not to pay respects to venerables whom one meets on one's way. Already Kālidāsa had said, "*pradakṣiṇakriyārhāyāṁ tasyāṁ twaṁ sādhu nācara*" (*Raghuvaṁśa* I.76 cd) and also "*pratibadhnāti hi śreyaḥ pūjyapūjāvyatikramaḥ*" (*Raghu.* I.79 cd). That is why Śatṛghna visited Vālmīki on his way to Mathurā.

On his return journey also, Śatṛghna had to visit Vālmīki and pay his respects to him. However he did not enter the hermitage but passed by it. Why? The reason given by Śatṛghna is that there must not be any further disturbance to the austerities of Vālmīki, "*bhūyastapovyayo mā bhūdvālmīkeriti sostyagāt*" (*Raghu.* XV.37). This excuse is apparently flimsy and unsustainable according to the *śāstras*. Then what was the real reason?

At the time of the birth of Kuśa and Lava during the first visit of Śatṛghna, Vālmīki

had instructed him not to visit him on his return journey and commanded him not to speak to Rāma about the birth of his sons. He assured Śatṛghna that he would restore the twins to Rāma at a proper time. In obedience to the command of Vālmīki Śatṛghna went away to Ayodhyā without entering Vālmīki's hermitage. And also he did not report to Rāma about the birth of his sons. This is clear from the verse:

> *Sa pṛṣṭhaḥ sarvato vārtamākhyadrājñe na santatim,*
> *Pratyarpayiṣyataḥ kāle kaverādyasya śāsanāt.*
>
> —*Raghu.*, XV.41

Thus according to *Raghuvaṁśa*, Śatṛghna would have visited Vālmīki for the second time had he not been commanded by Vālmīki not to do so. But this is not so in the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Vālmīki did not command Śatṛghna in any way and that is why on his return journey he once again visited Vālmīki. As to why he did not report to Rāma of the birth of the sons, we have no evidence on hand. Probably he must have reported the birth of the sons along with the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But Rāma maintained silence in his own wisdom for the time being.

The discrepancy between the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and *Raghuvaṁśa* regarding Śatṛghna's visiting Vālmīki's hermitage on his return journey need not be taken as Kālidāsa's not accepting the passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a genuine one. There are a number of discrepancies between the two works in other places also, viz., the time when Daśaratha received the curse, the time of narration of the episode of the crow, the content of the message of Sītā to Rāma, etc. As in other places, here also, Kālidāsa might have been prompted by a desire to heighten the poetic value of the incident by keeping the composition of the poem away from the knowledge of the citizens of Ayodhyā, thereby creating a sensational feeling of novelty at the first public recital of it.

Thus Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* does not deny the necessity for a second visit of Śatṛghna to the hermitage of Vālmīki. Hence we cannot agree with the inference of the Editor that "this passage (or incident) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was not acceptable to him as a genuine one. He cleverly denied it."

Having accepted the passage as a very early one, even earlier than Kālidāsa and seeing that it is supported by Ś, Ñ, V, B, D and S versions, the learned Editor must have included it in the Critical Text. The question, whether it is at all a later addition, is to be decided with reference to Higher Criticism.

Now let us consider the passage 13 of the Appendix. This passage comes after *sarga* 88 and describes how Rāma, seeing Sītā disappear into the depths of Earth, threatens the Goddess of Earth to return Sītā or face destruction and how he was consoled by Brahmā and other gods to desist from his vow. This passage is also attested by all the versions Ś, Ñ, V, B, D & S. Thus it is also a very ancient passage. Still, the Editor "however feels that it is an early interpolation."[5] He opines that the anger of Rāma as revealed in the passage is natural and human and wonders how Vālmīki's Rāma, who is *satyasandha* and *satyapratijña*, fails to fulfil his threat. Thus indeed the passage is an interpolation. Finally the Editor passes his judgement, "Without this passage of 56 lines, the continuity of narration between *sargas* 88 and 89 is not hampered and appears in better order."[6] Hence the passage goes out of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and thence into obscurity.

The point is not whether the continuity of the narration is hampered or not by the inclusion of the passage. For that matter the entire exclusion of all the episodes of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* will not affect the narration. Why, even the exclusion of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, which is acknowledgedly a later addition, will not affect the narration of the main story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In fact here also, though unavailed by the Editor, Kālidāsa's Testimonia supports this passage.

Even as Rāma is uttering "No, Oh, Do not! Please do not!", Goddess Earth took Sītā away to the netherworld. Neither sage Vālmīki or Vasiṣṭha nor Brahmā, appeased Rāma who in his wrath aimed his bow against Earth for the restoration of Sītā.

Māmeti vyāharatyeva tasminpātālamabhyagāt.
Dharāyām tasya saṁrambhaṁ Sītāpratyarpaṇaiṣiṇaḥ,
Muniḥ (guruḥ) vidhibalāpekṣī śamayāmāsa dhanvinaḥ.
—*Raghu.*, XV.84, 85

Kālidāsa's Testimonia thus tallies with our passage and proves its authenticity.

Threatening the Earth with destruction and not fulfilling it later need not be taken as something that goes against the character of Rāma who was a *satyasandha* and *satyapratijña.* It is not a vow—*sandha* or promise—*pratijñā* made to somebody. It is a mere threat which need not necessarily be carried out. We have another instance of the same kind when Rāma threatened to destroy all the three worlds, nay the whole universe, if the demigods were not going to bring back Sītā immediately to him, who had been stolen.

Mamāstrabāṇasampūrṇamākāśam paśya Lakṣmaṇa,
Niḥsampātaṁ kariṣyāmi hyadya trailokyacāriṇām.
Na tāṁ kuśalinīṁ Sītām pradāsyanti mameśvarāḥ,
Asmin muhūrte Soumitre mama drakṣyanti vikramam.
— *Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa*, 41, 44

Rāma did not fulfil the threat. He became pacified on being dissuaded by Lakṣmaṇa from that cruel and monstrous act. Yet another instance is the one when Rāma expressed his intention of killing Jaṭāyu mistaking him to be the demon who swallowed Sītā. However, on knowing the reality, he became pacified.

Enaṁ vadhiṣye dīptāgrairghorairbāṇairajihmagaiḥ.
Ityuktvābhyapatadgṛdhraṁ sandhāya dhanuṣi kṣuram,
Kruddho Rāmaḥ samudrāntām cālayanniva medinīm.
—*Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa*, 11, 12,

In the light of above examination, one clearly sees that the two passages 9 and 13 certainly deserve inclusion in the Critical Text of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. They are thrown out of the Text rather hastily and the public will thus miss them for good.

It is not too late for the authorities of the Oriental Institute in charge of the publication of the Critical Text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to amend the wrong done and include the said passages in the Text of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* at the earliest opportunity.

References

1. "The Text of the Epic has to be constructed solely on the evidence of Mss., without bringing in the question of Higher Criticism at this stage. The Higher Criticism which is no doubt most important and interesting can be better applied to the Critical Text prepared with

the help of the Mss. only."—Prof. G.H. Bhatt, Introduction to the *Bālakāṇḍa*, p. xxxiv. "The main principle on which the construction of our Critical Text is based, is that there should be a full agreement in substance between all recensions and versions. Whatever extra matter is noticed in Mss. is not considered to be authentic or belonging to the oldest core of the Text."—Prof. P.L. Vaidya, the editor of the *Ayōdhyā* and *Yuddhakāṇḍas*; in his intro. to the *Ayōdhyākāṇḍa*, p. xxviii.
The constituted text of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* consists of 2066 stanzas thus representing the earliest form of the Epic solely on the evidence of Mss. It is neither a copy of the S, R nor a critical recensional edition. It is critical in the true sense as it has been fixed after a careful consideration of all the Recensions and their versions."—Sri P.C. Divanji, Intro. to the *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, p. xxx.
"The entire text is the result of the collation of several Mss. that has been done for this critical Edition."—Prof. D.R. Mankad, Intro. to the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, p. xxiii.
"The principles followed in the constitution of the Text of the Sundarakāṇḍa are the same as those which were formulated and enunciated by the late Prof. G.H. Bhatt, the first General Editor of the Rāmāyaṇa, in his introduction to the Bālakāṇḍa."—Prof. G.C. Jhala, Intro. to the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, p. xxxv.

2. Intro., the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, p. 27.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

29

Hagiography and Sects in the Medieval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti of Western India

Françoise Mallison

The hagiographic tales of the historical saints[1] do not originate in the middle ages nor are they specifically Vaiṣṇava. Rather, there is a long tradition of biographies in Sanskrit concerning the great scholars expounding the Veda and the Vedanta, starting with Śaṅkarācārya (8th c. A.D.) and continuing well after the classical period until Vallabhācārya (1478-1530). These biographies often deal with similar themes: the wonder child who masters the Veda in eight days; the triumph in philosophical debates, with—or without—divine assistance; the conquest of the cosmos thanks to theological demonstrations.[2] Buddhism and Jainism also developed hagiographic literatures.[3] But from the 16th century onwards there appears in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars a wealth of biographies of holy men, all adepts of what is called medieval *bhakti*. Is there any direct influence between the Sanskrit and middle Indo-Aryan lives and those in the medieval vernaculars? Some prefer to find the origin of these biographies in the life tales of the Muslim sufi saints[4] although others vouch for a *digvijaya* Sanskrit influence in the biographies of the Ismā'īlī *pir*.[5] The quantity of the exchange between what is termed classical India, Islam and medieval India has not yet been assessed exactly and remains to be explored. However, what certainly exists, is the enormous amount of medieval hagiographic literature and its homogeneity, in spite of sectarian cleavages or obediences. Together with the religious hymns (*pada*), the life stories of the Vaiṣṇava saints, whether *santa* or *bhakta*, form the only literary and religious—and therefore cultural—expression of quite a part of the population of the sub-continent who has no access to higher culture. The life stories of the saints (*caritra*) often have less literary quality than the hymns and for this reason were less studied. They have in common however several characteristics: oral transmission without any well-defined respected literary authorship, the malleability of the texts, and increasing number of variants which adapted them to larger geographical areas.[6] The most relevant common characteristic of this literature is the importance of its function. These texts were composed, transmitted, they travelled and were sung and recited, because of their finality and not because of any aesthetic pleasure they might have provided.

Medieval Vaiṣṇava hagiography introduces the saint as a specimen of perfect devotion (*bhakti*), even as a hero suffering from persecution from which he is always rescued thanks to an ultimate miracle. This miracle constitutes the proof of the infallibility of the divine grace. The moral qualities of the *bhakta* are fundamental, so much so that the term *Vaiṣṇava* finally comes to denote someone who lives according to a whole set of virtues (non-violence, humility, tolerance, vegetarianism, integrity, compassion for others...) rather than someone who worships one of the forms of Viṣṇu.[7] The saints offer purification and salvation through mere contact. Importance is placed on the association

with the Good and those who practise it (*satsaṅga*) and this association may as well be obtained through the memorization of the life stories of the saints or of their praise.[8] This is what every hagiographic tale aims at. Taking as an example the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhājī (written in Braj, ca. 1600-1610),[9] one encounters tales that are witnesses to the development of a high level popular religion which had become independent of the brahmanical authorities. Nonetheless, in this same non-sectarian text there is an attempt to reclassify the saints among the four great Vaiṣṇava schools (*catura sampradāya*) symbolizing the will to return to vedantic orthodoxy. This is an astonishing phenomenon considering the tantric, yogic and Śaiva components[10] of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti*. The attempts to legitimate are even more evident in the sectarian texts (the collections of *Vallabhan vārtā*, for instance, or the biographies of founders of movements like Dādū or Nānak). At this point a secondary and hidden—but not less important—function of the biographic literature appears: the strategy inspiring the hagiographic texts transforms the religious literary genre into precious material for the historian.

There are various hagiographic forms: the life stories of the saints were either gathered into several collections (for instance, the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhājī, the *Vallabhan vārtā*, the stories of Mahipati) or strive to describe with the help of one or more episodes the life of a single saint (Narasiṁha Mahetā, Kabīr, Dādū). The saint may be a historical person such as Narsī, Kabīr, Nānak, or a mythological hero such as Sudāmā, Hariścandra... The mythological saints make possible the most unlikely feats and miracles and rather than models proposed to the mortals they serve to illustrate divine mercy. Whether historical or mythological, the story of a saint may aim at explaining the origin of a holy place, like the story of Sudāmā at Porbandar (in southern Saurashtra, Gujarat), or like the story of Boḍāṇo-Vijayasiṁha at Ḍākor (in central Gujarat). The hagiographic tale can be either independent of any sectarian frame (e.g., Nābhājī, Narasiṁha Mahetā, even Mahipati), or, in the contrast, an essential part of the missionary effort of a sect (*vārtā*, Dādū). Here, sectarian tales which have both spiritual and secular intentions, that is to put the faithful on the right path as defined by the sect's interests, will be analyzed with the help of several examples taken from the *Vallabhan Vārtā*.

The Vallabhan Vārtā

In place of the Sanskrit writings of Vallabhācārya, the founder of the movement, the *vārtā* (tales) written in Braj prose from the 17th century onwards constitute the sacred literature of the Vallabhas, the followers of Kṛṣṇa Gopal bhakti.[11] Vallabha's second son and successor, Viṭṭhalanātha, organized the community, structured its beliefs and was the first to use the 'native' language of Kṛṣṇa, i.e., the Braj. The *vārtā* literature is abundant and well informed about the lives of the founders of the movement and their family and the events preceding their settlement in the Braj country, as well as the history of the Vallabhan idols and sacred places.[12] By far the most read and best esteemed *vārtā* are the hagiographic tales of the eighty-four saints (*Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*) and of the two hundred and fifty-two saints (*Dosau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*), the former being the disciples of Vallabhācārya (1478-1530), the latter those of Viṭṭhalanātha (1515-1564). The author of the hagiographies is said to be Gokulanātha (1552-1641), the fourth son of Viṭṭhalanātha, the most scholarly and influential of the seven sons of Viṭṭhala and considered to be the third and last of the great *ācārya* of the sect. According to tradition, Gokulanātha collected the stories of the saints from his father's mouth; he is said to have transmitted them orally to Harirāyajī (1590-1715), his grand-nephew to whom is due the text at present available.[13] If this is generally admitted concerning the tales of the 84 saints, some authors disagree concerning the stories of the 252 saints,[14] the language of which seems more recent, less archaic than the Braj

prose of the stories of the 84 saints.[15] The composition of each biography is done carefully, no detail is left to chance, as the stakes are high. Every Vallabhan disciple needs to learn how to progress from the unstable worldly existence (*adhibhautika* or *laukika*) towards a relation with Śrī Kṛṣṇa, with the help of the initiation (*Brahmasambandha*) administered by the *ācārya* and from there onwards towards an overworldly (*alaukika*) state allowing to experiment within oneself the games (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa at the Goloka. Each life story of a saint is the illustration of perfect success under the guidance of Vallabha or Viṭṭhala and is told by carefully chosen episodes (*prasaṅga*).[16] The saints come from different social strata and their importance within the sect varies. Eight of them, the authors of Braj hymns used in the worship of the Vallabhan temples (*sevā*), are called 'the eight seals' (*Aṣṭachāpa*) or 'the eight companions' (*Aṣṭasakhā*, i.e., the eight playmates of Kṛṣṇa); four of them have links with Vallabha and are present in the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*; the four remaining ones belong to Viṭṭhala and are present in the *Dosau bāvana vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*.[17] The most famous poet among them, Sūradāsa, is known well beyond the Vallabhan circles and has been thoroughly studied. Nevertheless, we shall again evoke his case here, as well as the life of another *aṣṭachāpa* of the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā* linked with Vallabha: Kṛṣṇadāsa.

Sūradāsa

The most thorough study, to date, of the life of Sūradāsa has been done by J.S. Hawley.[18] His work is a careful demonstration of what a *vārtā* can teach the scholar. There are three points generally admitted concerning the legend of Sūradāsa: his birth into a Brahmin family, his blindness, and his belonging to the Vallabhan sect. Hawley shows that the analysis of the tension exiting between the *vārtā* texts and their commentary, the *Bhavaprakāśa*, on one hand, and Sūradāsa's work, on the other, seriously questions these supposed facts. It is not necessary to repeat his demonstration here; suffice it to note that excessive insistence on a fact known from only the *vārtā* constitutes in itself a symptom. Let us consider for instance the—for the sect—vital issue of Sūradāsa's conversion at the hands of his *guru*, Vallabha, who provides the exclusive inspiration of Sūra's monumental work, Sūra thus becoming later the first of the eight *aṣṭachāpa*, the aesthetic qualities of his work outdoing those of the remaining ones. The *vārtā*[19] is very clear on the point. It starts with Sūra's initiation by Vallabha (not telling anything concerning his origins nor whether he was blind from birth, although this is affirmed by the commentary) and finishes with Sūra's death at a moment when he has the *darśana* of Viṭṭhalanātha. At this point only Viṭṭhala raises the question of where in the huge number of his poems Sūra pays explicit homage to his *guru* (or whether he affirms having a *guru*). The answer seems provided by Sūra's hymns in which appears the word '*Śrīvallabha*'[20] but this is not conclusive as the word may refer as well to Vallabhācārya as to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, but according to the *vārtā* proves everything. Though not included in the standard edition of the *Sūrasāgara*,[21] this *pada* is quite famous among the Vallabhan faithful who sing it frequently on the occasion of their *bhajana*, in Gujarat.[22] J.S. Hawley also stresses the incoherences,[23] to support his thesis which is quite convincing.

Kṛṣṇadāsa

Kṛṣṇadāsa is the fourth and last *aṣṭachāpa* to be linked with Vallabha: his life-story is the last to be told in the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*. As a poet he is not known outside the sect. He occupies, however, a place of primary importance in Vallabhan history as he had to deal with the rather delicate problem of Vallabha's succession and strengthened the position of his second son, Viṭṭhala. His influence seems to be

due mainly to his rank of *adhikārī* (superintendent-in-charge of the temple of Śrī Nāthajī) rather than to his position as an *aṣṭachāpa*.

As in the case of Sūradāsa, the text of the eighty-four *vārtā*[24] starts with Harirāya's commentary on the origins of Kṛṣṇadāsa who was born into a Kunabī family, at the village of Cilotarā in Gujarat.[25] The Kunabī are wealthy peasants belonging to the *varṇa* of the Śūdra among whom Vallabha and his successors made many adepts. Harirāya emphasizes Kṛṣṇadāsa's being a *daivī jīva*. These are elect souls, companions of the miraculous games of Kṛṣṇa, a fact which may have remained unknown to them until the revelation of their true nature at the time of the initiation by the *ācārya*.[26] According to Harirāya, the nature of *daivī jīva* of Kṛṣṇadāsa is proved by his excessive moral fervour which pushes him to denounce a theft committed by his father and to bear witness to that effect before the king. He refuses to serve the king foreseeing the difficulties arising from the fact that he would always speak the truth. Kṛṣṇadāsa leaves his paternal house and after some wanderings reaches the Braj country where he falls under the spell of the *darśana* of Śrī Nāthajī. After an immediate initiation by Vallabha he is charged with collecting funds or the *sevā* of the recently completed temple in which, with the approval of the Brajvāsī, the worship instituted by Vallabha is conducted by Bengali *pujārī*. At this point the *vārtā* itself starts: in the first episode or *prasaṅga*, Kṛṣṇadāsa, on his way to Dwarka in order to collect the offerings of the faithful, pays a visit to the great Vaiṣṇava saint Mīrā Bāī from whom, according to the *vārtā*, he refuses to accept the magnificent offerings as Mīrā, although a Vaiṣṇava, is not a Vallabhan. The commentary insists on the admirable steadfastness with which the true elect refuse to compromise with the followers of other Vaiṣṇava sects.

The second *prasaṅga* relates a major event in the history of the sect, the eviction of the Bengali *pujārī* from the service of the temple of Govardhananāthajī. The god himself is said to have expressed this desire when his servants had introduced secretly a goddess into his temple and had deprived him of his ornaments in order to hand them over to their Gauḍīyā *gurus* at Vrindavan; Kṛṣṇadāsa carries out the divine instruction thanks to the favour of two of Akbar's ministers and thus assures the triumph of Viṭṭhalanātha's views although his elder brother Gopīnātha is still alive. The Bengali Brahmins belonged to the henceforth rival sect of Caitanya, established at Vrindavan. Their presence at the service of Śrī Nāthajī proves that the idol is not yet exclusively owned by the Vallabhas, a fact recognized by Vallabha who had first installed them. Gopīnātha visibly follows the directions of his father, devoting himself to Vedantic studies and associating with eastern Vaiṣṇava from Purī and Bengal. He should have given the order to turn out the Bengali *pujārī*, but this was done in his absence, on the order of Viṭṭhalanātha somehow extorted by Kṛṣṇadāsa who had resorted to a stratagem to put wrong the Bengalis. He set fire to their huts so that they had to abandon the *sevā* in order to protect their belongings. Kṛṣṇadāsa ensures himself the benevolence of the local authorities, the Hakim of Mathura, and even of the emperor Akbar. His action was a complete success. Viṭṭhalanātha whose views he had implemented, bestowed on him the honour of the *adhikārī* function which had been created for him. He was left the exclusive master of the temple administration where he installs his followers. From this time on, Śrī Nāthajī belongs to the Vallabhans.[27] The Bengalis receive in compensation an idol belonging to Gopīnātha: Madanamohanajī, about which Harirāya, the author of the *Bhavaprakāśa* commentary, specifies that it receives a *maryādā* type of service as befits the *bhakti* practised by its previous owner and inferior in nature to the *Puṣṭibhakti* which had been chosen as the only possible way (*Puṣṭimārga*) by Viṭṭhala.[28]

The following episodes illustrate the constant favour which Śrī Nāthajī bestows on his *sevaka* Kṛṣṇadāsa, who needs however to be taught lessons of humility.[29] A surprising story deals with the young prostitute met in the bazar of Agra.[30] Kṛṣṇadāsa happy

with her beauty and her performances succeeds in bringing her to the temple of Śrī Nāthajī on the steps of which she sings and dances before dying and thus directly obtaining salvation. Harirāya is set to much trouble to explain in his commentary the salvation obtained without the initiation at the hands of the *ācārya*. Maybe this constitutes a first pointer to the increasing powers wielded by the *adhikārī* culminating in the seventh episode which relates the story of the widow Gaṅgābāī Kṣatrāṇī with whom Kṛṣṇadāsa was infatuated and whom he unduly introduces during the service of the temple. He defies Viṭṭhalanātha's anger and is powerful enough to exclude him for six months from Govardhan replacing him as leader with Puruṣottama, the son of Gopīnātha, who at that time was still alive. Not less than the intervention of Birbala, the minister of Akbar, is required in order to put an end to this abuse of power. But Kṛṣṇadāsa is swiftly pardoned and reinstalled as *adhikārī*, so necessary are his services.[31] These episodes are only told as pretexts to show the will of Śrī Nāthajī who plays his divine games in this world, thus enabling his followers to achieve their salvation. However the very 'pretexts' constitute a revealing sequence of historical events particularly meaningful for the material as well as spiritual organization of the movement. Nothing seems to be able to reduce the status of Kṛṣṇadāsa in the eyes of Viṭṭhalanātha, not even an infamous death according to the *dharma*. He dies by accident falling into a well, where his body cannot be found.[32] Again Viṭṭhala saves him from the miserable existence as a *preta* (ghost) through accomplishing the necessary *śrāddha*. The *vārtā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, at the end of the collection of the eighty-four saints, in addition to the hagiographic value it has in the eyes of the Vallabhan faithful, indeed is an interesting historical source. It shows the importance of the strong character of the first *adhikārī* at the helm of the sect's affairs. His successor is unimportant, which is confirmed by the way he is chosen, according to the *vārtā*.[33]

The *Vārtā* of Nāgajībhāī, from the collection of the two hundred and fifty-two saints

Money problems, such as the collection of funds and offerings, very often appear as themes of the *vārtā*, something to be expected considering the opulence of the group's rites and that the majority of the faithful are *vaiśya* and other rich merchants (*khatrī*) or wealthy *Śudra*. The *vārtā* of Nāgajībhāī in the collection of the two hundred fifty-two saints illustrates the tendency to let spiritual preoccupation get mixed up with material ones. According to the editions,[34] it stands at the beginning—or as the fifth chapter when the four *aṣṭachāpa* of Viṭṭhala are placed first. This proves its importance, maybe due to the fact that Nāgajībhāī is said to have been the first saint to be initiated by Viṭṭhala. In the first episode[35] is indeed told the story of how Nāgajī turned to Vallabhācārya for initiation but who sent him to his son because he sensed Nāgajī's future career as a revealer of *daivī jīva*. Nāgajībhāī was not unknown but, rather, a Sāṭhodarā Nāgara Brahmin[36] and a high officer (*desāī*) of Godharā, who made important contributions to the state structure of his province, the present name of the district *Pañca mahāla* being due to his activity.[37]

The second episode relates how Nāgajī encounters financial difficulties while arranging his daughter's wedding, whereupon good Vaiṣṇava friends from Cambay (Gujarat) offered to provide him with ten thousand rupees. He decides not to spend the fortune of the Vaiṣṇava for a worldly (*laukika*) purpose and leaves for Aḍela[38] where Viṭṭhala stays, in order to offer it to the Vallabhans. After long stays with Viṭṭhalanātha and at Govardhan, he returns, reassumes his administrative responsibilities, recovers his wealth, marries off his daughter, and repays the Vaiṣṇava of Cambay who, instead of accepting the money, sent it immediately on to Viṭṭhalanātha.

In the third episode, Nāgajī transports funds on behalf of the governor of Godharā to the emperor but, at the capital, he spends half the amount on precious textiles which he brings to Gokul. He is rewarded for his generosity by the miraculous success of his enterprise and returns to the governor having gained his purpose, the quintuple multiplication of his administrative territory (*pañca mahāla*).

The following episodes show that Nāgajī is a close associate of Viṭṭhala whom he accompanies on his pilgrimages to Dwarka and to Gujarat. He also exchanges letters with Viṭṭhala on points of the Vallabhan doctrine, such as the *ācārya's* divine nature equalling Kṛṣṇa's.

In the story of Nāgajī, not only temporal and spiritual preoccupations are mixed up, but also the economical and political life of a province is influenced by the sectarian affiliation of its administrator as well.

Conclusion

Vallabhan hagiography represents an extreme case of medieval Vaiṣṇavism, but even ordinary hagiography, sectarian or not, has something to tell, and specially so the biographies of the founders. Thus the legends of Kabīr's life as spread by different branches of the Kabīrapanthī well illustrate the rapid Hinduization of the Kabīrian tradition, without even having to specify whether these legends originated in a diffuse popular tradition or whether they were the conscious creation of the Kabīrapanthī themselves. This may be explained by the fact that the Kabīrapanthī—generally of low caste origin or even untouchables or tribals—find in their affiliation to the sect an instrument of social uplift within a Hindu context.[39] Winand Callewaert has also clearly proved how the life-story of Dādū Dayāla (a saint from Rajasthan in the tradition of Kabīr), the *Dādū janma līlā* of Jana Gopāla,[40] brahmanizes its hero, hiding away his probable Muslim origin in a cotton carder community (*dhuniyā*), and how the rapidly added changes to the original story are the expression of a popular desire to render Dādū similar to an archetype of the *santa*, a worker of impressive miracles. W.H. McLeod, in his analysis of the *janam-sakhi* of Nānak,[41] notes that these texts were not primarily biographical, historical, nor even legendary tales but that "what they do provide is an *interpretation* of that life, an interpretation springing from the piety and commitment of later generations."[42] He adds, "Their (the *janam-sakhi's*) principal role has concerned their function within the later community; and as historical sources their value lies chiefly in their testimony to the period and the society within which they evolved."[43]

This last characterization may well be applied to a corpus of biographical texts which make up the hagiography of the Gujarati Vaiṣṇava saint Narasiṁha Mahetā (15th century). He is not a sectarian saint, he founded neither sect nor community,[44] yet the legends which embellish his biographies are there because the society of Gujarat, headed by the merchant *vaiśya* caste, seems to require them. There is indeed a gap between the personal witness of Narasiṁha in his hymns which, burning with sincere devotion, scorn ritual formalism and his Nāgara Brahmins' caste's predilection for wealth, and the different episodes of the hagiographic tales in which, under the guise of a wealthy merchant or a banker, Kṛṣṇa miraculously saves him from financial difficulties at the time of the wedding of his son or of other family ceremonies.[45] The tale of the most popular miracle deals with the *Hūṇḍī* or 'letter of credit':

> Pilgrims on their way to Dwarka are looking for a banker to change their cash for a letter of credit. They are sent by Nāgara Brahmins of Junagadh who disapprove of the saint's conduct, to the poor Narasiṁha Mahetā himself. Moved with compassion,

he accepts their request and writes out a *hūṇḍī* for seven hundred rupees in the name of his god Kṛṣṇa whom on that occasion he calls Śāmaḷa Śeṭha, at Dwarka. After that, he spends the money on food for the Vaiṣṇava. After their arrival at Dwarka, the pilgrims look everywhere for the Śeṭha who is unknown to all and finally meet Kṛṣṇa personally who honors the *hūṇḍī*.

Several medieval authors retold this miracle, one retelling even supposed to be autobiographical.[46] One version portraying most vividly the customs of its times is by Premānanda.[47] In it he dared to describe Śāmaḷa (alias Kṛṣṇa) as an affluent yet hurriedly dressed Śeṭha, a description provoking laughter even today in Gujarat.[48] One should not underestimate the irresistible charm of this slightly fantastic episode in the eyes of the Gujarati public, admirative as it is of the financial and commercial success of its dominant caste. K.M. Munshi rightly affirms that Narasiṁha Mahetā, according to his hagiography and independently from his own writings, "became the centre of a new mythology of *bhakti*."[49] The popular taste for seeing spiritual merits rewarded with worldly benefits is certainly more developed in Gujarat than anywhere else. Of this, the success of the Gujarati biographies of the mythological saint Sudāmā, Kṛṣṇa's childhood friend who had fallen into poverty and was saved from it by his faithful friend, provides another proof[50] and contributed towards a localization in Gujarat itself of his legend, i.e., at Porbandar-Sudāmāpurī,[51] whereas according to the puranic tales he lived at Ujjain-Avantī.[52]

Hagiography exemplifies how the sects aimed at justifying themselves; in many cases these texts also exemplify the working of the social psychology of a whole nation, as seen in our example of Gujarat. But one might as well speak of a 'Marathi' hagiography concerning the religion of the Vārakarī. The Vaiṣṇava *bhakta* of Maharashtra do not form a sect but rather a series of pilgrimage guilds grouping themselves around a *guru* who directs the regular *bhajana* singing meetings and above all the bi-annual pilgrimage to Pandharpur in order to contemplate the idol of Viṭṭhala. The idea of the confraternity of the saints is essential to the Vārakarī who take along with them the saints of the past (represented by their *pādukā* in a *pālakhī*) to Pandharpur where, coming from every part of Maharashtra, they meet each other in a mutually beneficial contact (*satsaṅga*), in the presence of Viṭhobā.[53] The knowledge of the lives of the saints is narrowly linked with the Marathi *bhakti* and the biographies are numerous, as the great saints of the past, from Jñānadeva (end of the 13th century) to Tukārāma (1598-1649), frequently told the lives of each other. The most prolific hagiographic author is Mahīpati (1715-1790) who wrote four collections on all the Vaiṣṇava saints, with the help of secondary material for the non-Marathi saints and from his own informations for the Marathi ones.[54] Mahīpati straightforwardly aims at fostering the admiration for the saints and their imitation. But his output is so vast that some of the socio-religious realities of his time become recognizable, and the author, a Brahmin, contributes, like others before him, towards the Vedantization of a cult made by and for the peasant class of the Marāṭhā śudra and for the village craftsmen. Hardly a sectarian hagiography but rather the cultural portrayal of a nation, the hagiographic collections of Mahīpati are as sincere and full of fervour as those of the first medieval Vaiṣṇava hagiographer, Nābhājī.[55]

One may therefore like to conclude that the hagiographic corpus of medieval Vaiṣṇavism provides rich material for the study of the "*histoire des mentalités*".

References

1. We shall be concerned here mainly with the tales of historical saints; also some considerations on mythological saints (the '*Mahābhakta*') will be included *passim* in the paper.

2. The victory over the whole universe, with intellectual weapons, is called '*Digvijaya*' and the word is a common title for the life story of these *ācāryas*.
3. *See* the articles of Phyllis Granoff, 'Holy Warriors: a preliminary study of some biographies of saints and kings in the classical Indian tradition', *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 12 (1984), pp. 291-303; 'The miracles of a hagiography without miracles: some comments on the Jain lives of the Pratyekabuddha Karakaṇḍa', *ibidem*, 16 (1986), pp. 1-15; 'Scholars and wonder-workers: some remarks on the role of the supernatural in philosophical contests in Vedānta hagiographies', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1985); 'Jain biographies of Nāgārjuna: Notes on the Composing of a biography in Medieval India', in *Monks and Magicians, religious biographies in Asia*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, Oakville (Mosaic Press), 1988, pp. 45-66.
4. Lawrence, Bruce B., 'The sant movement and North Indian Sufis', in *The Sants, Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, ed. K. Schomer and W.H. McLeod, Delhi (Motilal Banarasidass), 1987, p. 371ff.
5. Nanji, A., *The Nizāri Ismā'ili Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, Delmar, New York (Caravan Book), 1978, p. 23.
6. Dr. B.J. Sandesara told me, for instance, that he had once chanced to hear, in a place as far off Gujarat as Bikaner, a *pada* of Narasiṁha Mahetā, the language of which had changed from medieval Gujarati to modern Māravāḍi. Māravāḍa and Gujarat shared the same language before the 15th century and the song was obviously transmitted since that period down to modern times in both places, its language being transformed according to places and times.
7. Mallison, F., 'The definition of a Vaiṣṇava according to medieval Gujarati devotional poetry' to appear in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Early Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, Leiden, 1985.*
8. This belief points to the fact that in any spiritual pursuit a *guru* is necessary to the seeker. The saints may play the part of the *guru* for the Vaiṣṇava *bhakta*.
9. For a description of the *Bhaktamāla*, see G. Pollet, 'The old Braj hagiography of Nābhādās', in *Early Hindi Devotional Literature in Current Research*, ed. W.C. Callewaert, Leuven (Katholieke Universiteit), 1980, pp. 142-149. The *Bhaktamāla* is written in 197 Braj stanzas in the *chappai* metre giving the life stories or simply the names of some 940 saints (*gurus*, poets or princes) from the 12th to 16th century. It is an early and precious source of medieval Vaiṣṇavism. The usual edition is by S.B. Rupkala, with his commentary in Hindi, Lucknow (Tejakumāra Press), 5th ed. 1969.
10. Vaudeville, Ch., 'The Shaivite background of Santism in Maharashtra', in *Religion and Society in Maharashtra*, ed. M. Israel and N.K. Wagle, Toronto (Centre for South Asian Studies), 1987, pp. 32-50.
11. Vallabha wrote two commentaries, one on the *Bhāgvata-purāṇa*: the *Subodhinī*, and one on the *Brahma Sūtra: the Aṇubhāṣya*, several other Sanskrit works, among them the famous collection of 16 small books: *ṣoḍaśagrantha*. Although there are still *pandits* in the *sampradāya* to study them, they cannot compete with the popularity of the Braj *vārtā*. One reason might be the fact that the transmission of the manuscripts was somewhat erratic (with the widow of Gopinātha, the first son of Vallabha, taking them with her when she saw the reluctance of the family to choose her son as the legitimate successor of his grandfather). See. M.C. Parekh, *Śrī Vallabhācārya. Life. Teachings and Movement*, Rajkot, 1943, p. 302ff, and 'Śrī Viṭṭhaleśvara and his Vidvanmaṇḍana', introductory chapter of the edition of the *Vidvanmaṇḍana* by M.T. Teliwala, Bombay (Nirṇayasāgara Press), 1926, p. (14)ff, and R. Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya*, Faridabad (Thomson Press), 1976, p. 54.
12. Among the best known are the *Nija vārtā* and the *Śrī Ācāryajī ke prākaṭya kī vārtā* on the life of Vallabha, and the *Baiṭhaka caritra* on his pilgrimages. The *Gharū vārtā* gives information on Viṭṭhala and his family. The *Śrī Nāthajī kī prākaṭya-vārtā* tells the story of the main *svarūpa mūrti* of the *sampradāya*: Śrī Govardhananāthajī.
13. Parikh, D. (ed.), Mathura (Śrīgovardhana granthamālā kāryālaya), S. 2027 (1970 A.D.). The text is always given with the commentary of Harirāya: *Bhāvaprakāśa* which is important in ensuring the correct interpretation of the doctrine of Vallabha and which provides much biographical details gathered from the traditional legends. Harirāya is said to have recollected

the *vārtā* of the 84 at the end of his long life (R. Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya*, Faridabad (Thomson Press), 1976, p. 102).

14. Varma, D. (in *La langue braj*, Paris (Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient), 1935, p. 32, and *Hindustānī*, Allahabad, April 1932) thinks that the 252 *vārtā* are the work of a later author, eventually a Gujarati disciple of Gokulanātha. But H. Taṇḍan, *Vārtā-sāhitya*, Aligarh (Bhārata Prakāśana Mandira), 1961, p. 155 sees in the *Vacanāmṛtam* of Gokulanātha the source of the material of both the *vārtā* collections.
15. Barz, R., *idem*, p. 101f.
16. Barz, R., *idem*, p. 100ff.
17. The four *aṣṭachāpa* attached to Vallabha: Sūradāsa, Kumbhanadāsa, Paramānandadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, are usually listed at the end of the 84 *vārtā* whereas the four attached to Viṭṭhala: Nandadāsa, Govindasvāmī, Chītasvāmī, Caturbhujadāsa are, according to the manuscripts, either at the beginning of the 252 *vārtā* or at the end.
18. Hawley, J.S., 'The sectarian logic of the *Sūr Dās kī Vārtā*', in *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982*, ed. M. Thiel-Horstmann, Berlin (Dietrich Reimer Verlag), 1983, pp. 157-169, and *Sūr Dās, Poet, Singer, Saint*, Seattle (University of Washington Press), 1984, pp. 14-22.
19. Sūradāsa's *vārtā* is the eighty-first in the edition of D. Parikh (*cf.* note 13), pp. 400-442. A translation of the *vārtā* is given in Barz (*cf.* note 11), pp. 105-139.
20. Parikh, D., Ed. (*cf.* note 13), p. 438.
21. Vajpeyi, N. (Ed.), *Sūrasāgara*, vol. I and II, 4th ed., Benares, V.S. 2021 (1964 A.D.).
22. Mallison, F., 'Les chants *dhoḷa* au Gujarāt et leur usage pour la dévotion vallabhite', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 75 (1986), p. 85, 102ff, and 'From folklore to devotion: *dhoḷ* songs in Gujarat', in *Living Texts from India*, ed. R. Barz and M. Thiel Horstmann (*Khoj*, vol. 2), Wiesbaden (Otto Harrassowitz), 1989, p. 97.
23. J.S. Hawley, *op. cit.*, 1983, p. 163; 1984, p. 18ff.
24. The text is in the edition of D. Parikh (*cf.* note 13), pp. 526-571, and is translated by R. Barz (*cf.* note 11), pp. 207-256. According to Barz, p. 104, Kṛṣṇadāsa lived from 1497 to 1580.
25. Cilotarā or Calotarā stands for the modern Caloḍā in the tālukā of Dhoḷakā in the district of Ahmedabad (*Caurāsī vaiṣṇavanī vārtā*, Gujarati translation by L.C. Desai, Ahmedabad, 7th ed., 1971, p. 209).
26. These *daivī jīva* can be animals as well as human beings. They have in their past life been present at the side of Kṛṣṇa when he was in the Braj country. Their former names are always recollected: for instance, according to Harirāya, Kṛṣṇadāsa is during daytime a manifestation of Ṛṣabha *sakhā*, a companion of Kṛṣṇa while he was grazing the cows, and at night of Śrī Lalitājī *sakhī*, a female friend of Kṛṣṇa who witnessed the *līlā* of Śrī Govardhananāthajī and Śrī Svāminījī in the grove (*nikuñja*).
27. Another *vārtā* deals with the story of the idol of Śrī Nāthajī: the *Śrī Nāthajī kī prākaṭya-vārtā*. It tells of the eviction of the Bengali priests. *See* the translation and analysis of Ch. Vaudeville, 'The Govardhan myth in Northern India', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 22, pp. 1-45, specially pp. 36-41. This event may have taken place in A.D. 1550, according to Barz (*cf.* note 11), p. 53.
28. The Vallabhan doctrine distinguishes between several levels of *bhakti*: *Maryādā bhakti* is termed the devotion of those who aim at respecting the rites and duties stemming from the Vedic tradition as described by the *Dharmaśāstra*. This *bhakti* is thought to be inferior to the *Puṣṭi bhakti*, i.e., the total abandon to the favour of God's grace without reference to the moral precepts of the *dharma*. Thus the *vārtā* of Kṛṣṇadāsa exemplifies how *puṣṭi bhakti* is working.
29. This is shown in the fourth *prasaṅga* where Sūradāsa humbles the pride of Kṛṣṇadāsa as a poet, and in the eighth where Kṛṣṇadāsa pays the price for having passed over the advice of Viṭṭhala not to go to Vṛndāvana.
30. The fifth *prasaṅga*, in the edition of D. Parikh (*cf.* note 13), pp. 546-550, translated in Barz (*cf.* note 11), pp. 228-233. This episode may be justified by the fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa was well known for his musical knowledge and passed for a connoisseur. As early a source as the *Bhaktamāla* mentions it (ed. *cf.* n. 9, p. 890).

31. The seventh *prasaṅga* (ed. D. Parikh), pp. 552-563, and transl. R. Barz, pp. 235-248. The events took place in 1549-1550 (R. Barz, p. 53).
32. The ninth and tenth *prasaṅga* (ed. D. Parikh), pp. 566-571, and transl. R. Barz, pp. 250-256.
33. The tenth *prasaṅga* (ed. D. Parikh), pp. 566-568, and transl., R. Barz, pp. 252-253.
34. There are different versions of the *Dosau bāvana vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā*: one edited at Mathura, N. Sharma, ed., *Dosau bāvana vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā*, Mathura (Śrī Govardhana Granthamālā kāryālaya), V.S. 2022 (1965); the other from Baroda, in Gujarati, by P.S. Doshi, *Bāsembāvana vaiṣṇavanī vārtā*, Baroda (Śuddhādvaita Saṁsada kāryālaya), reprint, vol. 1 in 1966, vol. 2 in 1969. The Mathura version exists also translated into Gujarati, under the direction of L. C. Desai, ed. *Bāsembāvana vaiṣṇavanī vārtā*, Ahmedabad (Lakṣmī Pustaka Bhaṇḍāra), reprinted from the 7th ed., 1971.
35. Ed. of *Nāgajibhāī vārtā*, *see* Sharma, *supra*, pp. 31-36.
36. According to the Baroda edition, Nāgajī Bhāī, or Nāgajī Bhaṭṭa, was a Saṁcorā brahmin. These are frequently appointed as cooks for the elaborate culinary *sevā* of the sect.
37. Teliwala, M.T. (*op. cit.*, note 11), p. (2)ff, gives a short account of the life of Nāgajī Bhaṭṭa and notes that 'a few of the original letters addressed by Viṭṭhaleśvara to Nāgajī Bhaṭṭa are preserved even to this day (*i.e. in 1926*) at Nathdwara in Mewar'. He places the activity of Nāgajī Bhaṭṭa around V.S. 1600 (1543 A.D.).
38. Aḍela or Aḍaila (near Allahabad, on the Yamuna river) was one of the residences of Vallabha, and after him of Viṭṭhala, until 1563, before shifting to Gokul in the Braj country.
39. *See* D.N. Lorenzen, 'The Kabir-panth and Social Protest', in *The Sants, Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, ed. K. Schomer and W.H. McLeod, Delhi (Motilal Banarasidass), 1987, pp. 281-303, specially p. 288ff.
40. Callewaert, W.M. (ed. and transl.), *The Hindi Biography of Dādū Dayāl*, Delhi (Motilal Banarasidass), 1988, specially chapter 1, pp. 11-31.
41. McLeod, W.H., *Early Sikh Tradition, a study of the Janam-sakhis*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1980.
42. *Ibidem*, p. 8.
43. *Ibidem*, p. 9.
44. With the exception of the loosely knit community of the faithful linked to the shrine founded on the place of the supposed residence of the saint, the *coro* at Junagadh, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. *See* F. Mallison, *Au point du jour, les Prabhātiyāṁ de Narsiṁha Mahetā*, Paris (Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient), 1986, p. 23ff.
45. Mallison, F., *ibidem*, p. 21.
46. *Hūṇḍī* (ed. K.K. Shastri), *Narasiṁha Mahetā kṛta ātmacaritanā kāvyo*, Junagadh (Śrī Narasiṁha Mahetā coro samiti), 1969, pp. 73-82.
47. *Hūṇḍī* by Premānanda (1677) (ed. K.K. Shastri and S.T. Jesalpura), *Premānandanī kāvyakṛtio*, khaṇḍa 1, Ahmedabad (Sāhitya Saṁśodhana prakāśana), 1978, pp. 254-269.
48. *Ibidem*, p. 265ff.
49. Munshi, K.M., *Gujarat and its Literature*, Bombay, 2nd ed. (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), 1954, p. 185.
50. Mallison, F., 'Saint Sudāmā of Gujarāt: Should the holy be wealthy?', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, 29 (1979), pp. 50-59.
51. Mallison, F., 'The cult of Sudāmā in Porbandar-Sudāmāpurī', *ibidem* (1980), pp. 216-223.
52. While explaining the sanctity and origin of holy places, hagiographic scriptures are widely used. Maybe the influence of the cult of the Islamic saints is at work here again. Islamic sufi saints are always linked with the place where they lived and died and where they are honoured after their death. The need of a 'localization' is not felt in the Hindu cult of the saints, at an early stage. It was not before the 16th century that the traces of Kṛṣṇa were investigated in Braj, not before the 18th century that Narasiṁha needed an abode, for instance.
53. Vaudeville, Ch., 'Paṇḍharpur, the City of Saints', in *Structural Approaches in South India Studies*, ed. H. Buck and G. Yocum, Chambersburg, Penn., 1973, pp. 137-161.
54. The four collections are: *Bhaktavijaya* (1762), *Santalīlāmṛta* (1767), *Bhaktalīlāmṛta* (1774), and *Santavijaya* (1790). The life of the founder-saint of Paṇḍharpur, Puṇḍalika, is told

in a separate story: the *Pāṇḍuraṅga stotra* (1766). *Cf.* S.G. Tulpule, *Classical Marāthī Literature*, in *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 9, fasc. 4, Wiesbaden (Otto Harrassowitz), 1979, pp. 429-432.

55. Sympathy with all kinds of religious men whatever their religion, i.e., whether Muslim or Hindu, is characteristic of Mahīpati's tolerance, as H. van Skyhawk showed, in his forthcoming paper 'Vaiṣṇava Perception of Muslims in 18th Century Mahārāṣṭra'.

30

Sanskrit Geographical Tables

David Pingree

It must have been noticed from the earliest times in India that the Sun's shadow at a particular time—e.g., midday—varies both with the seasons and with the movement of the observer to the north or the south. Indeed, such a report made by seamen in the Indian Ocean was recorded by Alexander the Great's admiral, Nearchus. For he says:[1] "The shadows did not do the same thing for them, but when they advanced in the sea to the south, those shadows appeared turned to the south, and when the Sun attained the middle of the day, all of their shadow was seen to be null." It cannot be, however, that this actually occurred to Nearchus because he set sail from the mouth of the Indus (latitude of about 27° N) at the beginning of September (when the Sun was close to the equator), and proceeded along the coast, to the west and then to the north-west, while the Sun's declination was becoming more southern. He must only have reported what he was told by others.

Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleucus I to the court of Candragupta in the early years of the third century B.C., reported (again, like Nearchus, obtaining this information from others) that[2] at the cape of India (i.e., Dvārikā in Saurāṣṭra, whose latitude is 22;15°N) the gnomons cast no shadows. This is indeed true at that place at noon on a day sometime before and after the summer solstice.

A mathematical theory for relating the lengths of noon shadows to the Sun's longitude is found in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*[3] and in the second book of the *Arthaśāstra*,[4] both of which may be dated in the first or second century A.D.; the mathematical theory in each case is a linear zig-zag function borrowed from Babylonian astronomy.[5] Both of these linear zig-zag functions will work for only one latitude, and even there not without serious problems. A general rule for relating the time of any day to the current shadow is found in the *Yavanajātaka*, written by Sphujidhvaja in 279 A.D.,[6] and correct trigonometrical solutions of time and shadow problems, including the relation of the noon equinoctial shadow to the local terrestrial latitude, are stated fully in the *Paitāmahasiddhānta*[7] of ca. 425 A.D. and by Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*[8] in about 550 A.D., while Āryabhaṭa in about 500 was clearly aware of these matters.[9]

In the following centuries it became customary among astronomers to express the local latitude in terms of the local noon equinoctial shadow, and the local longitude in terms of the distance of the locality in yojanas to the east or west of the prime meridian passing through Laṅkā and Ujjayinī. These coordinates were needed for telling the local time, for preparing the local pañcāṅga, and for computing planetary longitudes or the times and magnitudes of eclipses for the locality. They can be found in abundance in karaṇas, koṣṭhakas, and commentaries, as well as in detailed horoscopes.

The documents published in this paper constitute the small class of five identified tables of geographical coordinates derived from this purely Indian tradition (different are

the traditions of Ptolemaic geography and of Islamic astrolabes, of which we will say nothing more here). Though the manuscripts that preseve them are of the seventeenth, eighteenth, or nineteenth century, the lists are all compilations from earlier sources as is shown by certain shared errors and by the internal disarray of some; how much earlier the sources are has not at present been determined; a study of the histories of the individual localities mentioned might eventually clarify this point, as would the discovery of additional lists and the compilation of a corpus of coordinates from other medieval sources. For the moment I shall only indicate that it seems likely that a very complex tradition lies behind what is here presented.

All of the tables give the noon equinoctial shadows of the places named in terms of aṅgulas and vyaṅgulas of shadows caused by a vertical gnomon twelve aṅgulas high. Since the shadow is the tangent of the terrestrial latitude while the gnomon is the radius of the circle whose centre is its tip, the terrestrial latitude is the arc of the tangent (radius = 1) which equals a twelfth of the noon equinoctial shadow. In Appendix C I present a table of terrestrial latitudes corresponding to noon equinoctial shadows from 0;0 to 9;0 aṅgulas at intervals of 6 vyaṅgulas. This table has been used to compute the latitudes added to the editions of the five documents, and to compute the noon equinoctial shadows included in Appendix B, the Index of Identified Cities.

These computed shadow-lengths rarely correspond exactly to those given in our documents (but see Ahmedabad, Bhuj, Bijapur, Calcutta, Jaunpur, Kampil, Raipur, and Ramnagar). The reason lies in the difficulties of measuring a length of a sixtieth of an aṅgula, of observing the precise end of the shadow, of correctly determining when the Sun is on both the equator and the local meridian, and of erecting the gnomon in a precisely vertical position relative to a level plane parallel to the local horizon. Agreement to within a tenth (0;6) of an aṅgula is remarkable, to within a fourth (0;15) tolerable.

However, our documents are filled with much greater discrepancies. In some cases I may have failed to identify the city correctly; but in most cases the errors are clearly due to scribal corruptions since the identification of the city seems secure (see Bahraich, Balkh, Bhilsa, Bikaner, Chanderi, Damao, Deogarh, Dhaka, Dhamoni, Dohad, Dwarka, Gandevi, Gaur, Goa, Gogha, Gujrat, Hanumangarh, Hardwar, Ichapur, Indore, Jalalabad, Jetpur, Jind, Jullundur, Junagadh, Junnar, Kabul, Kalabagh, Kalinjara, Kalpi, Kaman, Kandahar, Koregaon, Langar, Lucknow, Machilpur, Mahbubnagar, Mangalore, Mangrol, Multan, Nabadwip, Nagor, Nagpur, Nathdwara, Navsari, Nimsar, Pandvapura, Pathari, Pati, Patna, Peshawar, Rajewadi, Raj Mahal, Rameswaram, Ranthambhor, Ratanpur, Sambhal, Sasaram, Shahgarh, Simla, Sirohi, Sitapur, Somnath, Tilhar, Tonk, and Uch). In this long list the majority of errors, as some others, can be easily explained by the hypothesis of massive scribal ineptitude. The agreement of several documents in a specific error allows us to group sections of these composite texts as derived from a common, corrupt source; and sometimes misreadings of the corruption permit us to hypothesize the existence of intermediaries between the common source and the extant manuscripts.

Table I is preserved on Sanskrit manuscript 1895 in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, a manuscript of 2 ff written probably in the eighteenth century.[10] I repeat my former edition[11] with some corrections. Table I incorporates several alphabetized sections that are closely related to those in Tables IV and III, as is illustrated in the following table for avarga. A comparison of the other alphabetized sections in these three documents would also demonstrate that they have a common source, though Table III deviates from it more than do Tables I and IV.

Table I	Table IV	Table III
	avarga	
155. Ayodhyā	8. Ayodhyā	48. Ayodhyā
156. Ahmedabad	4. Ahmedabad	41. Ahmedabad
157. Ajmer	3. Ajmer	46. Ajmer
158. Ahmedabad	11. Ahmedabad	47. Ahmedabad
159. Agra	1. Agra	42. Agra
160. Ujjain	10. Ujjain	45. Ujjain
161. Umarkot	9. Umarkot	49. Umarkot
162. Abhanpur	12. Abhanpur	
163. Apasaṭilā (?)		43. Aurangabad
164. Aurangabad		
165. Agnamapāṭama (?)		
166. Indore		
167. Etawah		
168. Udayapur	5. Udayapur	
169. Ichapur		
170. Oḍha (?)	7. Uḍisa (?)	
171. Utkala		

Here it may be convenient to locate the alphabetized sections within each of these three documents.

avarga	I 155-171, III 41-49, IV 1-14
kavarga	I 5-30, III 1-8 and 52-55, IV 15-40
cavarga	I 11-40, IV 41-53
ṭavarga	I 3-4, III 73-75, IV 54-58
tavarga	I 81-101, III 12-17 and 26-28, IV 59-78
pavarga	I 102-130, III 29-32 and 63-68, IV 71-107
yavarga	I 134-142, III 9-11 and 33-36, IV 108-120
savarga	I 143-154, III 18-25

The other entries in Table I help us to localize it. I 1 is Ujjain, on the prime meridian. The first non-alphabetized section, I 41-80, begins with Poona; and the last, I 172-175, contains Poona and Wai. The compiler, then, was a Mahārāṣṭrian. The final entry, Calcutta, shows that he wrote at a time after that city has gained its preeminence in British India.

On f. 2r in the margin is written the noon equinoctial shadow for rīvāṃda, 5;28, to which corresponds a terrestrial latitude of 24;28°; the latitude of the city Rewa is 24;32° with a noon equinoctial shadow of 5;29. This scribe has also written in the margin the rising times in palas of the zodiacal signs at rīvāgrāma, the same locality. This scribe from Rewa was probably a later owner of our document. On f. 2v are written the longitudes of certain localities expressed as yojanas to the east (–) or to the west (+) of the prime meridian:

brahmāvarta	–28
kurukṣetra	–28
puṇe	+28
nāśika	+27
vāī	+24

The occurrence of Poona, Nasik, and Wai again reflects the Mahārāṣṭrian origin of the original scribe.

In this and the following tables the original documents contain only the name of the locality and its noon equinoctial shadow; the rest—serial numbers, corresponding terrestrial latitudes, and modern place names—are supplied by me.

TABLE I. University of Pennsylvania, Sanskrit 1895

1. ujjaina	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
2.	5;36	(25;1°)	
3. ḍhakanapura	5;6	(13;2°)	
4. ḍhāṃkā	6;20	(27;47°)	Dhaka
5. kālavāga	5;30	(24;37°)	Kalabagh
6. kaśmira	7;52	(33;15°)	Srinagar
7. korāgāṃvaṃ	4;25	(20;12°)	Koregoan
8. kābil	8;30	(35;19°)	Kabul
9. kāṃtī	3;5	(14;24°)	Kancheepuram
10. koṃkaṇa	3;15	(15;8°)	Koṅkaṇa
11. kanaüjja	6;10	(27;10°)	Kannauj
12. kurukṣetra	6;36	(28;49°)	Thanesar
13. kapilā	6;16	(27;35°)	Kampil
14. kedāre	7;0	(30;15°)	Kedarnath
15. kāṃcī	2;30	(11;46°)	Kancheepuram
16. khaṃdāra	8;0	(33;41°)	Kandahar
17. khamāca	4;55	(22;17°)	
18. gaṃgāsāgara	4;56	(22;21°)	Sagar Island
19. gopā	3;0	(14;3°)	Goa
20. golakuṃdā	3;45	(17;21°)	Golconda
21. golavaṃ	4;0	(18;26°)	Golegoan
22. gargarāt	5;25	(24;18°)	
23. guvarāpura	5;50	(25;56°)	
24. gahorā	5;45	(25;36°)	Gahorā
25. gauḍa	5;10	(23;18°)	Gaur
26. gayā	5;50	(25;56°)	Gaya
27. gaṇaśuklerabhya	6;4	(26;50°)	
28. gorakhapura	6;8	(27;5°)	Gorakhpur
29. gokul	5;55	(26;15°)	Gokul
30. gujrāṭ	4;48	(21;48°)	Gujrat
31. col	4;0	(18;26°)	Chaul
32. cāṭasta	5;45	(25;36°)	Chatsu
33. caṃderī	5;0	(22;37°)	Chanderi
34. citauḍa	5;30	(24;37°)	Chitorgarh
35. jālaṃdhara	7;0	(30;15°)	Jullundur
36. jaṃbūsara	4;58	(22;29°)	Jambusar
37. jūnagaḍa	5;0	(22;37°)	Junagadh
38. jāro	5;36	(25;1°)	
39. jivanapura	5;47	(25;44°)	Jaunpur
40. jalālābāda	5;10	(23;18°)	Jalalabad
41. puṇā	4;45	(21;35°)	Poona
42. dillī	6;0	(26;34°)	Delhi

43. viśālagaḍa	3;45	(17;21°)	Vishalgarh
44. naipāl	6;25	(28;7°)	Katmandu
45. lāhora	7;30	(32;0°)	Lahore
46. nāśika	4;24	(20;8°)	Nasik
47. khaṃdhāra	2;20	(11;0°)	Kandahar
48. jharasara	6;30	(28;26°)	Jasrasar
49. tailaṃga	3;55	(18;5°)	Hyderabad
50. bedara	4;15	(19;30°)	Bidar
51. vidyānagara	4;0	(18;26°)	Vijapur
52. devagirau	4;25	(20;12°)	Daulatabad
53. avaṃti	5;2	(22;45°)	Ujjain
54. somanāthapāttana	5;6	(23;2°)	Somnath
55. nāgora	5;4	(22;54°)	Nagor
56. yoginīpurapāṭalī	6;24	(28;4°)	Patiali
57. citrakūṭe	5;30	(24;37°)	Chitrakut
58. gargarāṭ	5;20	(23;58°)	
59. ajameri	6;0	(26;34°)	Ajmer
60. kurukṣetra	6;55	(29;57°)	Thanesar
61. prabhāsapattana	5;35	(24;57°)	Somnath
62. bhṛgukache	4:51	(22;0°)	Broach
63. samarakamde	10;3	(41;11°)	Samarkand
64. khurāsāne	10;3	(41;11°)	Khurasan
65. sarasapattana	6;50	(29;47°)	Sirsa
66. sītapure	4:40	(21;15°)	Sitapur
67. maṃḍapācale	4;57	(22;25°)	Mandu
68. khaṃbhādrava	4;51	(22;0°)	Cambay
69. goteru āgaha			Gotaru
70. pīlāpāṭana	5;20	(23;58°)	Pilu
71. viṃdugariri	6;0	(26;34°)	
72. jagannātha	5;30	(24;37°)	Puri
73. sarjhara	6;30	(28;26°)	
74. nāranda	6;15	(27;30°)	
75. mahal	6;36	(28;49°)	Raj Mahal
76. jīda	7:0	(30;15°)	Jind
77. hiṃsāra	6;4	(26;50°)	Hissar
78. pāṇipatha	6;50	(29;47°)	Panipat
79. sonapatha	6;40	(29;4°)	Sonepat
80. narelā	6;35	(28;45°)	Narela
81. tājapura	5;45	(25;36°)	Tajpur
82. tailaṃga	4;4	(18;44°)	Hyderabad
83. dvārikā	6;5	(25;54°)	Dwarkaganj
84. davlatābāja	4;11	(19;14°)	Daulatabad
85. devagaḍha	5;4	(22;54°)	Deogarh
86. dadhigrāma	4;40	(21;15°)	Dohad
87. dābhola	5;0	(22;37°)	Dabhoi
88. damanapura	5;45	(25;36°)	Damao
89. dholaka	5;2	(22;45°)	Dholka
90. brahmapuri	5;20	(23;58°)	Brahmapuri
91. dhānapura	6;30	(28;26°)	Dhanepur
92. dhakalapura	5;57	(26;23°)	
93. dhāmegaṃḍa	5;10	(23;18°)	Dharmjaygarh

94. naravara	5;54	(26;11°)	Narwar
95. naḍibāda	5;2	(22;45°)	Nadiad
96. nāgora	5;51	(26;0°)	Nagor
97. nagarakoṭa	7;40	(32;35°)	Kangra
98. navavadāpā	4;47	(21;44°)	Nabadwip
99. naipāla	6;25	(28;8°)	Katmandu
100. naimiṣāraṇya	5;47	(25;44°)	Nimsar
101. devagiri			Daulatabad
102. peṣaura	4;20	(19;52°)	Peshawar (?)
103. pāthari	4;30	(20;33°)	Pathari (?)
104. prayāga	5;45	(25;36°)	Allahabad
105. prakāṇa	4;5	(18;48°)	Prakasha
106. pauni	4;30	(20;33°)	Pauni
107. pāṃḍava	5;1	(22;41°)	Pandvapura (?)
108. puruṣottama	5;44	(25;32°)	Puri
109. bedara	3;45	(17;21°)	Bidar
110. buḍhānapura	4;31	(20;38°)	Burhanpur
111. būṃdi	5;30	(24;37°)	Bundi
112. vānagaṃgā	4;30	(20;33°)	Wainganga River
113. rajavāḍā	6;57	(30;5°)	Rajewadi
114. bijāpur	3;30	(16;16°)	Bijapur
115. bhalāsā	5;6	(23;2°)	Bhilsa
116. vadhānagara			Vadnagar
117. bhikāner			Bikaner
118. paḍodara	4;52	(22;5°)	Baroda
119. balatha	8;7	(34;4°)	Balkh
120. virāṭ	6;27	(28;15°)	Bairat
121. vairāṭi	6;0	(26;34°)	Bairat
122. bhūcavi	4;5	(18;48°)	
123. bhṛgupuṣakṣe	4;8	(19;0°)	Broach
124. mālavā	5;30	(24;37°)	Malwa
125. māṃḍogaṇa	4;57	(22;25°)	Mandu
126. mathurā	6;0	(26;34°)	Mathura
127. mugeri	5;56	(26;19°)	
128. śurera	4;30	(20;33°)	
129. mūlatāna	6;0	(26;34°)	Multan
130. mithilā	6;0	(26;34°)	Darbhanga
131. ijā	5;30	(24;37°)	Ichapur (?)
132. yodhapura	5;28	(24;30°)	Jodhpur
133. gohi	5;45	(25;36°)	Goh
134. rājāpil	4;44	(21;32°)	Rajpipla
135. rāmeśvara	0;30	(2;23°)	Rameswaram
136. rājapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Raipur
137. lābhapura	7;30	(32;0°)	Lahore
138. raṇathaṃbhaura	5;30	(24;37°)	Ranthambhor
139. lavaṃgapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Langar (?)
140. lakṣavatyā	5;44	(24;32°)	Lucknow
141. lakhanaura	5;45	(25;36°)	Lucknow
142. rājamahal	5;25	(24;18°)	Raj Mahal
143. siṃhā	5;0	(22;37°)	
144. siṃrauja	5;18	(23;50°)	Sironj

145. samasāvāda	6;50	(29;39°)	Samasata
146. samala	6;3	(27;8°)	Simla (?)
147. śyāhagaḍh	4;28	(20;25°)	Shahgarh (?)
148. somanātha	5;6	(23;2°)	Somnath
149. siṃdhupura	4;40	(21;15°)	
150. sāraṃgapura	5;12	(23;26°)	Sarangarh
151. sūrata	4;47	(21;44°)	Surat
152. sahasrāṃva	5;17	(23;46°)	Sasaram
153. śrīnagara	6;46	(29;25°)	Srinagar
154. hastināpura	6;30	(28;26°)	Hastināpur
155. ayodhyā	6;7	(27;1°)	Ayodhya
156. amadābāda	4;36	(20;58°)	Ahmedabad
157. ajmera	5;52	(26;4°)	Ajmer
158. ahamadābāda	5;31	(24;41°)	Ahmedabad
159. āgrā	6;30	(28;26°)	Agra
160. avaṃti	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
161. amarakoṭa	5;25	(24;18°)	Umarkot
162. abhānaura	4;36	(20;58°)	Abhanpur
163. apasaṭilā	6;45	(29;22°)	
164. avaraṃgābāda	4;30	(20;33°)	Aurangabad
165. agnamapāṭama	5;40	(25;17°)	
166. iṃdura	5;20	(23;58°)	Indore
167. iṭāū	6;0	(26;34°)	Etawah
168. udayapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Udayapur
169. ichā	5;45	(25;36°)	Ichapur
170. oḍha	4;6	(18;52°)	
171. utkala	5;4	(22;54°)	Orissa
172. brahmāvarta	6;0	(26;34°)	Brahmāvarta
173. puṇeṃ	4;0	(19;26°)	Poona
174. vāiṃ	3;55	(18;5°)	Wai
175. kalakattā	5;0	(22;37°)	Calcutta

Table II is preserved on a folio that is part C of Chandra Shum Shere g. 17 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[12] This manuscript, which contains parts of the *Makarande* of Makaranda (its epoch is 1478) and of the *Rāmavinoda* of Rāmacandra (who wrote in 1590) as well as the geographical table, appears to have been copied in the seventeenth century. Its disorder indicates a rather haphazard collection at its origin, but its numerous errors and several dislocations are evidence that the present manuscript was copied, inaccurately, from that original or an intermediate copy. The locality at which it was compiled is not hinted at. I repeat, with some corrections, my previous edition.[13]

TABLE II. Bodleian Library, Chandra Shum Shere g. 17, ff. 109-109v

1. bhelasā	5;45	(25;36°)	Bhilsa
2. naravara	5;55	(26;15°)	Narwar
3. oḍase	5;20	(23;58°)	Orissa
4. mālapura	6;0	(26;34°)	Malpura
5. damana	5;45	(25;36°)	Damao
6. dvārāvatī	6;5	(26;54°)	Dwarkaganj
7. thaṭā	6;6	(26;57°)	Tatta (?)

8. rāmanagara	5;0	(22;37°)	Ramnagar
9. mabūnagara	5;25	(24;18°)	Mahbubnagar (?)
10. māṃgalora	5;1	(22;42°)	Mangalore
11. dīva	5		Diu
12. māhoda	5		
13. jūṇāgaḍha	5;20	(23;58°)	Junagadh
14. halavada	5;20	(23;58°)	Halvad
15. gujarātha	5;20	(23;58°)	Gujrat (?)
16. vairāṭe	6;27	(28;15°)	Bairat
17. lāpalolāṇū	5;10	(23;18°)	
18. nagaraḍhaṭṭhā	6;6	(26;57°)	Tatta (?)
19. devagaḍha	4;4	(18;44°)	Deogarh
20. pauṇī	4;30	(20;33°)	Pauni
21. aivakapattana	5;4	(22;54°)	
22. durgāvatīgaḍha	4;6	(18;52°)	
23. dhāṃdhavagaḍha	5;52	(26;4°)	
24. dillī	6;3	(26;45°)	Delhi
25. mathurā	6;14	(27;27°)	Mathura
26. cāṃdā			Chanda
27. sūrata	4;45	(21;45°)	Surat
28. ratanapura	5;52	(26;4°)	Ratanpur
29. kapaḍavāna	4;59	(22;33°)	Kapadwanj
30. khaṃbhāita	4;59	(22;33°)	Cambay
31. jaṃbūsara	4;59	(22;33°)	Jambusar
32. kāpilā	4;54	(22;13°)	Kampil
33. gaṃdhāra	4;52	(22;5°)	
34. navasārī	5;4	(22;54°)	Navsari
35. ghaṇadīvī	5;47	(25;44°)	Gandevi
36. valasāḍa	4;38	(21;6°)	Balasore (?)
37. bālāpura	4;25	(20;12°)	Balapur
38. devagaḍha	4;4	(18;44°)	Deogarh
39. ḍhākhāṃ	6;20	(27;50°)	Dhaka
40. mādau	4;50	(21;56°)	Mandu
41. vurāṃlapura	4;30	(20;33°)	Burhanpur
42. śiroṃja	4;48	(21;48°)	Sironj
43. sāraṃgapura	4;56	(22;21°)	Sarangarh
44. revā narmadā	4;47	(21;44°)	Rewa/Narmada River
45. madhyadeśe	6;9	(27;8°)	Madhyadeśa
46. caṃderī	6;0	(26;34°)	Chanderi
47. hastanāpura	6;31	(28;30°)	Hastināpur
48. ruṭidvāra	6;36	(28;49°)	
49. māḍato	5;45	(25;36°)	Merta
50. māṃḍavagaḍha	5;1	(22;41°)	Mandu
51. ajamera	5;50	(25;56°)	Ajmer
52. gagarapura	5;3	(22;50°)	
53. vāsavāla	5;10	(23;18°)	
54. ucavāḍhāgaḍha	5;3	(22;50°)	Uch
55. hājīpura	5;45	(25;36°)	Hajipur
56. khārūṃpāṭala	3;47	(17;29°)	
57. ānāvāmūpaṭṭana	5;20	(23;58°)	
58. machalīpaṭṭana.	5;6	(23;2°)	Machilpur

59. khaṃdāra	8;0	(33;41°)	Kandahar
60. ayodhyā	6;7	(27;1°)	Ayodhya
61. nāgapura	5;0	(22;37°)	Nagpur
62. jugaṃnātha	4;24	(20;8°)	Puri
63. utkaladeśe kaṭakagrāme	4;27	(20;20°)	Cuttack
64. jaitapura	5;6	(23;2°)	Jetpur
65. gahorā	5;57	(26;22°)	Gahorā
66. gayāyāṃ	4;32	(20;42°)	Gaya
67. āgarā	6;0	(26;34°)	Agra
68. kanauja	6;0	(26;34°)	Kannauj
69. thāneśvara	6;30	(28;26°)	Thanesar
70. kurukṣetra	6;30	(28;26°)	Thanesar
71. rohatārāga	6;30	(28;26°)	Rohtak
72. kāśmīra	7;30	(32;0°)	Srinagar
73. kābila	8;30	(35;19°)	Kabul
74. kāpila	7;22	(31;33°)	Kampil
75. mithilā	6;6	(26;57°)	Darbhanga
76. dadhigrāma	4;4	(18;42°)	Dohad
77. siṃhanade	7;13	(31;2°)	
78. ujjayinyāṃ	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
79. dasora	5;11	(23;22°)	Mandsaur
80. vadhanāpura	5;20	(23;58°)	Vadnagar
81. hisāra	6;45	(29;22°)	Hissar
82. kaṃpilāyāṃ	6;15	(27;30°)	Kampil
83. aṃbhala	5;51	(26;0°)	Ambala
84. solāpura	3;38	(16;47°)	Sholapur
85. govā	6;0	(26;34°)	Goa
86. bhṛgukṣetre	4;48	(21;48°)	Broach
87. vaṭapatra	4;54	(22;13°)	Baroda
88. ahmadāvāda	5;0	(22;37°)	Ahmedabad
89. kanaḍi vijāpura	3;41	(17;4°)	Bijapur
90. hūkeri vinnārāma	6;10	(27;12°)	
91. ubhola	5;0	(22;37°)	
92. ciola	5;0	(22;37°)	Chaul

Table III is transcribed on ff. 65-65v of manuscript α424 in the Wellcome Institute in London, a miscellany of astrological and astronomical material, including some of Persian origin, that was purchased from the bookseller Bhajan Lal of Amritsar, who states that he acquired it at Bharatpur. Included in this manuscript are horoscopes and interrogations dated in the latter half of the seventeenth century, which must be the date of the transcription of an original. On f. 59 is a text giving the distances in yojanas between localities that lie on the prime meridian:

> laṅkāpuryāḥ kumārī viśikharavi tato yojanaiḥ
> ṣaṣṭi kānti
> tasmān nāgābdhisaṅkhyaiḥ sitagiri tadanu prajvali
> cāṣṭa tasmād ||
> vyomendur vacchagulmaṃ tad api khaviśikhe 'vanti
> go gargarātas
> tasmāt khatrīndu kṣetre kuru bhavati tato meru
> tattvābdasaṅkhyaiḥ ||1||

The intervals given in this inept verse, if one reads "tattvābdhi" in the last line, are:

Laṅkā to Kumārī	125 yojanas
Kumārī to Kāntī	60 yojanas
Kāntī to Sitagiri	48 yojanas
Sitagiri to Prajvalī	8 yojanas
Prajvalī to Vacchagulma	10 yojanas
Vacchagulma to Avantī	50 yojanas
Avantī to Gargarāta	9 yojanas
Gargarāta to Kurukṣetra	130 yojanas
Kurukṣetra to Meru	425 yojanas

The total is 1065 yojanas in a quadrant of the earth's sphere, or 4260 yojanas in its circumference.

On f. 71, just before Table IV, are two verses, the first on converting yojanas north or south of Avantī (Ujjayinī) into the local noon equinoctial shadow, the second a list of cities on the prime meridian. This second verse is derived from the *Karaṇakutūhala* of Bhāskara.[14]

arantīyāmyottarayojanāni
digghnāni nāgair vihṛtāny ṛṇasvam ||
khābhrāgniṣu prāptiyuto 'bhratarkais
tadaṅgulādyā viṣuvatprabhā syāt |||||
purī rākṣasāṃ devakanyātha kāñcī
sitaḥ parvataḥ prajvalī vacmi gulmam ||
purī cojjayanyāhvayā gargarāṭaṃ
kurukṣetramerū bhuvo madhyarekhā |||||

Finally, on f. 77 is a list of the rising times of the zodiacal signs at savāijayapura. Since this city was founded by Jayasiṃha only in 1728, this manuscript clearly was copied later in the eighteenth century.

The compiler of Table III has utilized a source (among others) in which toponyms beginning with the same letter were grouped together. The following fragments of this list, which was related to the alphabetized source utilized in Tables I and IV, survive:

a III 41-49
ka III 1-8
ga III 52-55
ḍa/ḍha III 73-75
da III 12-17
na III 26-28
pa III 63-68
ma III 29-32
ra III 33-36
la III 9-11
sa III 18-25

TABLE III. Wellcome Institute Sanskrit α424

F. 65, column 1

1. kāśī	5;45	(25;36°)	Varanasi
2. kedāra	7;2	(30;21°)	Kedarnath
3. kurukṣetra	6;46	(29;25°)	Thanesar
4. kāśmīra	8;20	(34;47°)	Srinagar
5. kanyakuvja	6;0	(26;34°)	Kannauj
6. kampilā	6;16	(27;35°)	Kampil
7. koṭā	5;30	(24;37°)	Kota
8. kāvila	8;30	(35;19°)	Kabul
9. laṃkāyāṃ	0;0	(0;0°)	Laṅkā
10. laṃgarapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Langar
11. lāhora	7;30	(32;0°)	Lahore

column 2

12. devagiri	3;30	(16;16°)	Daulatabad
13. devagaḍha	6;4	(26;48°)	Deogarh
14. daṃmana	5;25	(24;18°)	Damao
15. dvārakā	6;5	(26;54°)	Dwarkaganj
16. dābhola	5;0	(22;37°)	Dabhoi
17. dillī	6;24	(28;4°)	Delhi
18. sūrati	4;44	(21;31°)	Surat
19. śrīnagara	6;46	(29;25°)	Srinagar
20. siroṃja	5;48	(25;48°)	Sironj
21. sihāḍi	5;20	(23;58°)	Sihora

column 3

22. sāraṃga	4;52	(22;5°)	Sarangarh
23. śaṃbala	5;21	(24;2°)	Sambhal
24. sirohi	5;30	(24;37°)	Sirohi
25. somanātha	5;39	(25;12°)	Somnath
26. nepāla	6;25	(28;8°)	Katmandu
27. nagarakoṭa	7;20	(31;26°)	Kangra
28. naimaṣāraṇya	5;25	(24;18°)	Nimsar

column 4

29. mulatān	6;40	(29;3°)	Multan
30. mithilā	6;8	(27;4°)	Darbhanga
31. māḍava	5;1	(22;41°)	Mandu
32. mathurā	6;0	(26;34°)	Mathura
33. rāmanagara	5;0	(22;37°)	Ramnagar
34. rohitāsa	6;29	(28;22°)	Rohtak
35. raṇaṭhaṃbhora	5;30	(24;37°)	Ranthambhor
36. raivatācala	5;27	(24;26°)	Junagadh

column 5

37. śrījī dvāra	5;20	(23;58°)	Dwarka
38. udayapura	5;20	(23;58°)	Udayapur
39. cītora	5;30	(24;37°)	Chitorgarh
40. ṭoḍo	5;30	(24;37°)	Toda Bhim

F. 65v, column 1

41. amadānagara	5;0	(22;37°)	Ahmedabad
42. āgarā	6;0	(26;34°)	Agra
43. oraṃgāvāda	3;55	(18;4°)	Aurangabad
44. āṃbera	5;55	(26;15°)	Amber
45. avaṃtī	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
46. ajamera	5;45	(25;36°)	Ajmer
47. amadāvāda	4;49	(21;52°)	Ahmedabad
48. ayodhyā	5;7	(23;6°)	Ayodhya
49. amarakoṭa	5;35	(24;57°)	Umarkot
50. būdī	5;30	(24;37°)	Bundi
51. tailiṃga	4;4	(18;45°)	Hyderabad
52. gaghābaṃdara	6;0	(26;34°)	Gogha
53. gaḍhā	6;6	(26;57°)	Gadra
54. gargarāṭa	5;16	(23;42°)	

column 2

55. gaṃgāsāgara	4;56	(22;21°)	Sagar Island
56. jodhapura	5;58	(26;27°)	Jodhpur
57. hastanāpura	24;31		Hastināpur
58. haridvāra	6;36	(28;49°)	Hardwar
59. virāṭa	6;27	(28;15°)	Bairat
60. balakha	8;7	(34;4°)	Balkh
61. burahāṃnapura	4;30	(20;33°)	Burhanpur
62. vijayāpura	3;54	(18;0°)	Vijapur
63. prāga	5;45	(25;36°)	Allahabad
64. paṭaṇā	4;45	(21;35°)	Patna (?)
65. prakāśā	4;51	(22;0°)	Prakasha
66. poṇī	4;30	(20;33°)	Pauni
67. puṣkara	5;52	(26;3°)	Pushkar
68. puruṣottamakṣe	4;45	(21;35°)	Puri

column 3

69. jālaṃdhara	6;5	(26;53°)	Jullundur
70. jaṃbūsara	4;44	(21;31°)	Jambusar
71. khaṃbhāta	4;59	(22;33°)	Cambay
72. bharupaca	4;48	(21;48°)	Broach
73. ḍhāko	6;20	(27;49°)	Dhaka
74. ḍhuṃḍhahara	5;25	(24;18°)	Amber
75. ḍūṃgarapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Dungarpur

Table IV is preserved on ff. 71v-72v of the manuscript that contains Table III. It represents the alphabetized list utilized in Table I, but omits the last section, which contained the savarga, and does not necessarily correspond precisely to its origin.

TABLE IV. Wellcome Institute Sanskrit α424

F. 71v, column 1

avarga

1. āgarā	6;0	(26;34°)	Agra
2. āṃbera	5;45	(25;36°)	Amber
3. ajamera	5;45	(25;36°)	Ajmer
4. amadāvāda	5;6	(23;2°)	Ahmedabad
5. udayapura	5;20	(23;58°)	Udayapur
6. āsera	4;30	(20;33°)	Asirgarh
7. uḍisā	5;45	(25;36°)	Orissa
8. ayodhyā	6;7	(27;0°)	Ayodhya
9. amarako	5;25	(24;18°)	Umarkot
10. avaṃti	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
11. ahamadānagara	4;49	(21;52°)	Ahmedabad
12. abhānera	6;13	(27;23°)	Abhanpur
13. iḍara	5;20	(23;58°)	Idar
14. +rāvo	6;0	(26;34°)	

column 2

kavarga

15. kāṃti	3;31	(16;20°)	Kancheepuram
16. kāśi	5;45	(25;36°)	Varanasi
17. kanoja	6;10	(27;10°)	Kannauj
18. kuṃkaṇa	3;15	(15;8°)	Koṅkaṇa
19. kurukṣetra	6;36	(28;49°)	Thanesar
20. kāśmira	7;52	(33;15°)	Srinagar
21. kāvila	8;48	(36;15°)	Kabul
22. gargarāṭa	5;25	(24;18°)	
23. gvālera	5;51	(26;0°)	Gwalior
24. kāmā	6;0	(26;34°)	Kaman
25. khaṃdhāra	9;55	(39;22°)	Kandahar
26. gaḍhi	6;6	(26;57°)	Gadra
27. gopācala	6;0	(26;34°)	Gwalior
28. kapilā	6;0	(26;34°)	Kampil
29. kāliṃjara	5;45	(25;36°)	Kalinjara

column 3

30. kālapi	8;0	(33;41°)	Kalpi
31. kacha	5;8	(23;10°)	Bhuj
32. gaḍhā	4;32	(20;42°)	Gadhra

33. gaṃhorā	5;47	(25;44°)	Gahorā
34. kedāra	7;1	(30;18°)	Kedarnath
35. guhāhaḍhī	3;30	(16;16°)	
36. gaṃgāsāgara	6;0	(26;34°)	Sagar Island
37. ghoghābaṃdara	3;0	(14;3°)	Gogha
38. gokula	6;0	(26;34°)	Gokul
39. golakuḍā	3;45	(17;21°)	Golconda
40. golagāva	4;10	(19;9°)	Golegaon

F. 72, column 1

cavarga

41. cola	4;0	(18;26°)	Chaul
42. caṃderī	4;0	(18;26°)	Chanderī
43. cāṭasu	5;55	(26;15°)	Chatsu
44. cītoḍa	5;30	(24;37°)	Chitorgarh
45. jālora	5;58	(26;26°)	Jalor
46. jyodhapura	5;3	(22;49°)	Jodhpur
47. jūnāgaḍha	5;0	(22;37°)	Junagadh
48. jaṃbūsara	4;58	(22;29°)	Jambusar
49. jesalamera	6;15	(27;30°)	Jaisalmer
50. jetāraṇa	5;52	(26;3°)	Jetpur (?)
51. ceḍala	5;0	(22;37°)	Bedla
52. jālaṃdhara	7;0	(30;15°)	Jullundur
53. junera	5;0	(22;37°)	Junnar (?)

column 2

ṭavarga

54. ṭoka	6;15	(27;30°)	Tonk
55. ṭoḍā	6;10	(27;12°)	Toda Bhim
56. ḍuṃgarapura	5;3	(22;49°)	Dungarpur
57. ḍhāko	6;20	(27;49°)	Dhaka
58. ḍhaḍho	8;20	(34;47°)	

tavarga

59. tilaṃga	5;42	(25;24°)	Hyderabad
60. dillī	6;30	(28;26°)	Delhi
61. dvārikā	6;5	(26;54°)	Dwarkaganj
62. dolatāvāda	4;15	(19;30°)	Daulatabad
63. devagaḍha	5;4	(22;54°)	Deogarh
64. daṃbhoja	5;0	(22;37°)	Dabhoi
65. naravara	5;45	(25;36°)	Narwar
66. nāgora	5;51	(26;0°)	Nagor

column 3

67. narmadā	4;47	(21;44°)	Narmada

68. nātheśvara	6;51	(29;43°)	Nathdwara (?)
69. tilahara	5;10	(23;18°)	Tilhar
70. dadhigrāme	4;4	(18;44°)	Dohad
71. dholakā	5;2	(22;46°)	Dholka
72. dhāmonī	4;4	(18;44°)	Dhamoni (?)
73. naḍīyāda	5;2	(22;46°)	Nadiad
74. nagarakoṭa	7;4	(30;30°)	Kangra
75. navānagara	5;5	(22;58°)	Jamnagar
76. nepāla	6;25	(28;8°)	Katmandu
77. naimiṣāraṇya	5;54	(26;11°)	Nimsar
78. tāīpura	5;42	(25;24°)	Tajpur

F. 72v, column 1

pavarga

79. prayāga	5;42	(25;24°)	Allahabad
80. paṭaṇā	5;45	(25;36°)	Patna
81. peśora	6;30	(28;26°)	Peshawar (?)
82. vedara	3;45	(17;21°)	Bidar
83. vahūtipura	4;30	(20;33°)	
84. būdī	5;30	(24;37°)	Bundi
85. bilāḍo	5;40	(25;16°)	Bilara
86. meṭatā	5;53	(26;8°)	Merta
87. mugera	6;49	(29;36°)	
88. mathurā	6;2	(26;42°)	Mathura
89. bagaḍā	5;53	(26;8°)	Bagru
90. mithilā	6;8	(27;1°)	Darbhanga
91. +nāgaḍha	4;0	(18;26°)	

column 2

92. makaraṃdapura	6;30	(28;26°)	
93. burahāṃnapura	4;30	(20;33°)	Burhanpur
94. maṃḍapācala	5;1	(22;42°)	Mandu
95. māṃḍavagaḍha	4;47	(21;44°)	Mandu
96. māgarāla	5;1	(22;42°)	Mangrol (?)
97. barelī	5;10	(23;18°)	Bareli
98. mulatāna	8;30	(35;19°)	Multan
99. bhakhara	8;25	(35;3°)	Bhakkar
100. bhaḍūyaca	4;48	(21;48°)	Broach
101. prakāśa	4;41	(21;19°)	Prakasha
102. pāṃḍava	5;1	(22;42°)	Pandvapura (?)
103. puruṣottamakṣetra	5;45	(25;36°)	Puri
104. pātibaṃdara	4;15	(19;30°)	Pāti
105. bijāpura	3;30	(16;16°)	Bijapur
106. bikānera	7;0	(30;15°)	Bikaner
107. baḍodarā	4;52	(22;8°)	Baroda

column 3

yavarga

108.	rāmeśvara	1;30	(7;8°)	Rameswaram
109.	rājamehela	5;5	(22;58°)	Raj Mahal
110.	rautāsa	6;27	(28;15°)	Rohtak
111.	raṇathobhora	5;30	(24;37°)	Ranthambhor
112.	lāhora	7;30	(32;0°)	Lahore
113.	lakhanāvatī	5;48	(25;48°)	Lucknow
114.	vijāpura	3;38	(16;51°)	Bijapur
115.	vikānera	6;0	(26;34°)	Bikaner
116.	vedalo	5;0	(22;37°)	Bedla
117.	laṃkāpurī	0;0	(0;0°)	Laṅkā
118.	rāmanagara	5;0	(22;37°)	Ramnagar
119.	laṃgarapura	5;30	(24;37°)	Langar
120.	baharāyaca	7;30	(32;0°)	Bahraich

Table V is inscribed on the two folia of manuscript β810 in the Wellcome Institute. The tables themselves give the name of the locality, its noon equinoctial shadow, its carakhaṇḍāni, and the local oblique ascensions of the zodiacal signs. in the following I record only the first two columns. The margins contain other geographical information.

1. On f. 1 is the statement that from Laṅkā Lāhora is distant 320 yojanas, Ajamera 247 yojanas, and Ayodhyā 252 yojanas; further that Jaitāraṇa is 228 yojanas from Laṅkā, and, on f. 1v, that Ṣaṃbhaita (Cambay) is distant 192 yojanas.
2. The following noon equinoctial shadows and deśāntaras (i.e., distances from the prime meridian) are recorded on ff. 1 and 1v in the margins:

sunāma	7 (30;15°) deśāntara 12;0 (Sunam 30;6°)
pohakaraṇa	6;12 1/2 (27;19°) (Pokaran 27;57°)
phalavaddhi	6;18 1/2 (27;42°) (Phalodi 27;6°)
bilāḍa	5;40 1/2 (25;15°) (Bilara 26;10°)
paciyāṣa	5;38 1/2 (25;8°) (Pachbhadra 25;58° ?)
sokata	5;43 1/2 (25;27°) (Sojat 25;53°)
jaitāraṇa	5;43 1/2 (25;27°) (cf. IV 50)
vagaḍi	5;41 1/2 (25;23°) (Bagru 26;49° ?)
devagaḍha	5;21 (24;2°) deśāntara 21 (Deogarh 25;31°)

Since all of these localities lie in the area of Jodhpur and Jaipur in Rājasthāna, that is most likely where the manuscript was copied. Since in a computation in the margin of f. 1v it employs an ayanāṃśa of 18;16,10°, it was probably copied in the seventeenth century. Many of the places named in the list are in Rājasthāna; therefore the list as well as the manuscript may have originated there.

TABLE V. Wellcome Institute Sanskrit β810

F. 1

1.	mathurāyāṃ	6;0	(26;34°)	Mathura
2.	āgarākā	6;0	(26;34°)	Agra
3.	lāhora	7;0	(30;15°)	Lahore
4.	vrahāmaṇapura	4;30	(20;33°)	Bramhapuri
5.	ajamere	6;0	(26;34°)	Ajmer
6.	ujjeṇe	5;0	(22;37°)	Ujjain
7.	gujarāte	5;24	(24;14°)	Gujrat
8.	dakṣiṇe	4;22	(20;0°)	
9.	vikānere	6;0	(26;34°)	Bikaner
10.	mulatāne	6;21	(27;53°)	Multan
11.	yodhapure	5;5	(22;58°)	Jodhpur
12.	nāgore	5;54	(26;11°)	Nagor
13.	rohite	6;34	(28;45°)	Rohtak
14.	jālore	5;36	(25;1°)	Jalor
15.	sirohi	5;30	(24;37°)	Sirohi
16.	rāmapure	5;18	(23;50°)	Rampur
17.	bhṛgukacche	4;51	(22;0°)	Broach
18.	ṣaṃbhāite	4;51	(22;0°)	Cambay
19.	ābere	6;0	(26;34°)	Amber
20.	sāgānere	6;0	(26;34°)	Sanganer
21.	sihanaṃde	7;0	(30;15°)	
22.	haridvāre	6;36	(28;49°)	Hardwar
23.	ajodhyā	6;7	(27;0°)	Ayodhya
24.	dvārāvatyāṃ	6;5	(26;53°)	Dwarkaganj
25.	citore	5;30	(24;37°)	Chitorgarh
26.	būṃdi	5;20	(23;58°)	Bundi

F. 1v

27.	sūrata	4;44	(21;28°)	Surat
28.	siroja	4;48	(21;48°)	Sironj
29.	laṣaṇeuṃ	5;30	(24;37°)	Lucknow
30.	pirānapaṭṭa	5;20	(23;58°)	Pilu (?)
31.	kurukṣetra	6;55	(29;57°)	Thanesar
32.	maharaṭhe	3;11	(14;50°)	Mahārāṣṭra
33.	kanoje	6;0	(26;34°)	Kannauj
34.	nagarathaṭā	5;36	(25;1°)	Tatta
35.	gvālere	5;58	(26;27°)	Gwalior
36.	vijāpure	4;0	(18;26°)	Vijapur
37.	prayāge	5;45	(25;36°)	Allahabad
38.	kāśmire	8;38	(35;44°)	Srinagar
39.	lāhore	5;5	(22;58°)	Lahore
40.	ahamādāvāda	5;0	(22;37°)	Ahmedabad
41.	laṃkānagare	0;0	(0;0°)	Laṅkā
42.	haṃsāre	6;24	(28;4°)	Hissar
43.	bhaṭanerasarase	6;26	(28;11°)	Hanumangarh
44.	baṃgālai	8;0	(33;41°)	Bengal

45. kābila	8;30	(35;19°)	Kabul
46. balake	8;7	(34;4°)	Balkh
47. kāśyāṃ	5;42	(25;24°)	Varanasi
48. dillyāṃ	6;30	(28;26°)	Delhi
49. paṭṭaṇai	5;45	(25;36°)	Patna
50. jesalamerau	5		Jaisalmer
51. meḍate	5;54	(26;11°)	Merta
52. phatepura	5;54	(26;11°)	Fatehpur

APPENDIX A. Index of Place-Names

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APPENDIX B. Index of Identified Cities

Abhanpur 21;5° 4;38
I 162 has correctly 4;36; IV 12 has 6;13.

Agra 27;9° 6;9
II 67, III 42, IV 1, and V 2 all have 6;0; I 159 has 6;30.

Ahmedabad 23;3° 5;6
IV 4 (Amadāvāda) has 5;6, while II 88 (Ahamadāvāda), III 41 (Amadānagara), and V 40 (Ahamadāvāda) all have 5;0. I 158 (Ahamadābāda) has by mistake 5;31 (cf. 6;30 for 6;0 in I 159). Inexplicably III 47 (Amadāvāda) and IV 11 (Ahmadānagara) have 4;49, and I 156 (Amadābāda) has 4;36. Note that the noon equinoctial shadow at Ahmadnagar is 5;15, while that at Ahmednagar is 4;10; possibly III 41 refers to the former of these two, and IV 11 to the latter.

Ajmer 26;29° 5;59
I 59 and V 5 have 6;0; I 157 has 5;52; II 51 has 5;50; and III 46 and IV 3 have a difficult 5;45.

Allahabad 25;57° 5;51
I 104, III 63, and V 37 all have 5;45, while IV 79 has 5;42.

Ambala 30;19° 7;1
Presumably 5;51 in II 83 is a mistake for 6;51.

Amber 27;0° 6;7
V 19 has 6;0, and III 44 has 5;55; presumably the 5;45 in IV 2 and the 5;25 in III 74 are mistakes for 5;55.

Asirgarh 21;31° 4;44
IV 6 has 4;30.

Aurangabad 19;52° 4;20
I 164 has 4;30; the 3;55 in III 43 is an error.

Ayodhya 26;47° 6;4
I 155, II 60, IV 8, and V 23 all have 6;7, for which the 5;7 in III 48 is clearly a mistake.

Bagru 26;49° 6;4
IV 89 has 5;53.

Bahraich 27;35° 6;16
IV 120 has 7;30 by mistake for 6;30.

Bairat 27;27° 6;14
I 120, II 16, and III 59 have 6;27, which therefore should be read in place of 6;0 in I 121.

Balapur 20;40° 4;32
II 37 has 4;25.

Balasore 22;48° 5;3
At II 36 is written 4;38, though that number belongs to II 35.

Balkh 36;46° 8;59
The length of this, as of most other northern noon equinoctial shadows, is too low in our texts. I 119, III 60, and V 46 all give 8;7.

Bareli 23;0° 5;6
IV 97 gives 5;10.

Baroda 22;19° 4;56
II 87 has 4;54, while I 118 and IV 107 have 4;52.

Bedla 24;41° 5;31
IV 116 has a truncated 5;0; cf. IV 51.

Bhakkar 31;40° 7;24
Read 7;25 for the 8;25 in IV 99.

Bhilsa 23;30° 5;13
I 115 has a correct 5;6, but II 1 an impossible 5;45.

Bhuj 23;12° 5;8
IV 31 has 5;8.

Bidar 17;56° 3;53
I 109 and IV 82 both have 3;45; this may be what lies behind the 4;15 in I 50.

Bijapur 16;52° 3;38
IV 114 has 3;38, and both I 114 and IV 105 a truncated 3;30. II 89 has 3;41.

Bikaner 28;1° 6;23
The length appears in a truncated form in IV 115 and V 9 (6;0), and in IV 106 as 7;0 by mistake for 6;0. No number is recorded at I 117.

Bilara 26;10° 5;54
IV 85 has 5;40.

Bramhapuri 20;36° 4;31
V 4 has correctly 4;30; the 5;20 in I 90 should be corrected to 4;20.

Broach 21;40° 4;46
II 86, III 72, and IV 100 all have 4;48, for which the 4;8 in I 123 is a simple error; I 62 and V 17 have 4;51.

Bundi 25;28° 5;43
I 111, III 50, and IV 84 all have 5;30, for which the 5;20 in V 26 is an error.

Burhanpur 21;18° 4;40
I 110 has 4;31 while II 41, III 61, and IV 93 have 4;30.

Calcutta 22;35° 5;0
I 175 has 5;0.

Cambay 22;19° 4;55
I 68 and V 18 have 4;51 while II 30 and III 71 have 4;59.

Chanda 19;58° 4;22
No number is entered at II 26.

Chanderi 24;49° 5;45
II 46 has 6;0, for which the 5;0 in I 33 and the 4;0 in IV 42 are presumably errors.

Chatsu 26;32° 6;0
IV 43 has 5;55, I 32 has 5;45.

Chaul 18;35° 4;2
I 31 and IV 41 have 4;0, for which the 5;0 in II 92 is an error.

Chitorgarh 24;54° 5;34
I 34, III 39, IV 44, and V 25 all have 5;30.

Chitrakut 25;13° 5;39
I 57 has 5;30.

Cuttack 20;26° 4;28
II 163 has 4;27.

Dabhoi 22;8° 4;53
I 87, III 16, and IV 64 all have 5;0.

Damao 20;25° 4;28
III 14 has 5;25 by mistake for 4;25; the same error may lie behind the 5;45 in I 88 and II 5.

Darbhanga 26;10° 5;54
I 130 has 6;0, II 75 has 6;6, and III 30 and IV 90 have 6;8.

Daulatabad 19;57° 4;22
I 52 has 4;25 while IV 62 has 4;15 and I 84 has 4;11. In III 12 is 3;30, perhaps by mistake for 4;30. No number is entered in I 101.

Delhi 28;40° 6;34
IV 60 and V 48 have 6;30, for which the 6;3 in II 24 and the 6;0 in I 42 are probably mistakes. The 6;24 in III 17 may be an error for 6;34.

Deogarh 25;31° 5;44
I 85 and IV 63 both have the truncated 5;4, while II 19 and II 38 both have 4;4; this is either a mistake for the already mistaken 5;4 or an error for 5;44. Presumably the 6;4 in III 13 is a mistake for 5;4. Possibly, then, all five entries go back to a single original in which 5;4 was written instead of 5;44.

Dhaka 26;41° 6;2
Here I 4, II 39, III 73, and IV 57 all have 6;20, probably a mistake for 6;2 that occurred in their common source.

Dhamoni 24;11° 5;23
IV 72 has 4;4, which may be an error for 5;44, though even that is not very close to the required length of the noon equinoctial shadow.

Dhanepur 27;13° 6;11
I 91 has 6;30.

Dharmjaygarh 22;27° 4;58
I 93 has 5;10.

Dholka 22;42° 5;1
I 89 and IV 71 have 5;2.

Diu 20;41° 4;32
II 11 has the incomplete entry 5, whose interpretation is not clear.

Dohad 22;48° 5;2
II 76 and IV 70 have 4;4 as an error for 5;4; I 86 has further corrupted it to 4;40. Again these texts share a common, corrupt source.

Dungarpur 23;53° 5;19
III 75 has 5;30, for which the 5;3 in IV 56 is an error.

Dwarka 22;15° 4;54
The 5;20 in III 37 is not very close.

Dwarkaganj 26;20° 5;56
I 83, II 6, III 15, IV 61, and V 24 all have 6;5, again showing a common source.

If 6;5 were an error for 5;5, they might be referring to Dwarka instead of Dwarkaganj.

Etawah 26;46° 6;3
I 167 has 6;0.

Fatehpur 25;56° 5;50
V 52 has 5;54.

Gadhra 20;53° 4;35
IV 32 has 4;32.

Gadra 26;26° 5;58
III 53 and IV 26 have 6;6.

Gahora c. 25° ca. 5;36
I 24 has 5;45, IV 33 has 5;47, and II 65 has 5;57.

Gandevi 20;48° 4;34
II 35 has 5;47, but the correct 4;38 is found in II 36.

Gaur 24;54° 5;34
I 25 has the rather incorrect 5;10.

Gaya 24;48° 5;33
II 66 has 4;32 in error for 5;32; I 26 has 5;50.

Goa 15;31° 3;20
I 19 has 3;0, for which the 6;0 in II 85 is a mistake.

Gogha 21;40° 4;46
Neither the 6;0 of III 52 nor the 3;0 of IV 37 makes any sense except as an error for 5;0.

Goh 24;59° 5;36
I 133 has 5;45.

Gokul 27;27° 6;14
IV 38 has 6;0 and I 29 has 5;55.

Golconda 17;22° 3;45
Both I 20 and IV 39 have 3;45.

Golegaon ca. 20;26° 4;28
IV 40 has 4;10, for which the 4;0 in I 21 is a mistake.

Gorakhpur 26;45° 6;3
I 28 has 6;8.

Gotaru 27;18° 6;12
There is no entry in I 59.

Gujrat 32;35° 7;40
The 4;48 in I 30 is probably an error for 7;48; and perhaps the 5;24 in V 7, for which the 5;20 in II 15 is an error, is a mistake for 7;24.

Gwalior 26;12° 5;54
Independently derived are the 5;51 in IV 23, the 5;58 in V 35, and the 6;0 in IV 27.

Hajipur 25;41° 5;45
II 55 has 5;45.

Halvad 23;2° 5;6
The 5;20 in II 14 may be an error for 5;2.

Hanumangarh 29;33° 6;48
The 6;26 in V 43 is rather far off.

Hardwar 29;58° 6;55
The 6;36 in III 58 and in V 22 is also not very good.

Hastinapur 29;9° 6;42
II 47 has 6;31, for which both the 24;31 in III 57 and the 6;30 in I 154 must be errors.

Hissar 29;10° 6;42
II 81 has 6;45, for which the 6;4 in I 77 is probably an error. V 42 has 6;24, where 24 may be the scribe's metathesis of 42.

Hyderabad 17;22° 3;46
I 49 has 3;55, while I 82 and III 51 have 4;4, which may represent an error for 3;44 in a common source. The 5;42 in IV 59 is an error for 3;42.

Icḥapur 22;47° 5;2
I 131 has 5;30 while I 169 has 5;45; neither is easily explained.

Idar 23;47° 5;17
IV 13 has 5;20.

Indore 22;42° 5;1
The 5;20 in I 166 may be a mistake for 5;2.

Jaisalmer 26;52° 6;5
IV 49 has 6;15, while V 50 has just 5 (for 6;5 ?).

Jalalabad 27;6° 6;9
The 5;10 in I 40 should be changed to 6;10.

Jalor 25;21° 5;41
V 14 has 5;36, while IV 45 has 5;58.

Jambusar 22;0° 4;51
I 36 and IV 48 agree on 4;58, while II 31 has 4;59; III 70, however, has 4;44.

Jamnagar 22;28° 4;58
IV 75 has 5;5.

Jasrasar 27;43° 6;18
I 48 has 6;30.

Jaunpur 24;44° 5;47
I 39 has 5;47.

Jetpur 21;43° 4;47
IV 50 has 5;52, an error for 4;52; II 64 has 5;6, which may be an error for 4;56.

Jind 29;19° 6;44
I 76 has 7;0.

Jodhpur 26;18° 5;56
III 56 has 5;58, for which the 5;5 in V 11 and the 5;28 in I 132 are errors; more problematical is the 5;3 (5;53 ?) in IV 46.

Jullundur 31;18° 7;18
I 35 and IV 52 have 7;0; III 69 has 6;5, which must be an error for 7;5.

Junagadh 21;32° 4;45
I 37 and IV 47 both have 5;0; needing drastic emendations are the 5;20 in II 13 and the 5;27 in III 36.

Junnar 19;15° 4;13
IV 53 has 5;0, which presumably is a mistake for 4;0.

Kabul 34;30° 8;15
I 8, II 37, III 8, and IV 45 all have 8;30, for which the 8;48 in IV 21 seems to be an error.

Kalabagh 33;0° 7;30
The 5;30 in I 5 is an error for 7;30.

Kalinjara 23;20° 5;10
The 5;45 in IV 29 is an error — perhaps for 5;4, 5;5, or 5;15.

Kalpi 26;7° 5;53
The 8;0 in IV 30 is probably a mistake for 6;0.

Kaman 27;39° 6;17
IV 24 has 6;0.

Kampil 27;33° 6;16
I 13 and III 6 both have 6;16, for which the 6;15 in II 82 and the 6;0 in IV 28 are probably errors. The 7;22 in II 74 may be a mistake for 6;22, and the 4;54 in II 32 an error for 5;54.

Kancheepuram 12;50° 2;44
I 15 has 2;30 and I 9 has 3;5; perhaps the 3;31 in IV 15 is an error for 2;31.

Kandahar 31;36° 7;23
There are no good entries here, though 2;20 in I 47 may be a mistake for 7;20. Otherwise I 16 and II 59 have 8;0, while IV 25 has 9;55.

Kangra 32;4° 7.31
I 97 has 7;40, for which the 7;4 in IV 74 is an error; III 27 has 7;20.

Kannauj 27;2° 6;8
I 11 and IV 17 have 6;10 while II 68, III 5, and V 33 have 6;0.

Kapadwanj 23;3° 5;6
II 29 has 4;59.

Katmandu 27;42° 6;18
I 44, I 99, III 26, and IV 76 all have 6;25.

Kedarnath 30;44° 7;8
III 2 has 7;2, IV 34 has 7;1, and I 14 has 7;0.

Koregaon 17;44° 3;50
The 4;25 in I 7 is rather far off.

Kota 24;27° 5;27
III 7 has 5;30.

Lahore 31;34° 7;22
I 45, I 137, III 11, and IV 112 all have 7;30, for which the 7;0 in V 3 must be an error. V 39, however, has 5;5.

Langar 32;38° 7;41.
I 139, III 10, and IV 119 all have 5;30; this suggests that their common source had that number as an error for 7;30.

Lucknow 26;50° 6;4
IV 113 has 5;48, I 141 has 5;45; I 140 has 5;44, and V 29 has 5;30. The explanation for this situation is not clear.

Machilpur 26;38° 6;1
II 58 has 5;6, which is an error for either 6;6 or 5;56.

Mahbubnagar 16;45° 3;37
II 9 has 5;25, which may be a mistake for 3;25.

Malpura 26;19° 5;56
II 4 has 6;0.

Mandsaur 24;3° 5;21
II 79 has 5;11.

Mandu 22;22° 4;56
I 67 and I 125 have 4;57, for which the 4;50 in II 40 and the 4;47 in IV 95 are mistakes. The other entries — in II 50, III 31, and IV 94 — are all 5;1.

Mangalore 12;54° 2;46
II 10 has 5;1, which possibly is an error for 2;51.

Mangrol 21;10° 4;39
The 5;1 in IV 96 is not very satisfactory.

Mathura 27;30° 6;15
II 25 has 6;14, and IV 88 has 6;2; in the remaining cases, in I 126, III 32, and V 1, the entry is 6;0.

Merta 26;40° 6;1
V 51 has 5;54, for which the 5;45 in II 49 may be an error; IV 86 has 5;53.

Multan 30;10° 6;58
III 29 has 6;40, which itself is not very good; but V 10 has 6;21, I 129 has 6;0, and IV 98 has 8;30. No explanation for this situation is apparent.

Nabadwip 23;24° 5;12
Rather far off is the 4;47 in I 98.

Nadiad 22;42° 5;1
I 95 and IV 73 have 5;2.

Nagor 27;12° 6;10
V 12 has 5;54, for which the 5;4 in I 55 is probably an error; I 96 and IV 66 have 5;51.

Nagpur 21;10° 4;39
The 5;0 in II 61 is rather far off.

Narela 28;50° 6;36
I 80 has 6;35.

Narwar 25;39° 5;46
IV 65 has 5;45, for which both 5;54 in I 94 and 5;55 in II 2 may possibly be errors.

Nasik 20;0° 4;22
I 46 has 4;24.

Nathdwara 24;55° 5;50
The 6;51 in IV 68 is probably a mistake for 5;51.

Navsari 20;58° 4;36
The 5;4 in II 34 is corrupt.

Nimsar ca. 27;20° 6;12
IV 77 has 5;54, I 100 has 5;47, and III 28 has 5;25. Again there is no clear solution to the problems posed by these numbers.

Pandvapura 12;29° 2;40
The common entry 5;1 is found in I 107 and IV 102; perhaps some other locality is intended.

Panipat 29;24° 6;46
I 78 has 6;50.

Pathari 22;48° 5;2
The 4;30 of I 103 is quite far off.

Pāti 21;55° 4;50
IV 104 has 4;15, perhaps as an error for 4;51 or for 4;55.

Patiali 27;41° 6;18
I 56 has 6;24.

Patna 25;37° 6;1
IV 80 and V 49 have 5;45, for which the 4;45 in III 64 is an error.

Pauni 20;45° 4;33
I 106, II 20, and III 66 all have 4;30.

Peshawar 34;1° 8;6
It is unclear why IV 81 has 6;30 and I 102 has 4;20.

Pilu 24;43° 5;32
I 70 and V 30 have 5;20.

Poona 18;34° 4;2
I 173 has 4;0; it is possible that the 4;45 in I 41 is an error for this.

Prakasha 21;30° 4;44
III 65 has 4;51, for which both the 4;5 in I 105 and the 4;41 in IV 101 are probably errors.

Puri 19;49° 4;20
II 62 has 4;24 while III 68 has 4;45, perhaps by mistake for 4;25; but 5;45 in IV 103 seems to be an error for 4;45, while 5;44 in I 108 may be the same. The 5;30 in I 72 is probably a mistake for 4;30.

Pushkar 26;28° 5;58
III 67 has 5;52.

Raipur 24;34° 5;30
I 136 has 5;30.

Rajewadi 18:26° 4:0
The 6;57 in I 113 is an error for 3;57.

Raj Mahal 25;56° 5:50
I 142 has 5;25, which may be a mistake for 5;52; so also might be the 5;5 in IV 109. More difficult to explain is the 6;36 in I 75.

Rajpipla 21;49° 4;48
I 134 has 4;44.

Rameswaram 9;18° 1;58
IV 108 has 1;30, for which the 0;30 in I 135 is an error.

Ramnagar 22;36° 5;0
II 8, III 33, and IV 118 all have 5;0.

Rampur 23;11° 5;8
V 16 has 5;18.

Ranthambhor 26;4° 5;52
I 138, III 35, and IV 111 all have 5;30, which may represent an error in their common source.

Ratanpur 21;43° 4;47
II 28 has 5;52, which is probably an error for 4;52.

Rohtak 28;57° 6;38
V 13 has 6;34, II 71 has 6;30, III 34 has 6;29, and IV 110 has 6;27.

Sagar Island ca. 21;48° 4;48
I 18 and III 55 have 4;56, while the 6;0 in IV 36 is probably an error for 5;0.

Samarkand 39;40° 9;57
I 63 has 10;3.

Samasata 29;20° 6;44
I 145 has 6;50.

Sambhal 28;35° 6;32
The 5;21 of III 23 may be an error for 6;21.

Sanganer 26;48° 6;4
V 20 has 6;0.

Sarangarh 21;38° 4;45
III 22 has 4;52, and II 43 has 4;56, but I 150 has the difficult 5;12.

Sasaram 24;58° 5;35
I 152 has 5;17.

Shahgarh 27;8° 6;9
The 4;28 of I 147 is either corrupt or pertains to a different locality.

Sholapur 17:43° 3:50
II 84 has 3:38.

Sihora 23:28° 5:12
III 21 has 5:20.

Simla 31:7° 7:4
The 6:3 of I 146 may be an error for 7:3.

Sirohi 25:53° 5:49
The 5:30 of III 24 and V 15 is rather far off.

Sironj 24:5° 5:22
I 144 has 5:18, for which the 5:48 of III 20 and the 4:48 of II 42 and V 28 are both mistakes.

Sirsa 29:32° 6:48
I 65 has 6:50.

Sitapur 27:33° 6:16
The 4:40 of I 66 is corrupt.

Somnath 20:50° 4:34
All of the entries are corrupt. For 5:35 in I 61 read 4:35; for 5:6 in I 54 and I 148 read 4:36; and for 5:39 in III 25 read 4:39.

Sonepat 29:0° 6:39
I 79 has 6:40.

Srinagar 30:12° 6:59
I 153 and III 19 have 6:46.

Srinagar 34:8° 8:8
V 38 has 8:38 (for 8:8 ?), III 4 has 8:20 (for 8:2 ?), I 6 and IV 20 have 7:52, and II 72 has a corrupt 7:30.

Surat 21:10° 4:39
III 18 and V 27 have 4:44, II 27 has 4:45, and I 151 has 4:47.

Tajpur 25:51° 5:49
I 81 has 5:45, and IV 78 has 5:42.

Tatta 24:44° 5:32
V 34 has 5:36, for which the 6:6 in II 7 and II 18 may be an error.

Thanesar 29:59° 6:56
I 60 and V 31 have 6:55. I 12 and IV 19 have 6:36, which may be an error in their common source for 6:56 as may be the 6:46 in III 3. The 6:30 in II 69 and II 70 may be a secondary error for 6:36.

Tilhar 27;57° 6;22
IV 69 has 5;10, which is presumably an error for 6;10.

Toda Bhim 26;52° 6;5
IV 55 has 6;10. The 5;30 in III 40 is a mistaken repetition of the 5;30 in III 39.

Tonk 26;10° 5;54
IV 54 has 6;15, which is perhaps a mistake for 6;5.

Uch 29;18° 6;44
II 54 has 5;3. Is this an error for 6;53?

Udayapur 23;55° 5;19
III 38 and IV 5 have 5;20, for which the 5;30 in I 168 is probably an error.

Ujjain 23;11° 5;9
Most entries — in I 1, I 160, II 78, III 45, IV 10, and V 6 — are 5;0, but I 53 has 5;2.

Umarkot 25;22° 5;42
III 49 has 5;35, for which the 5;25 in I 161 and IV 9 is probably an error.

Vadnagar 23;48° 5;18
II 80 has 5;20, while there is no entry in I 116.

Varanasi 25;20° 5;41
V 47 has 5;42, while III 1 and IV 16 both have 5;45.

Vijapur ca. 18;46° 4;5
I 51 and V 36 have 4;0, while III 62 has 3;54.

Vishalgarh 16;55° 3;39
I 43 has 3;45.

Wai 17;57° 3;53
I 174 has 3;55.

APPENDIX C. Latitudes Corresponding to Noon Equinoctial Shadows

Shadow	Latitude	Differences
0	0°	0;28°
0;6	0;28°	0;29°
0;12	0;57°	0;29°
0;18	1;26°	0;29°
0;24	1;55°	0;28°
0;30	2;23°	0;29°
0;36	2;52°	0;28°
0;42	3;20°	0;29°
0;48	3;49°	0;29°
0;54	4;18°	0;28°

Shadow	Latitude	Differences
1;0	4;46°	0;28°
1;6	5;14°	0;29°
1;12	5;43°	0;29°
1;18	6;11°	0;28°
1;24	6;39°	0;29°
1;30	7;8°	0;28°
1;36	7;36°	0;28°
1;42	8;4°	0;28°
1;48	8;32°	0;28°
1;54	9;0°	0;28°
2;0	9;28°	0;28°
2;6	9;56°	0;27°
2;12	10;23°	0;28°
2;18	10;51°	0;28°
2;24	11;19°	0;27°
2;30	11;46°	0;27°
2;36	12;13°	0;28°
2;42	12;41°	0;27°
2;48	13;8°	0;27°
2;54	13;35°	0;28°
3;0	14;3°	0;26°
3;6	14;29°	0;26°
3;12	14;55°	0;27°
3;18	15;22°	0;27°
3;24	15;49°	0;27°
3;30	16;16°	0;26°
3;36	16;42°	0;26°
3;42	17;8°	0;26°
3;48	17;34°	0;26°
3;54	18;0°	0;26°
4;0	18;26°	0;26°
4;6	18;52°	0;26°
4;12	19;18°	0;25°
4;18	19;43°	0;25°
4;24	20;8°	0;25°
4;30	20;33°	0;25°
4;36	20;58°	0;25°
4;42	21;23°	0;25°
4;48	21;48°	0;25°
4;54	22;13°	0;24°
5;0	22;37°	0;25°
5;6	23;2°	0;24°
5;12	23;26°	0;24°
5;18	23;50°	0;24°
5;24	24;14°	0;23°

Shadow	Latitude	Differences
5;30	24;37°	0;24°
5;36	25;1°	0;23°
5;42	25;24°	0;24°
5;48	25;48°	0;23°
5;54	26;11°	0;23°
6;0	26;34°	0;23°
6;6	26;57°	0;22°
6;12	27;19°	0;23°
6;18	27;42°	0;22°
6;24	28;4°	0;22°
6;30	28;26°	0;23°
6;36	28;49°	0;22°
6;42	29;11°	0;21°
6;48	29;32°	0;22°
6;54	29;54°	0;21°
7;0	30;15°	0;22°
7;6	30;37°	0;21°
7;12	30;58°	0;21°
7;18	31;19°	0;21°
7;24	31;40°	0;20°
7;30	32;0°	0;21°
7;36	32;21°	0;20°
7;42	32;41°	0;20°
7;48	33;1°	0;20°
7;54	33;21°	0;20°
8;0	33;41°	0;20°
8;6	34;1°	0;20°
8;12	34;21°	0;19°
8;18	34;40°	0;20°
8;24	35;0°	0;19°
8;30	35;19°	0;19°
8;36	35;38°	0;19°
8;42	35;57°	0;18°
8;48	36;15°	0;19°
8;54	36;34°	0;19°
9;0	36;53°	

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Modern Sanskrit Plays: A Brief Survey

A.N. Jani

Sanskrit the sacred language of the Gods and the mother of most of the modern Indian languages is still a living language. To call it a dead language is to betray one's ignorance of the creative activity in the field of Sanskrit literature in modern times.

A cursory glance at even the dramatic literature will convince one about not only the living character of this divine language but also about its flexibility and adaptability to the requirements of the modern age. The tradition of Sanskrit dramas which began even before Bhāsa and Aśvaghoṣa, as is clear from references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, is alive till today. The number of dramatic compositions in the present century alone is somewhat more than 300. To present even a brief outline of all of them will be impossible in this small monograph. I would, therefore, remain contented by giving titles only of some dramas and by highlighting only a few dramas which breathe modern spirit and deal with problems of modern man and society.

Sanskrit dramas are written in almost all parts of India. Some playwrights have enriched the dramatic literature to a very great extent. Following is a list of scholars (in the descending order of number of their compositions) who have written at least half a dozen or more dramas:

1. J.B. Chaudhury (Bengal)	30	
2. Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha (Bengal)	27	
3. Pūjālāla (a Gujarati at Pondicherry)	23	(dramas for children)
4. Smt. Ramā Chaudhury (Bengal)	21	
5. Ghanashyam M. Trivedi (Gujarat)	20	
6. Smt. Līlā Rao (U.P.)	18	
7. S.B. Velankar (Maharashtra)	16	
8. Viśveśvara Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Bengal)	15	
9. V. Raghavan (Tamilnadu)	12	
10. B.K. Bhattacharya (Bengal)	12	
11. J. Bakulabhūṣaṇa (Karnataka)	11	
12. Y. Mahalinga Śāstrī (Tamilnadu)	9	
13. V.K. Chhatre (Maharashtra)	9	
14. B. Ramalinga Śāstrī (Andhra)	8	
15. Rāmanātha Miśra (Orissa)	7	
16. MM Haridāsa Siddhāntavāgīśa (Bengal)	6	
17. MM Mathura Prasad Dixit (U.P.)	6	
18. Surendra Mohan (Bengal)	6*	

* These numbers are given after Ramji Upadhyay's book *Ādhunika Saṁskṛta Nāṭaka* (Part II). Dr. Ranganath S. in his "Post Independence Sanskrit Drama", Bangalore, April 1994, surveys 27 dramas of O. Parikshit Sharma; presents a study of 41 dramas and enlists in Bibliography dramas of 190 dramatists.

This list shows that Bengal tops the list. Next come U.P., Gujarat, Maharashtra and three states of South India.

Different Trends in Sanskrit Dramas

Modern Sanskrit dramas show different trends. They can be analysed in different groups from the point of view of their themes.

1. Biographical Dramas

The main and major trend is to continue the ancient stream of writing plays based on the life or events in the life of (a) Gods, Goddesses and mythological persons, (b) kings, rulers, and historical heroes, (c) political leaders, (d) religious preachers, (e) saints, yogis and devotees, (f) intellectuals and (g) folklore (legendary) heroes.

A few titles under each of the above heads may be given as under:

(a) This group predominates. Most of the dramatists have selected themes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, e.g.:

Dhṛtisītam — J.B. Chaudhury
Paulastyavadha — Lakshman Suri
Naladamayantīya — Kālipada Bhattacharya
Balivijaya — Jaggu Bakulabhūṣaṇa
Śrīkṛṣṇarukmiṇīya — V.P. Bokil

(b) *Vaṅgīyapratāpa* — MM Haridāsa Siddhānta Vagīśa
Ramāmādhava (on the life of Mādhavarao Peshva and his wife Ramādevī) — V.P. Bokil
Bhāratalakṣmī (Laksmibai, queen of Jhansi) — J.B. Chaudhury
Rājñī Durgāvatī — S.B. Velankar
Chatrapatisāmrājyam — M.M. Yajnik

(c) *Bhāratānanda* (on Gandhiji) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Tilakāyana — S.B. Velankar
Bhāratarājendra (on Rājendraprasāda) — J.B. Chaudhury
Kesaricandrama (on Lala Lajapataray) — Śivaprasāda Bharadvaj
Javāharasvargārohaṇa — V.K. Chhatre

(d) *Śaṅkara-śaṅkara* (on the life of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Vimalayatīndra (on the life of Śrī Rāmanujācārya) — J.B. Chaudhury
Caitanya-Caitanyam — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Rakṣaka-Śrīgorakṣa (on Gorakhanātha) — J.B. Chaudhury

(e) *Yugajīvana* (on Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Rāmacaritamānasa (on Tulasīdāsa) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury

Vivekānandavijaya — S.B. Velankar
Bhāratahṛdayāravinda (on Śrī Aurobindo) — J.B. Chaudhury
Maharṣi-caritāmṛta (on Dayānanda Sarasvatī) — Satyavrat Vedaviśārada
Amira-mira (on Mirābāi) — J.B. Chaudhury

(f) *Ānandarādha* (on Radhakrishnan) — J.B. Chaudhury
Bhāskarodaya (on Tagore) — J.B. Chaudhury
Bhāratapathika (Ram Manohar Roy) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Agnivīṇā (on Poet Nazrul Islam) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Gaṇadevatānāṭaka (on Tarashankar Bandopadhyay) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Prasanna-prasāda (on Rāmaprasāda Gāyaka) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury

(g) *Palli-kamala* (on Rūpakumāra and Kamalakalikā) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Nagara-nūpura (on the prostitute Mekhalā) — Smt. Ramā Chaudhury
Gaṇeśa-caturthī — Smt. Lila Rao

2. Allegorical Plays

Modern dramatists have continued the tradition of writing allegorical dramas, wherein abstract ideas, qualities etc. are personified.

(a) In the *Kaliprādurbhāva*, Mahalinga Shastri depicts the evil tendencies creeping into the mind of people at the advent of the Kali age. Here both Dvāpara and Kali are personified.

(b) *Vimukti* of Dr. Raghavan is an allegorical play showing how Puruṣa is liberated from the clutches of Prakṛti.

(c) *Kālindī* of S.B. Velankar is a geographical allegory personifying the Sun, snow and rivers Gaṅgā and Kālindī (Yamunā).

(d) Surendra Mohan in his drama *Pañcakanyā* presents quarrel between five moral virtues — *Śikṣā* (education), *Śakti* (power), *Sevā* (service), *Prīti* (love) and *Śānti* (peace) regarding their superiority over the other and concludes that all are equally important in their own way.

(e) Dr. A.K. Kaliya's *Sudhābhojana* represents same type of quarrel between *Āśā* (hope), *Śraddhā* (faith), *Śrī* (glory) and *Hrī* (bashfulness).

3. Musical Plays

This is a novel feature of modern dramas. In the earlier dramas there were no special songs to be sung in classical *rāgas*. Of course in *Śākuntala*, *Mṛcchakaṭika* and Harṣavardhana's plays there are references to songs and *rāgas*, but they are very few. Music became popular in Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra: and in the dramas in Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi, we find preponderance of songs to be sung in classical or popular *rāgas*. Modern Sanskrit dramatist found this feature very interesting and introduced it on Sanskrit stage to attract people to Sanskrit dramas. We have thus a very big number of musical

plays: (a) some have preponderance of songs, (b) some are of the form of musical operas and ballets, (c) while some are full-fledged musical plays.

(a) M.M. Yajnik's (from Gujarat) dramas are full of such songs. His *Samyogitā-svayamvara* has seven and *Chatrapatisāmrājyam* has six songs. A special feature of these dramas is that in the former even the notation of the songs is given in an appendix by his colleague Sri Sridhara Shastri Pade.

S.B. Velankar's eight dramas are also full of songs.

(b) Dr. Raghavan's *Rāsalīlā* and Smt. Bhavalkar's *Rāmavanagamana* are operas.

(c) *Gitagaurāṅga* of B.K. Bhattacharya is a complete musical drama (no prose at all) in five acts. It contains 81 songs (6 to be sung in *rāgas* and 75 in *rāgiṇis*). Smt. Bhavalkar's *Pārvati-parmeśvarīya* is a drama in 3 acts with 65 songs.

4. Philosophical and Moral Plays

The old tradition of philosophical and moral plays is also kept alive by a few dramatists.

Tattvamasi of S.B. Velankar is based on the philosophy of the Chāndogyopaniṣad. It contains four songs also.

Prajāpateḥ Pāṭhaśālā of Surendra Mohan and *Meghānuśāsana* of Ramalinga Shastri dramatise the moral of *da-da-da* story of the same Upaniṣad.

5. Prahasanas or Farcical Plays

Prahasana is an old type of drama. This form seems to be very popular even today. Its main sentiment is *hāsya* or laughter which is created in several ways. There is quite a big number of modern *prahasanas*.

Puruṣa-ramaṇīya of Srijiva Nyāyatirtha and *Śṛṅgāranāradīya* of Mahalinga Shastri present an interesting theme of change of sex.

Ayodhyākāṇḍa of Mahalinga Shastri depicts the theme of eternal oppression by a mother-in-law of her daughter-in-law.

Anangadā-prahasana of J. Bakulabhusana is a farce in which a prostitute robs two brothers of their property and befools them.

Līlāvilāsa-prahasana of Vyāsaraja Shastri presents a love-problem, in which Līlā, whom her parents want to marry to two different persons of their choice, ultimately gets married to a worthy husband Vilāsa, through the successful intervention of her brother.

Anukūla-galahastaka of Viṣṇupada Bhattacharya is a comedy of error created by a name Yāmini common in Bengal, to male as well as female.

6. Patriotic Plays of Pre-Independence Period

Sanskrit writers are not living in the past. They also keep pace with the time.

Laksmana Suri's *Dilli-sāmrājya* goes back to the period of British rule and commemorates Emperor George Fifth's durbar in Delhi in 1911. Same author's poem *Jorjaśataka* also speaks of his devotion to the crown in those days.

Caṇḍatāṇḍava of Śrijiva Nyāyatirtha depicts the horrors of the Second World War (1941-46), while his *Svātantryasandhikṣaṇa* commemorates the event of India's independence

(1947). *Svātantrya-Yajñāhuti* of Narayana Kankar describes British tyranny and martyrdom of Indian youths, ending in partition.

Bhāratavijaya of Mathura Prasad Dixit presents a history of India's struggle for freedom from the beginning of the British rule till 1947. It was written and staged in 1937. As the dramatist had shown in the end how Britishers leave India handing over the rule to Mahatma Gandhi, the drama was confiscated and could be published in 1947 after independence.

Same author's *Gāndhivijayanāṭaka* dramatises Mahatma Gandhi's struggle for independence launched in Africa in 1910 and terminating in India in 1947.

Satyāgrahodaya of B. Ramalinga Shastri depicts the beginning of Gandhiji's Satyāgraha movement in Africa.

V.K. Chhatre's *Apūrvaḥ Śāntisaṅgrāmaḥ* is also a tribute to Gandhiji's peaceful movement.

Prabuddhabhārata of Ram Kailash Pandey also gives political history of India from the invasion of foreigners till the independence.

7. *Patriotic Plays of Post-Independence Period*

Modern dramatists are equally aware of the burning problems of post-independence period.

India is a country dedicated to peace and believes in the policy of non-alliance and live and let live policy. These ideas are propagated by modern dramatists very effectively.

J.B. Chaudhury's *Melanatīrtha* is a patriotic play conveying the cultural message of India right from the Vedic period upto independence period. The messages of Vedic seers, Aśoka, Akbar, Caitanya Mahāprabhu, Vivekānanda, Tagore and Gandhiji (in Noakhali) are conveyed. It ends with a picture of Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts for world peace.

His another drama *Mahāmahima-bhārata* extols irrigation scheme of independent India.

Sāmyatīrtha of Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha also eulogises national integrity.

But the real patriotic spirit of modern writers flares up vehemently when our country had to face foreign aggressions after independence.

Nirpaje Bhīmabhaṭṭa's two plays depict two major political events after independence. His *Kāśmīrasandhāna-samudyamaḥ* represents the Kashmir problem. While *Haiderābādavijayam* depicts the Hyderabad agitation.

The Chinese aggression moved the spirit of modern writers. We have on this theme S.B. Velankar's *Kailāsakampa* and Vidyādhara Shastri's *Durbalabala*. The *Pādadaṇḍa* of Smt. Bhavalkar depicts the sacrifice of a lady who gladly accepts her betrothed lover, in spite of his having lost his foot during the war with China.

The Bangla-Deśa problem is another political event, which our country faced boldly and successfully. This event is commemorated by Venkataratna in his *Indirā-vijaya* and by Padma Shastri in *Bangalādeśavijaya*.

8. *Social Plays*

Literature is a mirror in which contemporary life is ever reflected. The poet is a member of the society. He being a sentimental person gets disturbed by the turmoils in the contemporary society. He gives vent to his disturbed feeling in his compositions.

Modern dramatists have also expressed their reactions in several ways. Thus the social plays can be grouped under following heads:

(a) Problems relating to cultural clashes, family-life, and rural and urban life
(b) Women's problems etc.
(c) Language problem
(d) Labour problems and refugee problems
(e) Social evils

(a) The Western impact on Indian culture has affected Indian cultural life to a very great extent. It has its advantages as well as disadvantages.

Some orthodox writers have run down this impact calling it detrimental to our culture.

Thus the Hindu Code Bill was vehemently attacked at the historic convention held at Poona in 1944 and convened by Vaishnava Acharya Shri Gokulanathji Maharaj to discuss its draft. Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha who participated in this convention wrote *Vidhi-viparyāsa* pointing out evil consequences of this Bill.

His *Śatavārṣikam* warns against modern scientific progress of rockets etc. and pleads that it should be utilised for the betterment of the society.

Bhrānta-bhārata written by three students of G.T. Sanskrit Pathashala (Bombay) and *Punarunmeṣa* of Raghavan present crisis of culture. The former denounces modern education system, Govt.'s intervention in religious affairs etc. and the negligence of Sanskrit language and its study. The latter disapproves infiltration of village youth into cities in search of employment.

Pariṇāma of Cudanatha Bhattacharya depicts the evils of impact of western culture on modern youth.

Pūrṇānanda of Vidyādhara Shastri denounces the modern love-marriage system under western impact. Ramānātha Shastri however treats the theme from a different point of view in his play *Samādhāna*, which suggests his approval to such marriages.

(b) The weaker sex has to always suffer in the society.

The problem of child-widows is presented in *Bālavidhavā* by Smt. Lila Rao.

Her *Mithyāgrahaṇa* criticises the custom of polygamy among Muslims.

Māyājāla of the same authoress depicts the poor plight of four girls enticed by a flippant youth.

In *Saṃsārāmṛta* Smt. Ramā Chaudhury solves this problem through a youth who marries such a betrayed girl.

Vīrabhā of Smt. Lila Rao eulogises a young heroic woman who sacrifices her life at the altar of independence movement.

Kāmaśuddhi of Raghavan is on the other hand "a bold protest of the women-folk against becoming a mere plaything in the hands of men".

Nārījāgaraṇam of Gopal Shastri (Banaras) praises ideal ladies of ancient India and wishes that Indian women should not be contaminated by the Western culture.

Vivāhaviḍambana of Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha exposes old persons trying to marry young girls and the agents who work as match-makers by taking sumptuous amounts from such old persons.

Hā Hanta Śārade of S.S. Khot criticizes child-marriages and laments the failure of Śāradā Bill.

(c) The language problem—especially the deplorable plight of Sanskrit—is the main concern

of most of the modern writers. Most of the modern dramas are written with a view to propagating and popularising Sanskrit.

Bhāratīvijaya of Śaṭhakopa Vidyālankāra personifies Hindi, Utkali, Drāviḍi, Āndhri and Bangi languages. The English language is also introduced. She mixes with them and encourages their mutual quarrel. Nārada reports to Sarasvatī in the Brahmaloka about the pollution of Indian languages by the influence of English. Sarasvatī comes down on the earth and rescues Indian languages from the detrimental influence of English.

Saṁskṛta-vāg-vijaya of Prabhudatta Shastri (Delhi) analyses the position of Sanskrit in the days of Pāṇini, Bhoja and the modern days and establishes its superiority over modern Indian languages and English. A novel feature of this play is the employment of Hindi in place of Prakrit language.

Samānamastu me manaḥ of G.B. Palsule warns against provincialism created in the minds of people at the time of formation of linguistic states and condemns such tendency as detrimental to national integrity.

Nanāvitādanam of Siddheśvara Chattopadhyāya describes pitiable plight of Nanā (Sanskrit) at the hands of Uttarā (Hindi) and Pūrvī (Bengali). In the end he shows how Nanā survives in spite of the fatal efforts of her adversaries to finish her.

Holikotsava of Smt. Līlā Rao is a unique drama depicting extreme poverty and miserable family life of village labourers.

(d) B.K. Bhattacharya, Commissioner of the Dept. of Transport in W. Bengal, has very ably depicted the weal and woe, demands and complaints of the labourers working in the state transport in his play, *Śārdula-śakaṭam.*

His *Śaraṇārthisaṁvāda* "portrays the painful picture of the plight of refugees rushing in thousands from East Bengal to West Bengal."

Prāyaścitta of Ramānātha Mishra tries to solve the problem of refugee girls. In this drama a prince falls in love with a refugee girl brought up by a farmer. The king who in the beginning creates trouble ultimately expiates his sin by not only allowing the prince to marry the refugee girl but also by marrying his daughter to a farmer youth.

(e) Social evils are also not left untouched by modern dramatists. They make the society conscious of their drawbacks.

Śrījīva Nyāyatīrtha in *Puruṣapuṅgava* exposes modern social workers who under the guise of fighting for the liberty of women encourage them to be wanton. The hero of the play is significantly called Vāgvīra (one who fights only with words and not with action) as he is shown running away from the scene when a woman needs his help.

Parivartana of Kapil Dev Dvivedi denounces dowry system. Incidentally he also exposes frauds of village money-lenders and corruption of magistrates.

The dishonesty of doctors is depicted in *Vaidya durgraha* by Surendra Mohan.

The deplorable condition of modern education is pointed out by V.K. Chhatre in *Śikṣaṇa.* The disrespect of students, liberty of boys and girls and the licentious atmosphere of schools and colleges is highly criticized.

The *Vidyāmandira* of Sukhamaya Gangopadhyaya presents a true picture of anarchy in modern education from another point of view. He shows how the evils of corruption, mass copying, divulgence of question papers by teachers running private classes and the atmosphere of terror and goondaism created by students are rampant in modern academic institutions.

The evil practices and failure of modern interview system are also lamented by modern dramatists. *Sākṣātkāra* of Shiv Prasad Bharadvaj shows how a candidate is asked irrelevant questions, how the employers try to take the advantage of his helplessness and how they exploit him.

The *Pratyāśi-parīkṣaṇa* of Haridatta Shastri is another play on the same theme. Here the number of candidates to be interviewed are many in contrast to the previous drama, where he is the only one.

Veṣṭanavyāyoga of B.K. Bhattacharya exposes the modern evil of gherao by the workers and labourers.

The social evils of the village life are also successfully brought out by modern dramatists.

The evil of offering innocent child to some deity by a barren woman in order to beget children is exposed in *Asūyinī* by Smt. Lila Rao.

The narrow-mindedness of village community is depicted in *Cāmuṇḍā* by Vyasaraja Shastri.

9. Satirical Plays

The modern dramatist laughs in his sleeves at the contemporary situations which are beyond control. There is a fairly large number of plays in which the dramatists satirically present such problems.

Dharitrīpati-nirvācana of Siddheśvara Chattopadhyāya depicts political situation of elections between 1967-70. Here Dharitrī (earth) is represented as *patiṃvarā* (selecting a husband) in a *svayaṁvara* where a host of countries is represented. The girl finds not a single suitor worthy of her.

His *Athakim* "exhibits the hankering of the modern man in the modern society after the unknown and unidentified New."

The ill fate of the new democratic republic of India suffering at the hands of a few crazy political leaders has been brought forth in his *Svargīya-prahasana*.

Kālidāsa Mahotsava of H.R. Divekar is one of the best satirical plays. Here Kālidāsa is shown coming back to Ujjain to see her present condition. He also wants to compose new plays better than his former ones. He is accompanied by Nārada. They get a handbill announcing a gathering called to create a commemoration hall to Kālidāsa. But next moment it is declared to be cancelled.

On his visit to a local college he sees boy- and girl-students making love with each other in the class-room. The teacher is a misfit. He does not know his subject at all.

Kālidāsa wants to attend his own festival. He sends Nārada to get two passes. The organisers regret. They advise Kālidāsa to attend the function as a door-keeper. The festival is stopped by a group of students on the ground that the inaugurator is a scholar of Urdu and not of Sanskrit, much less of Kālidāsa.

Nārada is requested to be a judge at the strip-tease dance of Mālavikā.

Thus Divekar bewailing the lot of Kālidāsa in modern society also points out certain social evils.

V.K. Kshirasagar points out in *Nāṭye ca dakṣā vayam* the pitiable condition of a director whom the actors harass to such an extent that he has to give up the presentation of the play.

10. Radio Plays

Thanks to the efforts of the Govt. to propagate Sanskrit by encouraging the modern writers to write short plays to be relayed through the All India Radio.

This gave rise to a new trend of writing short plays of the duration of 15 minutes.

A good number of such radio plays deal with different themes already covered in earlier discussion.

The *Nūtana nāṭya prasthānam*, a collection of 8 plays of Shri Ghanashyam Trivedi (Ahmedabad, Dec. 1977), introduces songs based on tunes of songs popular in folk-dramatical forms such as Rāmalīlā and Bhavāī.

His another recent publication *Nūtana Nāṭya Kaumudī* (Jan. 1982) is a collection of 12 such radio plays with modern themes and musical songs.

A.N. Jani's *Sūryodaya* advocates eradication of dowry system through progressive youth. His *Vivāha* is a satire on modern youth who expects a fashionable wife, beautiful, bold, social and modern like film actresses.

A.N. Jani's son Dr. J.A. Jani has also written and produced five radio plays. Other dramatists from Baroda are — Dr. M.M. Pathak, Dr. J.R. Pathak, Dr. P.K. Dongre, Dr. R.G. Shah, Pt. L.G. Shukla, Dr. H.G. Shastri, late Dr. Miss S.A. Nachane etc.

From Ahmedabad, Dr. B.D. Pandya, Dr. S.J. Dave, Dr. C.L. Shastri, Shri V.V. Pathak etc. have also enriched this field.

Hutātmā Dadhīci of S.B. Velankar is a musical play full of songs only. His *Svātantrya-cintā*, a patriotic play on Mewar king Rāṇā Pratāpa, has eleven songs in classical *rāgas*. His *Svātantryamaṇi* (with nine such songs) is based on the political intrigue in the family of king Chatrasāla of Bundelkhaṇḍa.

Bhagirathi Prasad Tripathi (Vagīśa) presents in his play *Kṛṣakāṇām nāgapāśaḥ* a picture of deplorable plight of poor farmers and shows how Gandhiji comes to their help. The play is full of rural life, rural language and rural songs.

B. Ramalinga Shastri has written two radio plays. His *Devayānī* is based on famous epic story. In *Yāminī* he presents famous love-episode of poet Bilhaṇa.

Shiv Prasad Bharadvaj commemorates the event of India's victory over China in his radio play *Ajeyabhārata*.

11. Bālanāṭakāni — Plays for Children

The present crisis of Sanskrit language under three-language formula policy is the greatest concern of Sanskrit writers. With a view to making Sanskrit easier, simple and popular among school children and to removing their fear that Sanskrit is a difficult language, they have undertaken laudable task of writing short plays to attract the younger generation.

The efforts of scholars like Vāsudeva Dvivedī (Banaras), Ramasvarup Shastri, Viśvanātha Mishra etc. deserve special attention in this direction.

Viśvanātha Mishra has written a few dramas to be presented at the annual social function by the students of Shardul Sanskrit Pathashala at Bikaner. His *Kavi-sammelana* is a nice farce full of parody of popular Sanskrit verses.

A collection of 23 plays called *Bālanāṭakāni* was published by Shri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry on 24-4-1983. The author Pujalal is a well-known Gujarati poet settled in Pondicherry. The Mother who has proclaimed that "Sanskrit ought to be the national language of India" has encouraged Sanskrit by giving it due place in the curriculum in the schools run by the Ashram. Present dramas were written to meet with needs

of these students. The dramas are written in simple, elegant, chaste and poetic language.

The foregoing cursory survey of few representative Sanskrit dramas shows the direction in which the current of the activities of modern Sanskrit playwrights flows. The salient features of these dramas may be given in short as under:

1. The dramatic activity is carried on in all parts of India. However Bengal stands first both quantitatively as well as qualitatively.
2. The modern writers have touched all the fields. They have given us dramas based on mythology, epics and legends, etc. as already shown above.
3. The Sanskrit playwrights do not lag behind of time in any way. They do not live merely in the past but keep pace with the time. They always keep vigilant eye on the burning problems in social, political and religious life, in our country. They not only extol the good activity of the Govt. but at times attack it also by pointing out its failure. Social evils are boldly and effectively exposed. The crisis of culture is vividly presented.
4. One of the prominent features of the modern dramas is this that most of them are one-act plays. The modern man has neither patience nor time to see full-fledged dramas running over the entire night. They therefore resorted to one-act play type of Sanskrit drama. The exigency of Radio has also compelled them to be brief and precise.
5. The modern dramas are full of music element. We have dramas with songs in classical *rāgas* and songs based on tunes of folk music and cinema music. We have also musical operas and full-fledged musical plays.
6. The impact of western literature has influenced modern writers to produce effective satirical plays. They also present old *Bhāṇa*-variety in new form. Most of the modern *Bhāṇas* are chaste and devoid of obscene Shringaric element of its prototype.
7. The dramas of our time are modern in spirit and style. The modern playwright has revolted against the theatrical conventions laid down by ancient authorities like Bharata etc. Thus the modern dramatist prefers to break his theme into scenic divisions rather than long acts. He has violated the ancient theatrical taboos and has introduced scenes of quarrel, beating, sleeping and embracing etc. on the stage.

Most of the dramas have done away with *Nāndī*, *Prastāvanā* and the *Bharatavākya*.

Some dramatists have introduced modern Indian languages such as Hindi etc. in place of Prakrit. They have at times introduced English too. In the use of language and style the modern dramas are more democratic. They abound in ideas, expressions, and idioms and phrases of the regional languages. English words such as 'hotel', 'idea' etc. are employed as they are.

All this shows the "opening up of the new horizons in the field of Sanskrit dramatics. There are trends and tendencies in it which point to its bright future" (Smt. Usha Satyavrat, *Sanskrit Dramas of Twentieth Century*, p. xvii).

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[*Note*: All unspecified quotations in this article are from Dr. Banerjee's article.]

The Vivarta

Ram Murti Sharma

Doctrinally, *Vivarta* is a most prominent tenet of Advaita Philosophy. It is a sub-tenet of the Śaṅkarite Advaita. Its significance is proved from the point of view that it has strongly helped the non-duality between the Brahman and the World created by *māyā* and the state of the Universe. In fact, as Śaṅkara also admits, the concept of Advaita or one reality which was propounded by him was not new, it already existed in the *Ṛgveda* in expressions like '*ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*',[2] the other Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. Afterwards, the *Gītā*, the *Brahmasūtra*, the *Yogavāśiṣtha* and the *Gauḍapādakārikā* further strengthen and elaborate the idea of one reality, the Advaita. But the herculean task at this age was making a reconciliation and adjustment between the concept of one reality, the Advaitic Brahman and the empirical world of name and form. In this context, the points to be stressed are that if the Advaitins like Śaṅkara enunciate that there is only one reality, Brahman, then what is the position of the world which exists phenomenally. If the world also is in reality apart from Brahman how non-duality can be proved. On the other hand, if the world is completely unreal what about its phenomenal character. These are the queries which need the answer of *vivarta*. The *vivarta*, in nutshell, explains that the world is no different from Brahman, but it is the appearance of the reality like the snake of the rope and bubbles of the water are the appearances of their substratums, the rope and the water, respectively.

Now it is an effort to find out the meaning of *vivarta* and its explaining. The author of the *Vedānta paribhāṣā* defines the *pariṇāma* and the *vivarta* to say '*vivarto nāma viṣamasattāka kāryāpattiḥ. Pariṇamaupādānasamasattāka kāryāpattiḥ*'. Also a later Vedāntin Sadānanda defines the *vivarta* and the *vikāra*, quoting the following:

satattvato nyathā prathā vikāra ityudīritaḥ.
atattvato nyathā prathā vivarta ityudīritaḥ.

Accordingly in the case of *pariṇāma* (transformation), the cause and effect are from the same reality. For example, the curd is the transformation of milk. So far as the *vivarta* is concerned, it is not distinct from its substratum and it is merely an appearance and not the reality. To illustrate, the appearance of snake in rope and the silver in the conchshell is *vivarta*. The *pariṇāma* is also said as *vikāra* as in the case of milk and curd, the curd is the *vikāra* of milk.

While taking into account the origin of the tenet of *vivarta*, it is to be looked into carefully that in the Principal Upanisads, the prime base of the Vedantic doctrine, nowhere the term '*vivarta*' is visible. And more interesting is this that Śaṅkara, the main propounder of Advaita, while taking the support of *vivarta* to propound his non-dual reality, quotes the following *Chāndogya Śruti* which reads in it the term *vikāra* and not *vivarta*:

vācārambhaṇam vikāro nāmadheyam mṛttiketyeva satyam.[3]

Śaṅkara commenting upon the above says:

> *satyamevam syat, yadyanyat kāraṇāt kāryam syāt, katham tarhidam lokaidam kāraṇamayamasya vikāra iti śṛṇu. Vācārambhaṇam yāgālambanami tyetat, kosauvikāro namadheyam nāmaiva nāmadheyam, svārthedheya pratyayah, yāgālambana mātram nāmaiva kevalam navikāro nāmavastrastiparamārthataḥ; mṛttiketyeva mṛttikaiva tu-satyam vast vasti.*[4]

Here it is to be mentioned that in the aforesaid context of the Chāndogya Śruti, the purpose is of propounding the Advaitic doctrine of *sat*, as in Ch. Upa. vi.2.1 the concept of Advaita *sat* is propounded in the following manner:

> *sadeva samyedamagra āsidekamevādvitīyam.*

Thus it is quite evident that the Śruti is decidedly meant to propound the doctrine of Advaita which is only possible through the tenet of *vivarta* and not *vikāra*. Therefore it can be argued that in the Upaniṣads, the distinction between *vivarta* and *vikāra* is not available and there, in the Ch. Upa. vi.1.4, the use of the term *vikāra* is general and it is in the sense of *vivarta*. This argument has its support in the above-quoted *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* which reads:

> *katham tarhidam loke-idama kāraṇamayamasya vikārah.*[5]

Here the *vikāra* is said as the statement of common man (loke) and not that of a śāstric or scholarly person. Therefore it comes out that the term *vikāra* in the Ch. Śruti is used for *vivarta* and not the latter meaning of *vikāra* or *pariṇāma*. Secondly, it can be gathered, as indicated above, that the difference of the two concepts of *vivarta* and *vikāra* is a later development which we find clearly in the *Vedānta paribhāṣā* and the *Vedāntasāra* and so many other Vedāntic texts, considering the interpretation of the above-mentioned *Chāndogya Śruti* (*vācārambhanam vikāra namadheyam mṛttiketyeva satyam*).

One must take notice of the viewpoint of Dr. Radhakrishnan which he explains in his *The Principal Upaniṣads* thus:

> *vikāra:* modification, development, change, suggests that the change is only nominal: *Vāg. ālambanamātramnāmaiva kevalam na vikāro nāma vastvasti paramārthato mṛttiketyeva mṛttikaiva tu satyam vastu asti.*[6]

The Upaniṣad suggests that all modifications are based on the reality of clay and not that change rests simply on a word that it is a mere name. By the above note of Radhakrishnan, it is clear that he means change by the word *vikāra*, but in between the lines he too understands the meaning of *vivarta*. If he would have clarified this point, it would have been better, for, he himself in his another work uses the words 'turning round' and 'perversion' for *vivarta*.[7]

Regarding the above, the views of the Philosopher Grammarian Bhartṛhari cannot

be ignored, who makes a mention of the two terms, *vivarta* and *pariṇāma* in connection with his philosophy of word and meaning based on the concept of *Śabda Brahmavāda*. In the very first *Kārikā* of the *Vākya Padiya* Bhartṛhari indicates that the meaning (*artha*) is the *vivarta* of the word (*śabda*).[8] A Buddhist scholar, Kamalaśila (720 A.D.), commenting on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita clearly mentions the idea of Bhartṛhari.[9] Thus it seems that Bhartṛhari was clearly a *Vivartavādin*. It may also be noted that he also uses the term *pariṇāmah*.[10] It also shows that to Bhartṛhari also there is no difference between *vivartate* and *vipariṇamate*. However, it is certain that Bhartṛhari was a *Vivartavādin*. This fact is also proved by the rope-snake example given by him in the following manner:

> *yadasādharaṇam kāryam prasiddham rajju sarpayah.*

Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Shukla in his commentary, *Bhāvapradipa* on the *Vākyapadiya*, also affirms it. The *Vākyapadiya* also presents the view that Bhartṛhari was an Advaitin and followed the concept of *vivarta*.[11] He says:

> *śabda brahmavādinastu* (Parāvāk) *eva Brahma tadeva avidyayā*
> *nānārūpam bhāsate iti prāhuḥ*.[12]

Thus it is clear that even to Bhartṛhari, the distinction between *vivarta* and *pariṇāma* was not known. It may further be estimated that while *adhyāsa* and *avidyā* both the concepts enunciate the falsehood of the appearance and support the point of only reality, as in the case of rope-snake illustration and Brahman and the world. It needs no further elaboration that according to both the *adhyāsa* and *vivarta*, the apparent world of name and form is unreal like the snake superimposed upon rope is unreal and so the world superimposed on Brahman is unreal. This way, the purpose of the two tenets appears to be the same. But the *adhyāsa* as a process has a prior position to *vivarta*. It is like this that due to error a person who becomes victim of *adhyāsa* cognises snake in place of rope and this false cognition is based on his memory of snake seen elsewhere. Such is the case with Brahman and the world that an ignorant person due to *adhyāsa* sees the duality of the world, which appears to him to be real. Here, it can be said that the appearance of silver and the world which is said as *vivarta*, is the result of process of *adhyāsa*.

It may also be pointed out here that the doctrine of *māyā* of the Advaita explains the state of *vivarta* in a better way, to say that it is due to the concealing power of *māyā* (*āvaraṇaśakti*) that the reality, rope or Brahman is not known and it is because of the projecting power of the *māyāśakti* that a person erroneously cognises the snake and the dual world, which is mentioned as *vivarta*. This way, the *āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa śaktis* of *māyā* scientifically help to explain the concept of *vivarta*. It is proper to explain it in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan who says:

> '*Māyā* is the energy of Īśvara, his inherent force, by which he transforms the potential into the actual world.'

Briefly speaking, so far, the attempt has been to explain the concept of *vivarta* and its unreality from many angles. But now a question arises that if Brahman is the only reality, then how the phenomenality of the world which is *vivarta* and unreal can be justified. No doubt the two *vivartas*, the snake and the world, are false, nevertheless their empirical status can be desired, because after seeing even the superimposed snake, one experiences the fear, till he comes to know about the reality of rope and in the

same manner, one gets involved in the dual world, which is unreal, till he comes to know of the reality of Brahman, the ultimate. This problem can be solved by saying that falsehood of the material world or *vivarta* which is experienced in day-to-day life, does not mean that the world of name and form does not exist at all. It only means that the reality (*Paramārtha*) is only Brahman and the apparent world is not real at the *paramārtha* level, as in the case of rope and snake, the rope, which is substratum, is the only reality and not the snake.

There appear to be some differences between the illustration of rope and snake and the illustrated Brahman and the World, with regard to the status of the superimposed snake and the world, because in the example, the snake is non-existent, while in the case of Brahman and the world, the world is clearly existent. In this connection, it is to be argued that at both the places the *vivarta*, snake and the dual world, both are the creation of mind and thus mental only and their external objectivity is mere *māyā*. This is what Śaṅkara says in the following Śārdūla-Vikrīḍita:

viśvam darpaṇa dṛśyamāna nagarī tulyam nijāntargatam
paśyannātmani māyayā bahirivodbhūtam yathā nidrayā
yaḥ sākṣātkurute prabodhasamaye svātmānamevādvayam,
tasmai śrī gurumūrtaye nam idam śrīdakṣiṇāmūrtaye.[17]

It may be further stressed that to call the world as *vivarta* does not mean its validness, it only means that for a *Tattvajñānin*, the duality of the world does not exist and thus the *Ātmavit* realises the *Advaita* in every thing. The *Ātmavit* living even in this waking world lives like the person who is in *suṣupti*, the state of sound sleep. Elaborating this, Śaṅkara says:

suṣuptavajjāgrati yo na paśyati dvayañca paśyannapi cādvayatvatah.
Tathā ca kurvannapi niṣkryaśca yaḥ sa ātmavinnānya itiha niścayaḥ.[18]

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33

SOME UNCONVENTIONAL VIEWS ON RASA

V.M. KULKARNI

Says Bharata: The great Brahma has declared that in a drama there are the following eight *rasas*: (1) *śṛṅgāra* (erotic), (2) *hāsya* (comic), (3) *karuṇa* (pathetic, compassionate), (4) *raudra* (furious), (5) *vīra* (heroic), (6) *bhayānaka* (terrifying), (7) *bībhatsa* (disgusting) and (8) *adbhuta* (awesome).

The permanent emotions (on which the above-mentioned eight *rasas* are based) have been declared to be (1) *rati* (love), (2) *hāsa* (mirth, amusement, laughter), (3) *śoka* (sorrow), (4) *krodha* (anger), (5) *utsāha* (energy), (6) *bhaya* (fear, terror), (7) *jugupsā* (disgust) and (8) *vismaya* (astonishment, wonder).[1]

Of these eight permanent or dominant emotions, the following four are pleasant: *rati, hāsa, utsāha and vismaya;* the remaining four, viz., *śoka, krodha, bhaya and jugupsā,* unpleasant. Incidentally, it may be noted that Bharata nowhere speaks of the ninth *rasa* called *śānta* (the sentiment of calm).

Now, the question arises: Whether the four *rasas*, based on unpleasant emotions, are painful or whether they are also pleasurable like the other four *rasas*, based on pleasant emotions? Bharata does not specifically answer this question. He, using a simile, explains how *rasa* is relished: "As connoisseurs of table delicacies are able to relish the flavour of food prepared with many spices and attain pleasure, etc., so sensitive and sympathetic spectators relish the dominant or permanent emotions suggested by the acting out of the various *bhāvas* and presented with the three-fold *abhinaya* called *vācika* (of speech), *āṅgika* (of body, gestures) and *sāttvika* (of *sāttvika bhāvas*—the involuntary states—like *stambha*—paralysis, *sveda*—perspiration, etc.) and attain pleasure, etc. (*harṣādīṁś cādhigacchanti*)."

Regarding this phrase '*harṣādīn*', Abhinavagupta notes the view of an earlier writer: "Others however think that the word etc. (in the compound *harṣādīṁś cādhigacchanti*) includes pain and the like. But this is not correct. For drama produces only joy in the spectator, and not such feelings as sorrow...these authors read '*harṣāṁś cādhigacchanti*' (they attain pleasure)...while this is not given as Abhinava's position, we can be fairly certain that he would agree with the view that the sole purpose of drama is *harṣa* (or *prīti*) and that it never creates sorrow."[2]

Abhinavagupta in his commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and his commentary *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* declares, on a number of occasions, that *rasa* is always pleasurable.[3] Dhanañjaya in his *Daśarūpaka* and Dhaṁka in his commentary *Avaloka* on it also declare that *rasa* is pleasurable (*ānandātmaka*).[4] Jagannātha too declares that things like sorrow, although unwelcome in themselves, when portrayed in creative literature produce extraordinary joy or delight.[5] Among the four commentators of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we have already noted the view of Abhinavagupta. Bhaṭṭanāyaka, like Abhinavagupta, holds that *rasa* is always pleasurable since he compares *rasāsvāda* to *brahmāsvāda*.[6] Regarding Śaṅkuka, though

he does not touch this aspect in the course of his exposition of the *rasa-sūtra*, we come across a passage in *Abhinavabhāratī* which unmistakably shows that Abhinavagupta has in mind Śaṅkuka who held the view that *rasa* is of the nature of imitation of emotions like *rati* and that *śoka* (sorrow), when portrayed in a play, assumes an altogether different nature and causes joy.[7] About the view of Lollaṭa and the ancients, whom he approvingly quotes, there is no indication to know if they held the view that all *rasas* are pleasurable or some are pleasurable and some painful. But we may not be wrong if we say that the generally accepted and traditional and dominant view is that all *rasas* are pleasurable.[8]

Keeping in mind this background we now deal with some less known and unconventional views on *rasa*.

The *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra*, one of the sacred texts of the Śvetāmbara Jains, composed between A.D. 300 and 500, according to Weber, and according to the editors of its critical edition (*Nandisuttaṁ and Aṇuyogaddārāiṁ*, Jaina Āgama Series No. 1, Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, 1968) not later than 300 A.D., deals with the nine *kāvya-rasas*: 1. *vīra*, 2. *śṛṅgāra*, 3. *adbhuta*, 4. *raudra*, 5. *vrīḍaṇaka*, 6. *bībhatsa*, 7. *hāsya*, 8. *karuṇa*, and 9. *praśānta* (i.e., *śānta*).

This list of *rasas* differs from the well-known list of eight *rasas* given by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* in three noteworthy respects: (i) It breaks the usual order in enumerating the *rasas*. It opens with *vīra* instead of opening with *śṛṅgāra*. (ii) It does not include Bharata's *bhayānaka* but gives in its place *vrīḍaṇaka*. (iii) It adds for the first time to Bharata's list of eight *rasas praśānta*, the same as *śānta*, as the ninth *rasa*.

(i) Maladhārī Hemacandrasūri's Sanskrit Commentary on this *sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition, Bombay, 1924) says that the *vīra* (heroic) is the first and best of the *rasas*. It has two sublime varieties called *tyāga-vīra* (the heroic relating to magnanimity) and *tapo-vīra* (the heroic relating to asceticism). Both of these are superior to the third variety called *yuddha-vīra* (the heroic relating to battle). It further says that *yuddha-vīra* is vitiated by the sin or flaw of injury to others (*paropaghāta*). The commentary says that *vīra* is mentioned first—is given the pride of place—because it is the noblest and foremost of *rasas*.[9] The primacy of *vīra* may be regarded an early contribution to aesthetics by the Jain tradition. *Tapo-vīra* is a new view in aesthetics as far as we know.

(ii) The *vrīḍaṇaka rasa*: As said earlier the *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* omits the *bhayānaka* and in its place gives a new *rasa* called *vrīḍaṇaka*. The *sthāyī* of this new *rasa* is *vrīḍā*, or *lajjā* (shyness, modesty, bashfulness, shame). The traditional *bhayānaka* is, according to the commentator, included under *raudra rasa*, and hence not mentioned separately. The illustration of this new *rasa* is very interesting, the reference in it is to a peculiar provincial marriage custom. According to this custom "elderly men and women including the father-in-law and the mother-in-law pay their respects to the *sārī* and the person of the bride after the nuptial night. The bride is taken round and elders revere her for her chastity. The thought of the elders revering her produces a sense of shyness in the bride's heart."[10]

(iii) If the passage dealing with nine *kāvya-rasas* be as old as claimed by Weber or the editors of the critical edition brought out by Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay, then it is perhaps the earliest text defining and illustrating, *for the first time*, the *śānta-rasa*. It is thus defined: "That *rasa*, which is characterised by *śama* (tranquillity), which arises from composure of the mind divested of all *vikāras* (passions), is to be known as *praśānta-* (the same as *śānta-*) *rasa*." The following is its example: "Oh, (look) how the lotus-like face of the sage shines! It is full of great beauty (arising from tranquillity), truly devoid of any *vikāras* (passions) — the face with its eyes calm and gentle unperturbed by passions like anger, love and the like."

Even if these passages were older than Abhinavagupta, it is very unlikely that he would have seen them. His treatment of the *śāntarasa* shows absolutely no signs of his having seen them. If he had seen them, he would have certainly dealt with them in a critical manner.

The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (1100-1175 A.D.): They were disciples of the famous Hemacandra who wrote *Kāvyānuśāsana*, a noteworthy work on poetics and dramatics. Hemacandra reproduces the whole section of *Abhinavabhāratī* on *rasa-sūtra* and acknowledges his indebtedness to Abhinavagupta. Now, these disciples who wrote *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* have freely and copiously drawn on *Abhinavabhārati*. They, however, have criticised Abhinavagupta's theory that *rasas*, one and all, without exception, are pleasurable by nature. Indirectly they have criticised their own *guru* who has literally followed Abhinavagupta in the exposition of the nature of *rasa*. They nowhere in their work have given any indication as to whether they had discussed this topic of the nature of *rasa* with their *guru* and whether he had approved of their presentation of the view that *rasa* is *sukha-duḥkhātmaka* — both pleasurable and painful. They support their theory with the following arguments: To say that all *rasas* are pleasurable is against experience. *Karuṇa, raudra, bībhatsa* and *bhayānaka*—these four *rasas* cause indescribable pain to the *sahṛdayas*. They simply shudder when they witness plays depicting these *rasas*. If these *rasas* were pleasurable they would not shudder. The *camatkāra* (thrill of pleasure, peculiar delight) experienced by the *sahṛdayas* at the end of the performance of tragic scenes, etc., is however simply due to the display of the creative imagination (*pratibhā, śakti*) of the poet and the great skill of the actors. The literary critics (like Abhinavagupta) who hold that these *rasas* also are pleasurable are perhaps deceived — misled by this *camatkāra*. It is through excessive desire to experience this *camatkāra* that people go to the theatre to see plays depicting these *rasas* also. Poets present the subject matter keeping in mind the pleasant and unpleasant nature of the emotions of the hero Rāma, etc.; these four *rasas* resemble the pungent taste that adds to the sweetness of a beverage. For they heighten the pleasure yielded by pleasurable *rasas*. Tragic events, for example, the abduction of Sītā, Duśśāsana dragging Draupadī by her hair and attempting to disrobe her, Hariścandra's serving a *cāṇḍāla* as a slave, the death of Rohitāśva, Lakṣmaṇa's being hit by a missile, Aghoraghaṇṭa's attempt to kill Mālatī, when represented on the stage can never cause delight in the hearts of *sahṛdayas*. If through imitation by actors the unpleasant or painful feelings and emotions are said to become pleasurable, it is obvious that the actor's art of acting is very deficient or defective — it represents things falsely — in their perverted form.

It is *for the first time* in the history of aesthetics we find that this unconventional view on *rasa* is presented so vigorously and eloquently by the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*.

Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Rasakalikā* agrees with the above view that some *rasas* are pleasurable and some others painful. It attributes our interest in witnessing plays depicting them to our mental absorption in the acting going on in front of us. "So the *rasa* of *karuṇa* is of a peculiar kind and is particularly due, not to the nature of the emotion itself, but to our contemplation of the art with which an actor presents it."[11]

Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana[12] of Siddhicandra: Finally we have this commentary which presents altogether new and novel ideas regarding the nature and number of *rasas*. These may briefly be stated as follows: As compared with the supreme joy (or rather delight) of *rasa* of the Vedāntins, a peculiar pleasure which arises on watching a dramatic performance or hearing the recitation of poetry is similar to the pleasure of anointing one's body with sandal-paste or of pressing the breasts of a young beautiful woman and is itself *rasa* — this is the view of the moderns (*navīnāḥ*) who belong to the 17th century A.D. In other words, the *navīnas* (possibly the author himself) regard the aesthetic pleasure

as on a par with ordinary pleasures of the senses — as only worldly (*laukika*). As a natural consequence of this view they hold that there are only four *rasas*: the erotic, the heroic, the comic and the marvellous, and they reject the claim of the pathetic (or compassionate), the furious, the terrifying and the disgusting to the title of *rasa*. The pathetic and others, arising from sorrow, etc., although are revealed with *cit* (=*caitanya*)— consciousness consisting of delight, they cannot be called *rasa* since the *sthāyi-aṁśa* (part) is opposed to the state of *rasa*. Again, if you argue that they, being revealed by *alaukika vibhāvas*, etc., deserve to be called *rasa* like the pleasurable bites inflicted in the course of love game, our reply is: "No". For following this line of argument you will have to call mental distress, caused by hunger, thirst, etc., as new or different *rasas*. The bites in the course of sexual enjoyment remove the pain caused by overpowering passion and give a sense of relief as when a burden is taken off one's shoulders. But to say that sorrow, etc., like love, etc., consist of or lead to light, knowledge and joy is simply a madman's prattle. Further in *Aja-vilāpa* (Aja's Lament), etc., because of *varṇanīyatanmayībhavana* (identifying one's self with the event or situation or mental mood portrayed), how could there arise the aesthetic joy similar to *brahmānanda* [the supreme delight arising out of the direct vision of the Highest Reality (the Absolute)— *brahma-sākṣātkāra*]? In the disgusting *rasa* which arises out of vivid description of flesh, pus, etc., the reader or spectator does not vomit or spit is itself a matter of surprise; how could it produce *rasa* consisting of supreme delight? It may be granted that the *śānta* somehow deserves the title *rasa* with reference to persons who have given up completely all *vāsanās* (various instincts) but certainly not with reference to sensualists as it (the *śānta*) involves abstention from all pleasures of the senses. The heroic and the furious do not differ as their *vibhāvas* bear resemblance. Regarding *dāna-vīra*, etc., the poet's chief intention is to describe the supreme generosity, greatness, etc., of the hero. The poet (Kālidāsa) describes 'The Lament of Aja' for pointing out the profound love of Aja for Indumatī, his beloved queen. So too the *śānta* is portrayed to demonstrate the intense sense of world-weariness of *mumukṣus* (persons desirous of liberation). So too the terrifying in order to illustrate the tenderness of heart of the heroes concerned. To tell the truth, poets depict these various situations to exhibit the richness of their *pratibhā* (creative imagination) in the same way as they write *padma-bandha* (artificial composition in which the words are arranged in the form of a lotus flower), etc.

This point of view that "*rasa* is *laukika* (worldly), that it is '*sukha-duḥkhātmaka*', and that it in no way differs from other pleasures of the senses", however, did not find able advocates among the *ālaṅkārikas* and was thrown into background, if not completely eclipsed, by the writings of Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Viśvanātha, and Jagannātha.

References

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI.15-17.
2. अन्ये त्वादिशब्देन शोकादीनामत्र संग्रहः। सचन युक्तः। सामाजिकानांहि हर्षैक-फलं नाट्यं न शोकादिफलम्। ...हर्षाश्चाधिगच्छजीति पठन्ति। —*Abhinavabhāratī* (A.Bh.) I, p. 289 and *Aesthetic Rapture*. *Vol. II*. *Notes*, p. 68, fn. no. 385, by Masson and Patwardhan, Deccan College, Poona, 1970
3. i) तत्र सर्वेऽमी सुखप्रधानाः। स्वसंविच्चर्वणरूपस्यैकघनस्य प्रकाशस्यानन्दसारत्वात्।
   ...इति आनन्दरूपता सर्वरसानाम्। —*A.Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 282

   ii) तेनालौकिकचमत्कारात्मा रसास्वादः स्मृत्यनुमान लौकिकसंवेदन विलक्षण एव। —*A.Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 234

   iii) चतुर्वर्गव्युत्पत्तेरपि चानन्द एव पार्यन्तिकं मुख्यं फलम्। —*Locana*. *Bālapriyā* edn., p. 41

   iv) प्रीत्यात्मा च रसस्त देव नाट्यं नाट्यमेव वेद रत्यस्मदुपाध्यायः। —*Ibid.*, p. 336

4. i) आनन्द निष्यन्दिषु रूपकेषु...
   ...स्वसंवेद्य: परमानन्दरूपो रसास्वादो दशरूपाणां फलम्... —*Daśarūpakāvaloka* I.6, N.S. edn., p. 2
   ii) तादृश एवासावानन्द: सुखदु:खात्मको यथा प्रहरणादिषु संभोगावस्थायां कुट्टमिने, स्त्रीणाम्,
   अन्यश्च लौकिकात् करुणात् काव्यकरुण:। ...तस्माद् रसान्तरवत् करुणस्याप्यानन्दात्मकत्वमेव।
   —*Ibid.*, p. 94
5. अयं हि लोकोत्तरस्य काव्यव्यापारस्य महिमा, यत्प्रयोज्या अरमणीया अपि शोकादय: पदार्था:
   आह्लादमलौकिकं जनयन्ति। विलक्षणो हि कमनीय: काव्यव्यापारज आस्वाद: प्रमाणान्तरजादनुभवात्।
   —*Rasagaṅgādhara*, Ānana I (under *rasa-svarūpa*)
6. भावकत्वव्यापारेण भाव्यमानो रस:...सत्त्वोद्रेकप्रकाशानन्दमयनिजसंविद्विश्रान्ति-लक्षणेन परब्रह्मास्वादसविधेन भोगेन परं भुज्यत इति।
   —*A.Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 277
7. ये तु रत्याद्यनुकरणरूपं रसमाहु: अथ चोदयन्ति शोक: कथं शोकहेतुरिति। परिहरन्ति च अस्तिकोऽपि नाट्यगतानां विशेष इति।...
   —*A.Bh.*, Vol. I, p. 291
8. Abhinavagupta after refuting Śaṅkuka's view very briefly refers to and refutes the view of the Sāṅkhyas that *rasa* is of the nature of pleasure and pain. We have no more information about this view. The view of the authors of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, soon to be discussed below, bears close affinity to the Sāṅkhya view in its essence.
9. Cf.: अत्र तु त्यागतपोगुणो वीररसे वर्तते। त्यागतपसी च 'त्यागो गुणो गुणशतादधिको मतो मे', 'परं लोकातिगं धाम तप: श्रुतमिति द्वयम्' इत्यादिवचनात् समस्तगुणप्रधान(ने)इत्यनया विवक्षया वीररसस्य आदावुपन्यास:। —p. 135
10. Raghavan, V., *The Number of Rasas*, Adyar, Madras, 1975, p. 161.
11. This information is based on V. Raghavan's work: *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, 1963 edn., p. 484, fn.
12. Parikh, R.C., Ed., Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan publication, Bombay, 1953, p. 16.

Some Minor Rāmāyaṇa-Poets in the Medieval Gujarati Literature

Devdatta Joshi

A number of Medieval Gujarati poets have composed poetry related to the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the 15th century A.D. upto the first half of the 19th century A.D. These varied compositions include the Gujarati version of the whole *Rāmāyaṇa*, the epitomes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the transliterations of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, the summary of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, the legends regarding the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the dialogue-poems like '*Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī*', *Aṅgada-viṣṭī*', verses on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* written in Gujarati prose by some anonymous writers. An attempt is made here in this paper to introduce some compositions of a few less known poets. Most of these works are preserved in the manuscripts.

We find the *Rāmāyaṇa* of 32 sections (*Kaḍavāṁ*) written by Gujarati poet Sūradāsa in 16th century A.D.[1] As per the information given in this work the poet was of Tiladhvaja caste and his father's name was Jayadeva residing in Talitalaki (?). The year of composition is Saṁvat 1616.

"*Saṃvat Soḷa Śoḷatare Harikathā Śehetaśamandha* (?)
Pośa Sudi Guru pancamine parathyo padabandhva
Padabandha Paraṭho pāṭhage tehenu Talitalaki Vāsa (?)
Teheni nyāti to Tiladhvaja taṇī Jedevasuta Śuradāsa
Śuradāsa Kehe Je Ku Japo Vaikuṇṭhakāmani
Avara mathyā parahari raśanā Japo Śrī Rāmane" (p. 51)

(The author mentions that this narration of the Lord (Rāma) in the verse form has been completed in V.S. 1616 on Thursday, the fifteenth day of the first fortnight of the month of Pauṣa. The author Sūradāsa, the son of Jayadeva, belonging to the Tiladhvaja caste hails from Talitalaki (?). He continues saying that whosoever wants to go to Vaikuṇṭha should mutter the name of the Lord (Rāma) avoiding all other mundane deeds.)

"*Vālmike Je Varaṇavuṃ Caritra Rāmanuṃ havuṃ*
Batrisa Kaḍave bolaśuṃ Saṃkṣepa māhe Śrava"

(The biography of Rāma described by Vālmiki will be narrated in brief in 32 sections.)

Since according to the poet it is an epitome based on the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, no episode has been described in details but abridged in brief, e.g., the description of Ayodhyā:

"Raghuvaṃśīrāyanuṃ nagra ruḍuṃ Vaśe che Varṇā
Navakhaṇḍamāṃhe nirakhatāṃ Vālī Ayodhyā Ābhraṇa
Puradwāra te pur pākhale Māhaṇtanā māhe Vāsa
Maṇibandha Jhalake Māliāṃ te Jāṇie Kailāśa
Cauhatāṃ te corāśī bhalāṃ bahu Vaṇikanā Vyāpāra
Tahāṃ Vaśe Vāḍiva Vediyā tehanā ati bhalā ācāra"

(The city of Ayodhyā, the capital of the king of Raghu dynasty, shines in the entire world of nine continents in which people of all classes and creeds reside. In the front portion of the eastern coverage of the city pious people reside. The upper portions of their houses shine by diamonds and appear like Kailāsa. There are innumerable markets in the city in which the Vaṇika merchants entertain their business. In this city the Brahmins experts in Vedic knowledge and having pious conduct reside.)

The atmosphere of sorrow and grief at the time of Rama's departure to the forest:

"Naranāra rue nagaramāhāṃne jhagara rue jhāḍi"

(All the men and women shed tears in the city while the herbs and plantation lament in the forest.)

While describing Rāma wandering in search of Sītā the poet gives a moral precept:

"Paratāpa prabhune Upano ati glānda Pāmyā Gātra
Ehevāṃ Duhkha padyāṃ devane to mānavi kehevi mātra"

(The Lord suffered anguish and all the limbs of the body languored. When the Lord of the Universe has to suffer such pains what to talk of an average human being?)

Leaving aside introductory dialogue between Rāma and Jaṭāyu, it is stated here that on meeting Rāma, Jaṭāyu immediately provided him useful information about Vaidehī. The story of Rāma returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa is continued upto section 31. In verse 32 there is a colophon with which usually the text is concluded but here we find the description of the kingdom of Rāma, his extraordinary virtues, author's own introduction, the date of composition etc. after the *phalaśruti* (statement about the fruit of hearing or reciting this poem).

We get the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kahāna composed in *copāī*-metre in V.S. 1627.[2] The work which is named as '*Rāmāyaṇa*' and '*Rāmacaritra*' is said to have been written by Kahāna alias Kahānajī and Vahājanī. The work is the same written by one poet only. In this incomplete *Rāmacaritra* containing six cantos the portion upto section three is missing. The poet has combined together *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. As per the information from the text the poet is a son of Kamalaśī Aḍālajā Moḍha and who had heard the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Śrīkaṇṭhasuta.

The colophon of the text reads as follows:

"Itiśrī Raghunāthanā nijabhakta Aḍalajā Moḍhagnātiya Vṛdhaśākhāyāṃ Mantrīśrī Kamalaśīsuta Kāhanajīviracitaṃ Śrī Rāmācaritra Rāmāyaṇa dvitiya Āṃika-kāṇḍani kathā samāpta"

(Here is completed the narration of the second section of *Rāmāyaṇa* known as *Āraṇika* which narrates the biography of Śrī Rāma composed by Kahānajī, the son of the minister Kamalaśī who belongs to the *Vṛddha* generation of *Aḍālajā Moḍha* Brahmin caste and the devotee of Śrī Raghunātha.)

Over and above:

"Udic gnātīya Papu Vyāsa Śrīkaṇṭhasuta Śrī Harinuṃ dāsa
Rāmāyaṇa sambhalāvyuṃ sahī, Kahāṃnī tehanī Cūpai kahī
Kamalaśīsuta puratī āsa kahī Kahānajī Haridāsa" (p. 183)

(I have narrated the biography of Rāma in *copāī* metre on hearing the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Papu Vyāsa, the son of Srīkaṇṭha, devotee of the Lord and who belongs to Audīcya caste. And thus the desire of mine namely Kahānajī the son of Kamalaśī, the devotee of the Lord, is fulfilled.)

We find the year of composition from the text:

"Saṃvata Soḷa Satāvīsa Dakṣaṇāyana hovā dina īśa
Varikhāratimāṃhī Śrāvaṇasāra Sudī punamī tithinī Śiśivāra" (p. 184)

(The composition is completed on Monday the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Śrāvaṇa* in the rainy season in *Dakṣiṇāyana* in the year V.S. 1627.)

The poet has written the text based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. In some depictions the poet's rhetoric beauty appears to be remarkable since it is decorated with a number of figures of speech like alliteration (*Prāsānuprāsa*) etc. that creates picturesque beauty. It is described here that Daśaratha goes to Mithilā to attend the wedding of Rāma alongwith his retinue:

"Vādya Vividhaparī Vājī ghaṇāṃ Paṃca śabda atī Sohāṃmaṇāṃ
Ḍhola damāmāṃ madhura mṛdaṃga kāṃśītāla manohara caṃga"
(line 283)

(Manifold musical instruments are played upon, which produce five kinds of magnificent sounds, for example, the drums, *Mṛdaṃgama* produce sweet sound and the pair of cymbals create pleasing sound.)

The erotic description of Sītā marked by a list of ornaments reminds us of similar one in another text of the medieval Gujarati literature.

The battle of Rāma with 14000 demons is nicely depicted in *Viṣama-Alaṃkāra*:

"Kihāṃ Keśarī kihāṃ Śiyala kihāṃ bhikṣuka kihāṃ śrībhupa?"
(p. 51)

(On one side there is a lion while on the other a jackal. On one side there is a beggar while on the other a king?)

The poet has introduced some changes e.g. absence of the episodes like Sūrpaṇakhā's instigation of Rāvaṇa, the line drawn by Lakṣmaṇa. Moreover it is mentioned here that climbing the Mahendra mountain Hanumāna reached Laṅkā—the events in between are omitted. Instead of describing Mārica's form of illusory deer being killed by Rāma, it is here stated that the demon arrives accompanied by 14000 demons and shouts for Lakṣmaṇa at the moment of death.

In *Saṃvat* 1647 Śedhaji Kāśisuta composed '*Hanumānacaritra*'[3] which informs us that the poet was *Bandhārā* (one who ties parts of cloth to be dyed separately and dyes them) by caste alongwith the year of composition. The valour of Hanumāna is mainly described in 18 sections in the style of *Ākhyāna*-narration. We find poetic force in this traditional simple poetry.

'*Ramacarita*' written by Jaso is found in manuscript No. 1116 in fragments at Gujarat Vidyāsabhā. Right from the mediacy of Aṅgada (*Aṅgadaviṣṭi*) upto the emancipation (*Mukti*) of Rāvaṇa the Rāma-story is briefly described. There is no information about the poet or the date of composition.

The poet Rāmabhakta (flourished in c. V.S. 1660) has translated *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.[4] He precedes Narahari who composed the texts like *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, *Bhagavadgītā*, *Jñānagītā*, *Prabodhamañjari*, *Bhakti-mañjari*, *Hastāmalaka* etc. between *Saṃvat* 1672-1699.[5] Rāmabhakta has successfully translated the Gītā and briefly the voluminous text of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, e.g.:

> "*Muḍachāṃgata pāmo che jhehe maraṇanāma kahie che tehe*
> *Pūravakaramane Visari je-e aṇakidhuṃ te āgala thāe*
> *Vali jiva jhāge jhe vāra tehenuṃ nāma kahie avatāra*" (no page no.)
>
> (Whosoever performs vicious deeds forgetting his deeds of the past birth is, in real sense, an infatuated person and it is a real death but that individual soul who is awakened can be called an incarnation.)

Lakṣmidāsa (flourished in c. 1639-1672) has composed '*Rāma-rakṣā*' in 36 lines. There is no information about the date of composition. Since in the beginning of the glorification of Rāma there is encomium of Kṛṣṇa in this text having *Bhujangi*-metre, it appears that the poet was a *Vaiṣṇava*.

In *Saṃvat* 1687 Rāṇāsuta composed '*Meherāvaṇanuṃ Ākhyāna*' (*Ākhyāna* of Meherāvaṇa)[6] in which he refers to the story of the Aṅgada-nāṭaka and dialogue between Lord Śiva and his wife Umā but does not speak about its authorship. The theme of the text is describing the death of Mahirāvaṇa, a stumbling block in the path of Hanumāna who had gone to Droṇācala to fetch the *Saṃjivani* plant to revive Lakṣmaṇa. The text consisting of 30 sections contains the date of its composition but no information is given about its author. The poet has made use of different musical *rāgas* like *Goḍi*, *Bhimapalāsi*, *Kedāra* befitting the style of *Ākhyāna* tradition. The poet describes the warfare between Hanumāna and Makarākṣa thus:

> "*Avani Saṃghāthe āchaṭo heve vachuṭo balavaṃta*
> *Caraṇe grahine uchālo ākāśathi Śri Hanumanta*" (p. 19)
>
> (Śri Hanumāna dashed him (Makarākṣa) on the earth but this sturdy person got up. At that time picking him up by his feet he tossed him up.)

Harirāma (c. 1696) has written '*Sītāswayaṁvara*' in *Saṃvat* 1703[7] in which he has mentioned its date, the number of musical *rāgas* etc. It is in the form of dialogue between Bharadwāja and Vālmīki who narrate from the birth of Sītā, her wedding with Rāma and upto their return to Ayodhyā in 21 sections.

> "*Saṃvat Sattarasemha jāṇo Upar adhakā traṇa re:*
> *Kārtaka Māha Vada aṣṭamie ā grantha karyo paripūrṇa re*
> *Pada bārasemne pandara pūrā, āṭha rāgani jāta re*" (p. 494)

> (This work containing 1215 verses in 8 musical notes has been completed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Kārtika* in V.S. 1703.)

Since the poet urges the audience to hear attentively (*Śrotā-jana sāṃbhaḷo citta dharī*) it seems that this *Ākhyāna* might have been narrated in public. Poet's power of minute observation is reflected in describing the different forms of behaviour on the part of the kings present at *Svayaṃvara*. This might have been a source of inspiration to Premānanda, during the composition of *Naḷākhyāna*, who has frequently used the term *Dṛṣṭo-dṛṣṭa* used by Harirāma (*Draṣṭedraṣṭa*) while depicting Rāma and Sītā casting loving glances to each other. Likewise the alliteration of '*Jī*' made popular by Premānanda is found in Harirāma's text viz. *Jāyajī*, *Lokajī*, *Śokajī* etc. How Rāma looks charming while coming to the pandal at the time of marriage:

> "*Śobhā Vadanataṇī Vistāruṃ, Chabi Upar ravi Śaśi Ovāruṃ*
> *Āṃkha ambuj amirasa hoya, Jotāṃ tṛpti pāme sau Koya*" (p. 486)

> (Let me describe the charm of his face. I would like to offer even the Sun and the Moon in bargain for his complexion. Anybody would quench his thirst on getting the nectar of his lotus-like eyes.)

Bhavāna who is introduced as a Sādhu from Khambhata belonging to the sect of *Kānfaṭā-Gorakha*[8] has written '*Rāmakathā*' in *Saṃvat* 1736. We get six copies of the same text containing different number of verses, names and the order of the verses.[9]

The text containing 7 verses and 83 *copāis* and in the form of *Garabā* in which there is a dialogue between Parīkṣita and Śukadeva, narrates the story right from Daśaratha's calling to Ṛṣi upto Rāma killing Rāvaṇa and returning to Ayodhyā. The dialogue between Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī is superb:

> "*Ho Rāṇājī Rāmajī Saṃghāthe rāḍha na kījie*"

> (O king! Please do no enter into a quarrel with Rāma.)

In reply to these words of Mandodarī Rāvaṇa says:

> "*O Manoharī! Nārāeṇa namavāno māhāre nima che*"
> (Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay, MS. no. 106)

> (O charming lady! I have taken a vow not to bow down to Nārāyaṇa.)

'*Sītāvirahanā bāramāsa*'[10] is written by Dwārkādāsa (born in *Saṃvat* 1680 vide '*Gujarātī hāthapratonī saṃkalita yādī*' by K.K. Shastri)[11] who had been taught to compose poetry by his neighbour Premānanda. The text following the pattern of *Bāramāsī* does not mention its date of composition but nicely describes Sītā's plight of separation in Aśoka grove.

Starting from the month of *Adhika* the poet depicts the love-lorn condition of Sītā in different months. The poet beautifully describes the impact of seasonal changes on the heart and mind of Sītā who though languishing in separation hopes for the union with her husband and who curses cuckoo, bee etc. enhancing her agony. Sītā attempts to commit suicide—

> "*Keśapāśa dharī bāraṇe re, Kare laṭakavā avidhāra*"
>
> (Sītā firmly decided to hang herself on the door by fixing her knot of the hairs with it.)

which is averted by Rāma and there is their happy reunion.

The *Doharās* at the end of the text (*Padas*) contain fine metaphors and symbols particularly associated with love, e.g.:

> "*Joī Parimal padmano, Ṣaṭpada peṭho māṃya*
> *Bhamarī bhaṇa bhaṇa karī rahī (Vreh) Vāraṇa āvyo tyāṁya*" (p. 135)
>
> (The bee enters the lotus on smelling its fragrance, the she-bee is humming outside and the elephant [in the form of separation] has arrived there.)

It implies that the golden deer stands for fragrance of lotus, bee for Rāma, elephant for separation and female bee for Sītā. In the depiction of *Caitra*—

> "*Janmadivasa gayo rāyajī vrehkansāre bhūkha na bhāgī*" (p. 137)
>
> (The birthday has already passed away and the *kansāra* [a sweet wheat-dish] in the form of separation could not remove the hunger.)

we find a novel idea in identifying separation with *kansāra*. Poet's intellectual calibre is seen in double entendre:

> "*Mugdhapaṇe āvi sātha śuṃ re thayā mugdha māre maṭe nātha*"
>
> (My lord accompanied me enticed and is deluded for me.)

Here, the meaning of '*Mugdha*' carries two meanings—being deluded or enticed; indiscriminate that he went to kill the deer knowing him as a demon.

'*Sītājinī Kāñcalī*' written by Kṛṣṇadāsa[12] (scribal date *Saṃvat* 1892) beginning with

> "*Ke raḍha līdhī Sītāe Rāmasu re kantha Kāñcalaḍī Śivarāva*"
>
> (Sītā became obstinate to Rāma to get her bodice sewed.)

depicts all the episodes upto Hanumāna asking permission of Sītā in Laṅkā to go back to see Rāma in Ayodhyā.

'*Harmānjīno Chanda*' written in *Bhujangī* metre by Vasanjī alias Vasīdāsa and containing 26 lines describes the powerful heroic deeds of Hanumāna.[13]

In '*Rāmacandranī Pandar tithī*' written by Tulasī, there is a description of the events which took place from the first day upto the fifteenth day of the first half of the month, viz., starting from Rama's *vanavāsa* upto his taking back Sītā from the palace of Rāvaṇa.[14]

In '*Rāmacandrajīnā Mahinā*' a *Bāramāsī* poetry by Morāra[15] Sītā relates her agonies to Hanumāna from the month of *Kārtika* to that of *Aśvina* and asks him:

"*Kohonī Pavanasuta prabhujī kiyāre āvaśe?*" (p. 6)

(Please tell me O son of wind! When would my lord come?)

With the letter of each month the poet has tried to link alliteration:

"*Jeṭhe te māse re jobana ame jālavuṃ*" (p. 6)

(We maintained our youth in the month of *Jeṭha*.)

Though it describes the pangs of Sītā, still the text is called '*Rāmacandrajīnā Mahinā*'.

All these three texts do not provide any information regarding the poet or the date of composition.

'*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' of Rāghavadāsa written in V.S. 1778[16] is available but the time of author's birth and death is not known from the text. Of course, from the said text we get an information that he is the son of Rāṇāsuta. However, we have no logical evidences to prove that he is the son of that Rāṇāsuta who has composed *Meherāvaṇanuṃ Ākhyāna*. The author is inspired to write the text after hearing it from the saints belonging to the school of Rāmānuja. He belongs to *Lohāṇa* caste, his Guru's name is Sāmadāsa and being poor in Sanskrit has written the text in Prakrit. The author's name occurs in the middle and at the end of the text after *Phalaśruti* which informs us that his son Haridāsa edited the text which contains the date of its composition and which was properly edited after the *Śrāddha* ceremony of his father. Though this text contains the gist of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* it reflects the characteristics of depiction found in medieval Gujarātī literature. Just as some poets would introduce changes or additions in the original text to make it more interesting, similarly in this text some additional events are described skilfully. For example, Hanumāna related the events that took place in Laṅkā which Rāma appreciated and at that time revealing his modesty Hanumāna speaks:

"*Valato Hanumanta kahe Śrī Rāma prabhujī meṃ su kidhuṃ kāma?*
Samudra meṃ su pidhu tahāṃ Laṅkā Upāḍī lāvyo nahī
Laṅkā bhāgī bhūko nahī karī Rāvaṇaśira na lāvyo Hari
Sīā lāvī samarpī nahī meṃ prākrama kidhu nahī kāṃhi." (p. 322)

(O Śrī Rāma! My Lord! What have I done in this? Have I drunk fully the ocean? Neither I have brought Laṅkā lifting it up. Moreover O Lord! I could not bring even the head of Rāvaṇa crushing out Laṅkā. When I have not even brought Sītā and handed over to you, I understand that I have not done any feat.)

In the original text it is described that queens of Rāvaṇa started to lament at the death of Rāvaṇa but this Gujarati poet knows this episode as an illustration of pathos. After the demise of Rāvaṇa his queens are described to sing elegy (*Rudanagīta*) in order to heighten the pathetic sentiment:

> "*Nātha Ekalo ahmane meli cālyo kyāṃhe*
> *Sokasaṃdhumā nākhī vinatā jaī beṭho divya māhe*
> *Tuja vinā Ekalī Laṅkā raheśe kyama māhāvīra?*
> *Rākasakulanā prāṇa leine cālyo guṇagambhīra*"
> (p. 410)

(O Lord! Leaving us alone where have you gone away immersing us in the ocean of grief? Is it that you have gone to heaven? O brave person! How will this city of Laṅkā sustain when you an extremely virtuous man has gone away snatching as if the life of the entire demon-family?)

This first attempt to summarize *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* proves very helpful to the successors. It is quite natural that such abridged translation of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is found when the stream of Gujarati poetry is inclined towards the path of knowledge.

'*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' written by Prītama (c. 1720-25 to 1798 A.D.)[17] does not contain the date of its composition but closely follows the text of Rāghavadāsa whose textual lines are borrowed verbatim by Prītama. Albeit the diction of Prītama is more refined, marked by change of better words. In the beginning of the text Prītama says:

> "*Śokamoha būḍato Rāghavadāsa, kara grahe Kevalarāma*"

(I have been drowning [in the ocean of] grief and infatuation but [I have been saved] by Rāghavadāsa and Kevalarāma who lifted me up by my hands.)

He accepts his indebtedness to his predecessor in *Bālakāṇḍa*:

> "*Rāghavadāsa saṃkṣepe kidhuṃ, gurupratāpe karī jeha;*
> *Rāma-arpaṇa karī teha kahuṃ chuṃ santa taṇe anugreha*" (p. 51)

(I am narrating only that [biography] which is briefly stated by Rāghavadāsa only by the grace of my Guru. I here dedicate it to Śrī Rāma by the grace of saints.)

'*Rāmakathā*' or '*Rāmacandrajīnāṃ Kaḍavāṃ*' penned by Rājārāma[18] containing nine Padas describes the main events in the life of Rāma starting from his departure to the forest upto his returning to Ayodhyā after killing Rāvaṇa but contains no date of its composition.

Jagajīvana wrote '*Rāmakathā*' (vide MS. 599 of Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā) of 34 lines interpreting like *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* in a spiritual sense. It does not mention its date.

The text '*Laṅkānā Śalokā*' (*Saṃvat* 1770) is written by Vallabh. One of its MS. no. 326 lying in Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā assigns the text to Vallabha Bhaṭṭa while in another MS. (no. 6-2) in Ḍāhīlakṣmī library of Nadiad the name of the author is Ambaidāsa. Hence it appears that the two persons are different but the text is one and its author is the same Vallabha alias Ambaidāsa. At the end of the text it is said:

"Śāṃvat 1 Śātruśiter śāra Āso Suda 5 bijo Guruvāra
Rāmalakhamaṇano kharo Viśavāśa kara joḍi kehe Ambāidāsa" (no page no.)

(Folding hands Ambaidāsa says, on the second Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āso in the year V.S. 1770 that he has complete faith in Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa.)

The text which is probably written by Vallabha, well-versed in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and hailing from Surat described marriage of Daśaratha's son with the daughter of Janaka *"Janarakhanī tanayā paraṇīne lāvo"* (the son of Daśaratha married the daughter of Janaka) and then he says:

"Laṅkāgaḍhano Kahiśu śaloko Ekene maṃne śaṃbhalajo Loko" (no page no.)

(I will describe in verse the fort of Laṅkā. You please hear me attentively.)

Then he gives the description of the city of Laṅkā, the dialogue between Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī, the species of the horses in the army of Rāvaṇa, the bad dream of Mandodarī etc. The story of Rāma is narrated in each single line up to his return to Ayodhyā.

Pūrībāi (c. *Saṃvat* 1737-1808) has written *'Sītāmaṅgala'*[19] in six *Kaḍavāṃ* (sections) and 100 lines which depicts the marriage of Rāma with Sītā in Gujarat but in which there is no reference to the date of the composition. In the first benedictory verse the poetess pays tribute to Sītā and then starting with her *svayamvara* closes with her arrival at the house of her in-laws. The text containing the traditional poetic descriptions of the medieval era narrates social customs, the wedding ceremony and the food etc. as found in Gujarat in those days and that is the main attractive feature of this poem.

Govindarāma alias Govinda (flourished in c. *Saṃvat* 1837-1870) has composed *'Rāvaṇa ne Vibhīṣaṇa'* also known as *'Rāvaṇa ne Vibhīṣaṇanā Candrāvaḷa'* (*Candrāvaḷā of Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa*)[20] which does not give its date. The text describes the story beginning with Rāvaṇa's coming to Sītā under the guise of an ascetic and ending with Vibhīṣaṇa's insult by Rāvaṇa. In each verse having four lines the initial words of the first line are repeated in the last portion of the fourth line, the last portion of the second line is the initial part of the third line:

"Śikhāmaṇa nava lāgī sārī Rāvaṇe caḍāvī riśa,
Vibhīṣaṇa kahe Visa bhujā kapāśe, daśa kapāśe śīśa;
Daśa kapāśe śīśa te bhāī, khoṭuṃ nahī kahuṃ Rāmaduvāī
Govindarāma pāṭuṃ leī mārī, Śikhāmaṇa nava lāgī sārī;
Rāvaṇe caḍāvī riśa." (p. 856)

(The advice of Vibhīṣaṇa was not heart-felt to Rāvaṇa, he was offended [on this]. Vibhīṣaṇa told him repeatedly O brother! your ten heads and twenty hands will be cut off. On the oath of Rāma I say that this is not untruth. Govindarāma says that Rāvaṇa did not like the advice and kicked Vibhīṣaṇa.)

Viṣṇuji has written *'Kakko Rāmakathāno'*[21] (scribal date *Saṃvat* 1820). No information about the poet or the date of composition is available. It appears to be the work of 18th century as it was a fashion in those days to write *'Kakkā'* as is done by Raṇachoḍa, Thobhaṇa, Prāgajī, Prītama etc. The text describing the main events of Rāma-story makes use of the alphabetical Gujarati letters.

Kṛṣṇarāma (c. *Saṃvat* 1824-1896) has written '*Saṃkṣipta-Rāmāyaṇa*' in *Saṃvat* 1874.[22] Beginning with

> "*Kīrti Śrī Raghunāthanī kariye je thakī sahaja bhavābdhi Tariye vedaśāstra jene nitye vakhāṇe Oḷakhāya je anubhava oḷakhāṇe*"
>
> (Let us sing the virtues of the Lord of Raghu-dynasty so that we can easily cross the ocean in the form of mundane existence. This Rāma is praised in Vedas and can be known only by self-experience.)

the first line is kept as *Dhruvapada* upto the end of the text. Since in each line there is reference to the prominent episode there is no scope to elaboration. Some of the episodes are omitted viz. Surasā's meeting with Hanumāna and the request made by Maināka to Hanumāna at the time of crossing over the ocean, Brahmā's request to Hanumāna to get tied at the hands of Rāvaṇa's servants, the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. From the abandonment of Sītā upto Rama's meeting with Lava and Kuśa etc. are also omitted. The whole *Rāmāyaṇa* is dealt with very briefly.

Jinedāsa wrote '*Rāvaṇanī Lāvaṇī*' in *Saṃvat* 1862.[23] In 36 lines resembling Hindi parlance to some extent it contains dialogue between Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāvaṇa as well as Vibhīṣaṇa surrendering to Rāma.

Thus an attempt is made to introduce some of the Gujarati texts pertaining to medieval period and written by the less known authors. The books which contain the *Rāmāyaṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, abridged translations of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* etc.; those which follow the pattern *of Ākhyāna, Bāramāsī, Kakko, Candrāvaḷā, ślokas* etc. consist of varieties of themes alongwith those of styles.

Basing their text on the original *Rāmāyaṇa* and then adding something new to it these poets presented some novel texts. In case of translation also there is no verbatim rendering of the original text. More details and depictions are found in them as in some of the *Ākhyānas* for the depiction of *Rasa*. The special linguistic and thematic features of the medieval period get totally merged with those of the original ones. These texts based on the earlier ones contain important data regarding the social customs prevailing in Gujarat in those days. The poets like Premānanda expressed their gratitude for the earlier scholars. Although most of the texts mention the poet's name, some of them do not furnish their information or the date of the composition. Some of the texts do not even refer to the names of their authors since the latter did not write them for gaining reputation or name as a poet. The aim of the poets seems to explain the duties of a person, society, nation on the basis of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and by that to propagate the path of devotion. Alongwith maintaining didactic tone these poets often make significant changes in the original text for making the story more interesting which forms important feature of the medieval Gujarati literature.

These changes might have been done consciously or out of some defect in memory. But an attempt of these less literate poets to render the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Gujarati with the only purpose of the benefit of others is really laudable. These semi-literate poets unconsciously contributed a lot towards the literary progress. This process is quite remarkable.

Some of the other such poets alongwith their compositions are listed here in order to avoid prolixity viz. '*Rāmaprabandha*' of Mīṭhā, '*Aṅgadaviṣṭi*' of Kīku Vasahī, '*Paraśurāma-Ākhyāna*' of Śivadāsa, '*Raghunāthano Vivāha*' by Govinda, '*Rāmavanavāsanī Sākhio*' by Govinda, '*Sītavirahanī Cāturio*' by Haridāsa, '*Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*' by Nāthabhavāna alias

Anubhavānanda, '*Rāmāyaṇa*' (verses) by Raṇachoḍa, '*Rāmavivāha*' by Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, '*Lava-Kuśākhyāna*' by Raghurāma, '*Lavakuśākhyāna*' by Śambhurāma, '*Rāmajanmanī Garabio*', '*Rāmabāḷalīlā*', *Rāmavivāha*', '*Ramarājyābhiṣekasamenāṃ dhoḷa*' by Divaḷibāi, '*Sītājinī Kāñcalī*' by Kṛṣṇabāi, '*Sītā Svayamvara*' by Kālidāsa, '*Rāmavivāhanā Śalokā*' by Prabhurāma, '*Sītajino Sohelo*' by Tulasīdāsa, '*Rāmajino Vivāha*' or '*Jānakīvivāha*' by Tulasīdāsa, '*Sītajīnā Bāramāsā*' by Rāmaiyā, '*Rāmakathānāṃ Pada*' by Thobhaṇa, '*Rāmacandrano Hinḍolo*' by Raṇachoḍa, '*Aśvamedha*' by Dhīrā, '*Rāmacaritanā Mahinā*' by Jīvaṇa, '*Rāmastuti*' by Raghunandana, '*Rāmarājiyā*' written by Himo, Bāpu Gāyakavāḍa, Narabherāma, Āśārāma etc., '*Rāmāyaṇa*' by Limbajī and his son Jāgeśvara, the texts in prose and verse by anonymous poets, '*Sītaniśodhanāṃ Pada*' by Ādityarāma, '*Rāmaviraha*' by Jadurāma, '*Rāmāyaṇanā Candrāvaḷā*' by Kṛṣṇadāsa etc. Such texts require critical and comprehensive study.

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Purāṇic Etymologies: Some Remarks

S.G. Kantawala

Purāṇas are a rich and important branch of vast Sanskrit literature: formally they are said to deal with five or ten topics,[1] additionally they deal with some other topics sometimes also. They also deal with several stories, myths and legends, some of which have their germs traceable to the Vedic literature. In course of the narration of stories, myths and legends and/or while discussing some other topics they try, sometimes, to explain some vocables by giving their "etymology"[2] or offer derivational explanations. In this paper it is proposed to discuss *nirvacanas* of the vocable *marut*, *śantanu* and *daṇḍa* as given in the Purāṇas.

Marut

Maruts are "prominent deities in the ṚV (=Ṛgveda)...They form a troop, *gaṇa*...or *śardhas*..."[3] and are "mentioned only in plural"[4] and their number is said to be thrice or thrice seven or fortynine also.[5] In the Purāṇas their number is said to be fortynine (Matsya-Purāṇa = MP 7.57).[6] While giving the story of their birth the Purāṇas state that Indra entered Diti's womb stealthily and divided the embryo into fortynine parts. When they cried very much aloud, Indra told them "not to weep": "*mā rodiṣṭa*" (MP 7.58) or "*mā rudata*" (MP 7.62) or "*mā rodīḥ*" (Viṣṇu-Purāṇa 1.21.39: Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 6.18, 62, 64; Brahma-Purāṇa 124, 73).[7] The Epic also explains the vocable *marut* by stating *mā rudaḥ* or *mā rodīḥ*.[8] Thus the Purāṇas associate the vocable *marut* with *mā*+√*rud*, wherein phonetically the long vowel *ā* is shortened to *a*. Here the single letter *mā* is read as a condensed word, i.e., to say *mā* as *ma*.[9]

Yāska[10] offers three derivations of the vocable *marut* as follows:

(i) *mā*+√*ru*, "which roars in measures", "of measured sound" (√*mi*+√*ru*)
(ii) *mā*+√*ruc*, "that which shines in measures", or "of measured brilliancy" (√*mi*+√*ruc*)[11] and
(iii) *mahad*+√*dru*, "that which runs a great deal".

The derivative explanation in Purāṇas, viz., *mā*+√*rud* takes into account only the advice and consolation given by Indra to these gods in their embryonic condition in Diti's womb: but it does not refer to or explain or reflect their character, physical appearance etc. In the Purāṇas, e.g., MP 7.55 they are said to be "*Sūryavarcasaḥ*", "having the illuminating brilliance of the sun". In the ṚV 7.59.11 they are described as "*Sūryatvacaḥ*", "possessed of sunlike (blazing) bodies".[12] In ṚV 10.78.3 they are described as "*agnināṁ na jihvā virokiṇaḥ*", "brilliant like the flames of Agnis (fires)". It is significant to note here also the descriptive epithet *virokiṇaḥ* in ṚV 10.78.3. Looking to the brilliance-aspect of Maruts

one is reminded of the etymology of the vocable from √*mar*, to shine, in the Ṛgvedic context,[13] wherein this meaning "seems to accord best with the description of the Maruts" according to A.A. Macdonell[14] and it may be said that this derivation tends to accord well with the Purāṇic description of Maruts, as they are described as "*Sūryavarcasaḥ*" as noted earlier. Incidentally, the *upabṛṁhaṇa*-role played by the Purāṇas may be noted here.[15]

From the derivational point of view it may be noted that this is a case of a primary compound or a base compound,[16] i.e., *ma-rud* < *mā*+√*rud*. Here there is not only a phonetic change, but also a phonemic change, i.e., *mā* reduced to *ma* and *rud* has a zero-affixation.[17]

Daṇḍa

The vocable *daṇḍa* is of Ṛgvedic antiquity and it means "stick", "cudgel", "staff", as in *daṇḍā eved go-ajanāsa āsan.../* ṚV 7.33.6 *a* i.e. "(Bharatas) were (very few and limited) like the *sticks* used for driving the cows."[18] It may be observed that there is a small nucleus of Dravidian element in the ṚV and the vocable *daṇḍa* finds its parallels in Dravidian words, e.g., Ta. taṇṭu, stalk, staff, Ka. *daṇṭu*, stalk, *daṇḍa*, staff etc.[19]

In the context of the chapters on polity the MP (225.17) derives the vocable *daṇḍa* from √*dam* and √*daṇḍ*, when it observes that *yasmād daṇḍo damayati durmadān daṇḍayaty api/ damanād daṇḍanāc caiva tasmād daṇḍaṁ vidur budhāḥ//* i.e. to say, it is called *daṇḍa* because it subdues the uncontrollable and also punishes them; on account of subduing and punishing it is called *daṇḍa*.

The Mahābhārata (=Mbh) (Śānti-parvan, 15.8 *cd* = MP 225.17 *cd*) and Agni Purāṇa (226.16 with *varie lectiones*) also derive it from √*dam* and √*daṇḍ*.[20]

Thus it is obvious that the vocable *daṇḍa* has two semantic nuances, viz. (i) to subdue, to control, when derived from √*dam* and (ii) to punish, when derived from √*daṇḍ*. The Gautamadharmasūtra derives it also from √*dam*, to control.[21] Yāska gives two derivations: (i) from √*dad* and (ii) from √*dam*.[22]

In the context of its being derived from √*dad* the story of the Syamantaka-gem is referred to and M.A. Mehendale points out a valid relationship between the verb *dad*, "to owe" and its derivative *daṇḍa* (punishment) and also that it establishes the use of *dhārayati* "to owe" for Yāska's days.[23] It may be noted, passingly, that the MP 45.6 uses the vocable "*bhūṣitaḥ*" in the context of the Syamantaka-gem being put on (*kadācit mṛgayāṁ yātaḥ Prasenas tena bhūṣitaḥ/*). The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (10.56.4 & 13) uses the vocable *bibhran* (√*bhṛ*) and *pratimucya* (*prati*+√*muc*, to put on) respectively (*sa taṁ bibhran maṇiṁ kaṇṭhe/; tam ekadā maṇiṁ kaṇṭhe pratimucya/*). It may be observed that the version of the story in the MP appears to be earlier than the one in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.[24]

In the context of the Epic and Purāṇic derivation of the vocable *daṇḍa* from √*dam* it may be noted that Purāṇas follow the Aupanyava-tradition as noted by Yāska in his Nirukta.[25]

Śantanu

Śantanu is a renowned king of Epic fame. In the Epic he appears as a forefather of Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. Epics and Purāṇas describe him as a great physician (*mahābhiṣak*) (MP 50.43) and the praise of his being a great physician is introduced by a stanza (MP 50.42; cf. MBh. Cr. Ed. 1.90.48), which explains derivationally why he was called *Śantanu*. The MP

(50.43-44) goes on to say that whomsoever an old person or a diseased one he touched with his hands, he became young; hence he was called *Śantanu* and this is his *Śantanutva* (cf. Mbh. Cr. Ed. 1.90.48). The Vāyu-Purāṇa (99.238-239) refers to his touch-therapy which rejuvenated the old. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (9.22.13-14) refers not only to the magic and miraculous power of his touch-therapy, but adds also that it gave the foremost peace. This seems to assume that the old age was not looked upon favourably then. The Mbh. Cr. Ed. 1.92.18 tries to explain the vocable *śantanu* (v.1. *śāntanu*) patronymically. Out of these two explanations the earlier one (i.e. as given in the glorificatory stanza) takes the vocable *śantanu* as a compound base i.e. *śam+tanu*.

Yāska refers to the story of Śantanu in his Nirukta (2.10-12) while commenting on ṚV 10.98.7 and gives two derivational explanations: (i) *śam tano astu* "peace to thee, O body!"[26] (*śam+tano*)[27] and (ii) *śam asmai tanvā astu* "peace to him in his body"[28] (*śam+tanu*).[29]

Durga[30] explains the passage as follows: (i) On seeing a diseased person, he says, "let there be happiness, O body!" and the person becomes free from disease. (ii) "Let there be happiness (*śam*) to him (for him) (*asmai*) with his body (*tanvā*) (in his body)."

The aforegoing discussion tends to suggest that Epics and Purāṇas appear to favour the idea of curing a diseased person, i.e., making him free from disease, as noted in the Nirukta and adds the idea of rejuvenation by the touch-therapy of hand.

Finally it may be observed that Purāṇas follow generally the Nirukta in deriving the words. *En passant* it may be noted that some tracts in the Purāṇas are common to the Epics. Methodologically Purāṇas seem to introduce an etymology by the use of *yasmāt* or sometimes without it and then it is concluded by *tasmāt+*, or *tena smṛtam* or *niruktam ucyate*.[31]

References

1. Cf. *sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca/ vaṁśyānucaritaṁ ceti purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam//* MP 53.64.
   sargaś cātha visargaśca vṛtti rakṣāntarāṇi ca/ vaṁśo vaṁśānucaritaṁ saṁsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ// Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 12.7.9. For details *vide* Upadhyaya Baladeva, *Purāṇavimarśa* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1965, pp. 125ff.
2. "Etymology" refers to "the history of a form" (*vide* Hockett Charles F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Delhi, 1973, p. 394; on "derivation" *vide ibid.*, pp. 240ff).
3. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, Delhi, 1971, p. 77.
4. Macdonell, A.A., *op. cit.*, p. 78.
5. Macdonell, A.A., *op. cit.*, p. 78; *vide Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 2.5-13 wherein seven groups each of seven (7 x 7 = 49) of Maruts are mentioned (*vide* Tripathi Gaya Charan, *Vaidika Devatā: Udbhava aura vikāsa* (Hindi), Delhi, 1982, pp. 447-448.
6. *Vide* also Hopkins, E.W., *Epic Mythology*, Delhi, 1968, pp. 96, 170.
7. *Vide* also Chitrav Shastri Siddheshvar, *Prācina caritrakośa* (Marathi), Poona, 1964, p. 623.
8. Hopkins, E.W., *op. cit.*, p. 96.
9. Varma, Siddheshwar, *The Etymologies of Yāska* (V.I. Series No. 1), Hoshiarpur, 1953, p. 97.
10. *Nirukta* (with Durga's commentary, Venkateshwar Steam Press, Bombay, V.S. 1982) 11.13; *vide* Varma, Siddheshwar, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Sköld Hannes, *The Nirukta*, Lund, 1926, p. 299.
11. Sarup, L., *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, Translation, OUP, 1921, p. 173; Sköld Hannes, √*ru*, to shine (*ibid.*, p. 299).
12. Velankar, H.D., *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala* VII, Translation, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1963, p. 138.
13. *Vide* Macdonell, A.A., *op. cit.*, p. 81.
14. Macdonell, A.A., *op. cit.*, p. 81; *vide* also Chitrav Shastri Siddheshvar, *op. cit.*, p. 623.
15. *Vide* Kantawala, S.G., "Two Legends from the Purāṇas: A Study in Upabṛṁhaṇa", *Dr. Ludwik Sternbach Commemoration Volume* (*Indologica Taurinensia*, Vols. VIII-IX (1980-81), Torino, Italy, pp. 215ff.

16. In a primary compound or a base compound two bases are joined together (*vide* Hall Jr. Robert A., *Introductory Linguistics*, Delhi, 1969, p. 177).
17. On Zero-affixation *vide* Hall Jr. Robert A., *op. cit.*, pp. 178ff.
18. Velankar, H.D., *op. cit.*, p. 85.
19. Burrow, T., *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1955, pp. 383ff.
20. *Vide* Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, BORI, Poona, 1973, pp. 21-22. In the MP *daṇḍa* is elevated to the lofty position of a deity (*vide* Kantawala, S.G., *Cultural History from the Matsya-Purāṇa*, Baroda, 1964, p. 118; MP 225.8 = *Manusmṛti* 7.25. For the description and operation of *daṇḍa* as an expedient (*upāya*) *vide* MP, Chapter 225.
21. *Gautamadharmasūtra*, 11.28; *vide* Kane, P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 21.
22. *Nirukta*, 2.2; *vide* Sköld Hannes, *op. cit.*, p. 258; L. Sarup translates √*dad* as "to hold" (*ibid.*, p. 224).
23. Mehendale, M.A., *Yāska's Etymology of Daṇḍa, Nirukta Notes*, Series I, Poona, 1965, pp. 22ff; on pp. 24ff (*ibid.*), there is a discussion of the story of Akrūra and the Syamantaka-gem. Durga quotes ṚV 7.33.11d (*Viśvedevāḥ puṣkare tvā dadanta*). H.D. Velankar (*ibid.*, p. 87) and R.N. Dandekar (The Two Births of Vasiṣṭha: A Fresh Study of Ṛgveda VII 33.9-14, Gedenschrift für Hermann Güntert, 1974, Inspruch, p. 277) render *adadanta* as "held". Sāyaṇa explains it as "*adhārayata*".
24. According to R.C. Hazra MP Chapter 45 is assignable to a period either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. (*Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Delhi, Second Edition, 1975, p. 50).
25. *damanād ity Aupamanyavaḥ/Nirukta* 2.2; *vide* Varma, Siddheshwar, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
26. Sarup, L., *op. cit.*, p. 29.
27. Hannes Sköld reads *tana* (*op. cit.*, p. 333); "children" for *tano*, which is not convincing.
28. Sarup, L., op. cit., p. 29.
V.K. Rajwade renders this passage as follows:
(a) "Oh (diseased) body, let there be welfare i.e. sound health to thee!"
(b) "Let him have happiness physically." (*Yāska's Nirukta*, Notes, BORI, Poona, 1940, p. 350)
29. Sköld Hannes, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
30. *Nirukta*, p. 134.
31. *Vide* Kantawala, S.G., "Purāṇic Etymologies (on the vocable *purāṇa*)", *Indological Studies* (Journal of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, Delhi), Vol. II, No. 1, August, 1973, pp. 13ff; Purāṇic Etymologies, *Gopinath Kavirāja Abhinandana Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 278ff; *vide* also Mehendale, M.A., Upaniṣadic Etymologies, *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vols. xx-xxi, 1960-61, pp. 40ff.

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'SĪTĀ-TYĀGA'—WHETHER KĀLIDĀSA WROTE IT FIRST?

GAUTAM PATEL

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, as popularly known, depicts the whole life of Rāma, the prince of Ayodhyā, the life in which the annihilation of the demon Rāvaṇa, who carried away his wife Sītā, and Rāma's banishment of *Sītā—Sītā-tyāga* are the main instances. Rāma is regarded as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu in later Purāṇas and literature. But scholars believe that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* was the story of the prince of *Ayodhyā* and he was not invested with any divine power of origin. Dr. Hermann Jacobi has rightly remarked, "In the genuine portions of the poem the gods interfere very little. Among them Viṣṇu and Śiva do not interfere, but Indra lends his chariot and armour to Rāma—Garuḍa destroys the magic power of Indrajit's arrow and Agni testifies the purity of Sītā if this portion really belongs to the original tale."[1]

The story in *Bālakāṇḍa* is very interesting. Daśaratha was performing sacrifice for progeny and gods, gandharvas, Siddhas, great sages etc. assembled to have their *yajña-bhāga*. The gathering complained to Brahmā—

भगवंस्त्वत्प्रसदिन रावणो नाम राक्षस:
सर्वान्नो बाधते वीर्याच्छासितुं तं न शक्नुम: ।। ६ ।।
त्वया तस्मै वरो दत्त: प्रीतेन भगवन्पुरा।
मानयन्तश्च तं नित्यं सर्व तस्य क्षमामहे ।। ७ ।।

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After this they describe how Rāvaṇa troubles all the three worlds. The Sun cannot burn him, the wind can't dare to touch him and looking to him the ocean cannot even tremble.

नैन सूर्य: प्रतपति पार्श्वे वाति न मारुत: ।
चन्द्रोर्भिमाली तं दृष्ट्वा समुदोऽपि न कम्पते ।।

Therefore you are requested to find out some way for his annihilation. Brahmā provided all the details how Rāvaṇa was bestowed with boon by him and declared that Rāvaṇa would be killed by a man.

At this moment Viṣṇu appeared on the scene and he was appointed by gods for the benefit of the three worlds to become the son of Daśaratha. See:

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे विष्णुरुपयातो महाद्युतिः ।
ब्रह्मणा च समागम्य तत्र तस्थौ समाहितः ।।
समब्रुवन्सुरा सर्वे समभिष्टूय सैनताः ।
त्वां नियोक्ष्यामहे विष्णो लोकानां हितकाम्यया ।।
राज्ञो दशरथस्य त्वमयोध्याधिपतेर्विभो ।
धर्मज्ञस्य वदान्यस्य महर्षिसमतेजसः ।।
तस्य भार्यसु तिसृषु ह्रीश्रीकीत्युपमासु च ।
विष्णो पुत्रत्वमागच्छ कृत्वात्मानं चतुर्विधम् ।।
तत्र त्वं मानुषो भूत्वां प्रवृद्धं लोककण्टकम् ।
अवध्यं दैवतैर्विष्णो समरे जहि रावणम् ।।[2]

Thus Viṣṇu was appointed by gods. M.B. also says Brahmā has appointed Viṣṇu to accomplish this work.[3] This we find in *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives us the detailed story of the origin and exploits of Rāvaṇa. His divine origin or rather connection with Brahmā, the Creator of the Universe, his severe practice of penance and ultimately obtaining blessing of Brahmā etc. are given in every minute detail. Here I only quote some relevant portions:

अथ वर्षसगस्त्रे तु दशमे दशमं शिरः ।
छेत्तुकामः स धर्मात्मा प्राप्तश्चात्र पितामहः ।।[4]

Note here that Brahmā has come and Rāvaṇa while asking for boon said:

सुपर्णनागयक्षाणां दैत्यदानवरक्षसाम् ।
अवध्यः स्यां प्रजाध्यक्ष देवतानां च शाश्वतम् ।।
न हि चिन्ता ममान्येषु प्राणिष्वमरपूजित ।
तृणभूता हि मे सर्वे प्राणिनो मानुषादयः ।।[5]

We find the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in *Rāmopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*. The relation of *Rāmopākhyāna* (Mbh. *Āraṇyakaparvan*, Cr. Ed. 256-276) and Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* was discussed by Jacobi,[6] Weber,[7] Winternitz,[8] Hopkins[9] and later Sukthankar[10] adduced the evidence of a number of passages to show that the author of *Rāmopākhyāna* knew and was influenced by Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.[11]

On the other hand P.L. Vaidya has discussed this problem in his introduction to the Critical Edition of *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, and has suggested that the *Rāmakathā* known to *Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan* is much older than the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and he affirmed that 'the *Rāmopākhyāna* is centuries older than the *Rāmāyaṇa*'.[12]

Dr. U.P. Shah, the editor of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, after a long discussion comes to the conclusion that 'This does not mean, of course, that the possibility of any other earlier *akhyāna* before the author of *Rāmopākhyāna* is denied by us, bút it only means that *Rāmāyaṇa* precedes the *Rāmopākhyāna* and that the former seems to be the main source of the latter.[13]

Dr. V. Raghavan has examined critically Dr. P.L. Vaidya's view regarding the issue of the relative chronology of *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāmopākhyāna* in his *Greater Rāmāyaṇa*.[14] He has refuted the arguments of Mr. Vaidya in great detail by providing various textual

evidences and some scholars believe that 'the controversy can now safely be set at rest in favour of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* being earlier and known to the author or authors of the *Mahābhārata*, especially of the *Rāmopākhyāna*.'[15]

And what I want to add here is that this *Rāmopākhyāna* has not mentioned *Sītā-tyāga*.

In *Rāmopākhyāna* we find when Draupadī was carried away by Jayadratha and ultimately brought back by Bhīma and Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira was disturbed too much. He asked a pointed question from sage Mārkaṇḍeya:

अस्ति नूनं मया कश्चिदल्पभाग्यतरो नरः।
भवता दृष्टपूर्वो वा श्रुतपूर्वो पिऽवा भवेत्।।[15]

"Have you ever seen or heard everbefore a person who would be more unfortunate than me?"

To provide enough consolation to the disturbed king Yudhiṣṭhira the sage Mārkaṇḍeya narrated the story of Rāma, the prince of Ayodhyā, the most unfortunate person who like Yudhiṣṭhira not only lost his kingdom but in addition his devoted and beloved wife Sītā was carried away by a valorous demon king Rāvaṇa. Here the narration lasts for upto eighteen chapters i.e. from Chapter 258 to 275 of *Āraṇyakaparva*. This is nothing but an abridgement of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, which existed before *Mahābhārata*. But there are certain remarkable points in this abridgement.

It starts after few verses narrating the origin of Rāvaṇa and his brothers Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Khara and his sister Śūrpaṇkhā. Kumbhakarṇa and Rāvaṇa were the sons of Puṣpotkaṭā, Vibhīṣaṇa was the son of Mālinī and Khara and Śūrpaṇkhā were the son and daughter of Rākā respectively.

Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa practised severe penance for thousands of years. Rāvaṇa after one thousand years cut off his head and offered it as an oblation in the fire and the Master of the world Brahmā was pleased.

पूर्णे वर्षसहस्त्रे तु शिरश्छित्वा दशाननः।
जुहोत्यग्नौ दुराधर्षस्तेनातुष्यज्जगत्प्रभुः।।[18]

Ultimately Brahmā gave him a boon, as he desired, that he would never be defeated either by Gandharva, Deva, Asura, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Sarpa, Kinnara or animals. He had no fear from man because he himself was a puruṣādaka — a man-eater. So he omitted man from the above list. Kumbhakarṇa asked for a prolonged sleep and Vibhīṣaṇa opted for a pious intelligence even in the midst of greatest miseries and a Brahmāstra.

After obtaining blessings from Brahmā, Rāvaṇa attacked Laṅkā, defeated Kubera and snatched away his puṣpaka Vimāna from him. He, by his matchless physical strength and blessing of Brahmā, started troubling all the three worlds. He made all people cry hence he was called Rāvaṇa.[19]

Then after Brahmarṣis, Devas, Siddhas, Kings etc. went to Brahmā under the leadership of Agni. They all asked for the protection and Brahmā said:

न स देवासुरैः शक्यो युद्धे जेतुं विभावसो।
विहितं तत्र यत्कार्यमभितस्तस्य निग्रहे।।
तदर्थमवतीर्णोऽसौ मन्नियोगाच्चतुर्भुजः।
विष्णुः प्रहरतां श्रेष्ठः स कर्मैतत्करिष्यति।।[20]

He, i.e., Brahmā, advised all the gods to incarnate themselves on the earth in the form of bear or monkey. And *Mahābhārata* adds that there was a gandharva maiden named Dundubhi who was asked by Brahmā to descend on the earth as Mantharā to accomplish the work of gods.[21]

If we try to evaluate critically we find one or two very remarkable points here. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki the story of the birth and exploits of Rāvaṇa are not the part of 'Original *Rāmāyaṇa*' as modern scholars think. The original *Rāmāyaṇa* as it was written by Vālmiki was of the *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa* to *Laṅkā-Kāṇḍa*, giving us the historical details about the exploits of the prince of Ayodhyā i.e. Rāma. Here, in all these *Kāṇḍas* from *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa* to *Laṅkā-Kāṇḍa* Rāma is represented as a pure valorous human being. He is never referred to as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu's descending on earth as Rāma, with other gods as monkeys etc. is the story of *Bālakāṇḍa* and the exploits of Rāvaṇa is the part of *Uttarakāṇḍa*. These both are mentioned in the *Rāmopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata* as we have seen above. So this proves beyond doubt that before the writer of *Rāmopākhyāna* the *Bālakāṇḍa* as well as the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* existed. Not only this but there are certain other references in *Rāmopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata* like the curse of Nalakubara to Rāvaṇa that he would by force never be able to enjoy a woman who had no love for him,[22] which prove that *Uttarakāṇḍa* was known in its every minor detail to the writer of *Rāmopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata*. Yet to our greater surprise we find that *Sītā-tyāga* was completely unknown to one who tried to abridge *Rāmāyaṇa* in *Mahābhārata*. When he has mentioned so many details of the story there was no reason or a preventive cause—*Bādhaka-Pramāṇa* for him to omit the *Sītā-tyāga* incident of the later life of Rāma which is responsible for heightening the character of Rāma as a King. This instance of *Sītā-tyāga* has made, in fact, Rāma a 'King among the kings' and a 'Prince among the husbands', *Mahābhārata* does not mention it at all.

When we try to look into the Buddhist sources of *Rāmakathā* we find three places where it is mentioned: 1. *Daśaratha-Jātaka* which is found in *Jātakiṭṭhavaṇṇana*,[23] 2. *Anāmaka-Jātakam*[24] and 3. *Daśaratha Kathānakam*.[25]

According to Father Camil Bulke *Daśaratha-Jātaka* is a Pali translation of one Simhāli text. Hence it is written after Kālidāsa. Rest of the two Buddhist sources also belong to a later period than that of Kālidāsa. *Anāmaka-Jātakam* does not mention any names like Rāma, Sītā etc. but its story coincides with the story of *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Daśaratha-Kathānakam* is certainly written after Kālidāsa. Yet it is worth noting that none of these mentioned *Sītā-tyāga* directly.

In Jain sources we do find a story of Rāma: *Ādi-Purāṇa* of Jinasena (9th cen.) and *Uttarapurāṇa* of Gunabhadra (897 A.D.) and *Paumacariya* (4th cen.). Here in *Paumacariya* the story of *Sītā-tyāga* is almost similar to the story found in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*. But this work also belongs to the age later than Kālidāsa.[26]

In the field of classical literature when we try to examine the sources prior to Kālidāsa we find to our greater surprise that the whole story of *Rāmāyaṇa* was known to writers of classical literature but the story of *Sītā-tyāga* had not reached their ears. Bhāsa, the well-known worthy predecessor of Kālidāsa, whom the latter refers to as Prathitayaśas in his *Mālvikāgnimitra*, tried to dramatize the whole story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in his two well-known plays, viz., *Abhiṣeka* and *Pratimā-nāṭakam*. But here the story ends with the coronation ceremony of Rāma after his return from Laṅkā; annihilating Rāvaṇa along with all his supporters. But here not a word is mentioned about Rāma's so-called greatest act *Sītā-tyāga*. In later classical literature, especially after Kālidāsa, Rāma's act of abandoning Sītā was honoured like anything. According to Bhavabhūti, Sītā's abandonment and installation of a golden image of Sītā were the deeds par excellence to prove Rāma *Lokottara* — far above the ordinary man — a super human-being because, according to Bhavabūti,

while banishing Sītā from the kingdom Rāma was harder than a thunderbolt and while installing her golden image in sacrifice Rāma was more tender than a delicate flower.[27]

The story of Rāma has travelled to China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Brahmadesha, and even to some of the African countries.[28] But they all belong to a period later than Kālidāsa.

Thus except *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* which is regarded as an interpolation by many scholars we do not find *Sītā-tyāga* mentioned by anybody. Kālidāsa wrote *Raghuvaṁśam* (RV) but not to summarise the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. Say for example the first chapter of RV is not based on *Rāmāyaṇa*. The second one where *Dilīpa-parīkṣā* is at centre is not found in *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki. Same is the case with *Raghudigvijaya*, *Kautsa-prasaṅga*, *Indumatī-Svayaṁvara*, *Aja-Vilāpa*, description of the flight of Rāma, etc. These all are the outcome of the originality of Kālidāsa.

On the other hand Kālidāsa has tried to heighten or rather immortalise the character of Dilipa, Raghu or Aja by adding some new episode, e.g., in case of King Dilipa, the whole incident of *Go-sevā*—cow-worship is added. Raghu's valour is detailed out in his fight with Indra and in his *Digvijaya*. He is portrayed as *Dharma-Vīra* and *Karma-Vīra*. While Raghu proved himself an unparalleled *Dāna-Vīra* in Kautsa episode of the fifth chapter of RV. In case of Aja the approach of the writer has changed altogether, Aja is an ideal and devoted husband whose heart longs for his wife when she has passed away by a delicate accident. Such instances, which are not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, bespeak of the great imaginative power of Kālidāsa.

The basic personality of Kālidāsa is not that of imitating. No doubt, like other great masters he too has selected his theme from some known source but he has never confined himself totally to the origin. His originality lies in surpassing the origin. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* (AS) is his masterpiece in the field of Sanskrit drama, which could even stand in the first rank of the best dramas of the world. But if we look at its original source *Śakuntalopākhyāna* of *Mahābhārata*, we find to our great surprise that except the names of main characters there is hardly any similarity of episodes or characterization. Numerous new instances are added. *Vikramorvaśīyam*, the other well-known drama of Kālidāsa, displays the same pattern. Though the story of Purūravā and Urvaśī is found in various sources but the treatment of Kālidāsa is his own. He is hardly under the influence of any work preceding to him. On the other hand his successors were heavily under his influence.

No better situation prevails in the case of RV. This most original writer of Sanskrit literature, viz., Kālidāsa is a trend-setter. He at times introduced certain changes and they became permanent in the mind of Indian people whether a common man or a scholar, e.g., AS means the curse of Durvāsā, though it is not mentioned at all in the *Mahābhārata*.

In the case of *Rāmāyaṇa* he has introduced such changes, e.g.:

In *Rāmāyaṇa* the wife of Gautam was cursed to stay there in the āśrama for thousands of years without food, suffering and lying in the ash. See:

तथा शप्त्वा स वै शक्रं भार्यामपि च शप्तवान् ।
इह वर्षसहस्राणि बहूनि त्वं निवत्स्यसि ।।
वायुभक्षा निराहारा तप्यन्ती भस्मशायिनी।
अदृश्या सर्वभूतानामाश्रमेऽस्मिन्निवत्स्यसि ।।[29]

Here there is no reference whatsoever to turning Ahalyā into *śalyā* — a slab of stone. Even in reading found in critical edition the words are वायुभूता, भस्मभावा, भस्मरूपा and ततो भस्मसमप्रभा, but no MSS of *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions that she was turned into a slab of stone.

But for the first time Kālidāsa turned Ahalyā into *śilā* who by the touch of the dust of Rāma's foot regained her beautiful form. This story has taken possession of the minds of people to this extent that nobody knows the original story. See:

प्रत्यपद्यत चिराय यत्पुनश्चारु गौतमवधू: शिलामयी।
स्वं वपु: स किल किल्बिषच्छिदां रामपादरजसामनुग्रह:।।[30]

We may quote another instance of Śūrpaṇkhā. In *Rāmāyaṇa*, we are told:

राममिन्दीवरश्यामं कन्दर्पसदृशप्रभम्।
बभूवेन्द्रोपमं दृष्ट्वा राक्षसी काममोहिता।।
सुमुखं दुर्मुखी रामं वृत्तमध्यं महोदरी।
विशालाक्षं विरुपाक्षी सुकेशं ताम्रमूर्धजा।।
प्रियरूपं विरूपा सा सुस्वरं भैरवस्वना।।
तरुणं दारुणा वृद्धा दक्षिणं वामभाषिणी।।
न्यावृत्तं सुदुर्वत्ता प्रियमप्रियदर्शना।
शरीरजसमाविष्टा राक्षसी रामब्रवीत्।।

Thus she was horrible in look but Kālidāsa has turned her into a beautiful girl, because Rāma addresses her as *Bāle*,[32] Oh young one! Later on when she decided to eat away Sītā, she assumed her original demonic form.[33] Such a change has the beauty of its own as it has a Kālidāsian touch and later on all have accepted it. These and such other instances prove beyond doubt that Kālidāsa has introduced countless changes in the original story of *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Kālidāsa, no doubt, knew the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa*. This could be proved from a verse where he says that Rāma heard the stories about the origin and exploits of Rāvaṇa from sages who came to greet him.

सभाजनायोपगतान्स दिव्या-
न्मुनीन्पूरस्कृत्य हतस्य शत्रो:।
शुश्राव तेभ्य: प्रभवादि वृत्तं
स्वविक्रमे गौरवमादधानम्।।[34]

But he has purposely omitted the whole story. Then he suddenly describes *Rāmarājya* and then he adds the whole instance of *Sītā-tyāga*, where we find him at his best. Just as *gosevā* is added to highlight the character of Dilīpa, Kautsa episode for Raghu, or Indumatī-Svayaṁvara for Aja. Similarly *Sītā-tyāga* is added by Kālidāsa to heighten the character of Rāma. Because *Mahābhāratakāra* knew *Bālakāṇḍa* as well as *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa* but does not mention *Sītā-tyāga*. Bhāsa also does not mention it. No Jain or Buddhist source earlier than Kālidāsa has any reference to *Sītā-tyāga* but we find it for the first time in Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa, as we know, is a conscious writer. He has anticipated that the pathos which prevails in this new episode may tempt any reader to reject it. Hence he himself has suggested that this *Sītā-tyāga* is his new creation—*Sarga*—and readers or scholars should not reject it. See:

तदेष सर्ग: करुणार्द्रचित्तै:
न मे भवद्भि: प्रतिषेधनीय:।[35].

'If you have hearts which can melt in pity, do not set aside this canto of mine.'[36]

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Indo-European Beliefs in Classical Greek and Indian Drama

Bharat Gupt

It has been customary to think of the Greek achievement in science and arts as the intellectual base on which the later edifice of western European learning has been raised. Less attention has been paid to those aspects of Greek way of life which did not directly contribute to the European culture of two millenniums after Christ, that is the ways which either ceased to be followed with the advent of Christianity, or which were lost into the folk traditions and were no longer noticed by official historians. The Greeks have been thus proclaimed as progenitors of western philosophy, of rational and naturalistic investigation and of scientific logic. Their literature has been the model for all later writing in the West. However, while this approach succeeds in providing an ancestry to the thought of Europe, at the same time it eclipses the totality of the Greek experience, by not paying adequate attention to its Oriental constituent which was as much a reality.

The Greeks, as early as the Pelasgians, have been regarded as a people of Indo-European stock, the parent race of which is attributed to belong to somewhere in Central Asia. The evidence for this belief has no archaeological foundation but is primarily linguistic. And even if it is presumed that there was a parent or *ur* language for the large number of languages classified as Indo-European, there is no reason to believe that there was a single race to which this language belonged. We are therefore forced to presume that speakers of the so called Indo-European languages which shared many linguistic structures, must have also shared many other thought structures and habits to sustain their linguistic similarities. Looking at the ancient Greeks and the Indians, we find that their languages, rituals, divinities and a host of other cultural habits reveal such similarities. The cultural similarities between these two peoples are in themselves worthy of an exclusive study. Here, we shall pay attention to only those cultural, rather cult-related, habits of everyday life that provide a base for dramatic mimesis.

Miasma-katharsis or Śauca-aśauca

There is no feature of the Indo-European culture more distinctive than its preoccupation with pollution and purity. Cultural historians have very often considered it as a peg to hang upon it an immense variety of ritual, whether of late Hellenic period or of the Smṛti age in India. But no keen observer can overlook the fact that all laterday ritual is only an elaboration of the earlier ritual based on the very primitive experience of loss and restoration of vitality.

The earliest of Greek muthoi preserve elements that repeat the motifs found in Vedas. From the Vedic verses it is clear that miasma was a later version of impotence. The

duality of vitality and impotence (not always sexual) pervades every human event and condition, whether social or private. In the case of gods vitality is endless though not eternal. In fact, that is the basic virtue (*satva*) or element of godhood. The gods possess endless vitality because ambrosia is their food or because they drink of soma vine. For mortals as there is no nectar there can only be a prayer to the gods to grant vitality. Partaking of the remains of oblations is for the intake of this vitality as a divine gift. The partaking of this gift was never private but always ritualistic and public. That soma was a vine is certain, though its modern form still remains to be identified. Ambrosia again is still a mystery and the guess of Robert Graves that it was the mushroom, amanita muscaria, is as plausible as any other.[1] Ambrosia was reserved for gods and the food as such was not to be taken by any mortal. So was the soma drink, which in later epic age becomes '*amṛta*'. The drink of *Amṛta* is not a giver of immortality only, it is a panacea and provides unebbing power. No wonder that the myth of *Amṛta Manthana* becomes the primary story of all epic literature in India.

The Gift of Vitality

For mortals this vitality was not available in essence, but it could be gained in its earthly form or manifestation as physical prowess or martial success. And that too could be obtained as a gift in the form of a psychic intervention. To the Indo-European man the world was inhabited by so many unseen but all the same subtly present beings ranging from the supremely divine to the most inferior tree spirits. These he frequently invoked to influence his daily life. He preferred to live a life impelled by external agencies, the externality of which in later religions became internalized in the form of introspective meditation or conscientious prayer. This externality of beings was not remote but always at hand and could be tuned into anytime. When the communication did take place. the recipient was said to have been filled with or impelled by the gift of the power invoked. Thus the typical Vedic prayer to Savita is to impell (*dhiyo yo nah pracodayāt*) and so is the Homeric ate, a madness that visits man. So is menos, a sudden upsurge that rejuvenates the heroes in Iliad. Not only the influence of higher beings but that of inferior beings also works the same way. The daimons possess humans and so do their counterparts the gandharvas (*gandharva-grahita* being the phrase for a possessed person). In the later stages of religious thought power is visualised as taking birth from within, as in the Yoga system of Patañjali, but the notion of invoking and inviting divine grace was never totally repudiated. In the Greek culture pattern introspective going within is very nearly absent but prayer or sleep is sufficient to invite divine intervention.

> "Another psychic intervention which is common in Homer is menos, the communication of power from god to man. This menos is not primarily physical strength: nor is it a permanent organ of mental life, like thumos or noos. It is like ate a state of mind. When a man feels menos in his chest, or thrusting up pungently into his nostrils, he is conscious of mysterious excess of energy, the life in him is strong, and he is filled with a new confidence and eagerness."[2]

It is not only this gift of power to defend oneself or to do a great task that is received from without, but so is a confusion or imbalance in normal thinking said to be caused by external agency.

> "There are a number of passages in Homer in which unwise and unaccountable conduct is attributed to ate, or described by the cognate verb aasasthai, without

explicit reference to divine intervention. But ate in Homer is not a personal agent; nor does the word ever, at any rate in the Iliad, mean objective disaster, as it so commonly does in tragedy."[3]

"Practically always, ate is a state of mind, a temporary clouding or bewildering of the normal consciousness. It is, in fact, a partial or temporary insanity; and, like all insanity, it is ascribed, not to physiological or psychological causes, but to an external daemonic agency. It is by no means a synonym for, or a result of, wickedness. Nor is it the punishment for guilty rashness."[4]

In other words all abnormal emotional states have their source in unseen (*adṛṣṭa*) but very tangible forces. This gift of power can be in forms other than of inspiration to the individual. It can be a gift of offspring as were the sons of Kunti, or a gift of weapons as to Paraśurāma or Arjuna. The muthos of divine origin of weapons whether of Achilles or of Rāma or a host of other heroes is certainly more than an aetiological expansion of the fact that good weapons were scarce in ancient times and therefore they were so highly prized that they comprised of the most precious part of the legacy of a family or a line of fighters. Weapons which had been endowed with a divine efficacy, by virtue of their godly origin or as often in India consecrated with the use of a *mantra* (*mantrapūta*, literally meaning purified with a mantra), were obviously not exceptionally better than the usual ones in make but only in 'potency' which was a part of the cultural belief.[5]

A converse to the belief that power and vitality purify is that their loss is the primary miasma. When there is a decline in the natural force, the element or the *satva* of a person, human or divine, the state of impurity begins. Lunar or solar eclipse is the most obvious example of cosmic impurity. In the Indian muthos of eclipse, the Sun and the Moon were overpowered by Rāhu till Viṣṇu came to free them. The eclipses are a repetition of first eclipsing of the powers of Sun and Moon.

From this it follows that any loss of limb in the body is also impurity. The lame, deformed or misshapen would thus be kept away at the time of an auspicious ceremony. Just as eclipse is a temporary loss in the cosmic body (the *brahmāṇḍa* or the bigger egg), disease or menstruation is a loss in the human body (the *piṇḍa*). From physical loss there is one small step to loss of status, wealth, good name (timee) or vow. Whatever is essential or elemental to individual existence or public esteem or particular or general health, if lost or even eclipsed leads to pollution. This miasma can strike a people or family and succeed from one generation to another. The children of a succeeding generation may have to pay for the miasma that is for impurities, incurred by their forefathers, as it happened in the house of Atreus or the line of Sagara.

Where miasma is not incurred but inherited the penalty is no less severe on that account. And as the individual has no choice but to accept his situation and attempt to free himself at any cost. In fact, Antigone lived with pollution which was caused by her father's action but not to rebel against the situation or think of herself as different from her family. The misfortune was her portion (moira), just as it was for Orestes, or just as it was an inherited duty of Janamejaya to avenge himself over the serpent Takṣaka. The tragic situation that Orestes or Antigone find themselves in is without any error (koros, hemartia or hubris) on their part. It was their moira to inherit the pollution. Just as menos or inspiration is from without, so is miasma. The early Indo-European strain of thought gives too little choice to the individual. Recalling the situation at the outset of the great war in the Mahābhārata, overcome with the prospect of killing his kith and kin Arjuna was impelled by his mentor to take up arms as he was a caste

warrior and as not to fight would only mean lasting infamy. For Arjuna, then, as much for Achilles the demands of timee are supreme. Public esteem again forces Rāma to desert Sitā. Tragedy then, or at least the situation of reversal of fortune (peripatea) is not to be attributed to any logic human or divine, the least to any cosmic justice. That the human condition be related to some sort of cosmic justice is only a wish which is stated in Aeschylus, and other tragedians. They basically accept the visitation of pollution to be as arbitrary as the flow of wind or the eruption of a volcano. In the later classical period in Greece and in the Smriti period of Indian cultural development individual choice, responsibility and interpretation of dharma or moira begin to take place. The concept of pollution and its cure also comes to be questioned. Doubts are expressed if sacrificial blood can wash away the impurity. Heraklitos and other Ionian philosophers raised doubts that may have led to the decline of earlier ritual. In India similar doubts were raised by the Buddhist and Jain thinkers which led to the decline of sacrificial immolation in Vedic *yajñas*.

However, miasma, its katharsis and tragedy belong to an age when individual responsibility had not been socially accepted. Tragedy, thus, only selects that situation of fortune reversal, that visitation of miasma, where there can be a concentration upon the pathetic feeling. Here pathos is great because of the helplessness of the situation and the very near innocence of the protagonist. This kind of tragedy is very different from the tragedy of Christian era, where hubris and koros lead a great man to his downfall. In the Greek situation miasma always leads to purification. The total situation is certainly not pessimistic as has been supposed by scholars for long time. After the eclipse must come the full phase. Living through miasma brings purity. Orestes was freed of his pollution and the trilogy we see ends in great reconciliation. So does the sacrifice of Janamejaya. An enactment of the pollution phase, a ritual mimesis of the suffering, results in katharsis. Therefore, the annual public festival has tragedy as a part of the total ritual. The katharsis that Aristotle talks about is not for only the individual spectator but the city as a whole. For the purpose of "ritual promoting or magically seeking salvation an element of death and sorrow was isolated, placed centrally and submitted for all time to reflection and contemplation."

Katharsis, then, is also not merely getting rid of the impurity. It is more than a therapeutic restoration; it is a new inflow of vitality. It ends in serene well-wishing and in an awareness that the impurity is gone. This feeling is evident in the last play of the only trilogy that is known to us today, 'Orestia'. The note on which the single plays end is different. The bulk of tragedies that have survived and that have come to determine our idea of tragedy are of that kind. It is the note of agony and continuing horror, the feeling that miasma is retained and still not removed. But it should be remembered that this note should not determine our overall view of tragedy and its function (ergos). The trilogies and the appended satyr plays form the total cycle of miasma and katharsis; they represent a complete structure of this high and noble form of drama which touched not upon lowly (phaule) subject, but the grave theme of man's eclipse and renewal.

Ancestor-Worship and Burial Customs

There is no society in history, which has not believed in a continuation of existence after death. Some form of the self, the nature of which is described variously, is believed to exist; the idea of total extinction has had little popularity. The funeral rites, therefore, have been rites of passage which prepare the dead for a journey to its new destination. The variety of these rites is due to variety of the beliefs about the nature of the new home. This home has been mostly envisaged as a permanent one, except in India where

the idea of reincarnation gained stability in post-Vedic times, whereas in Greece, belief in reincarnation had a very transitory currency with Pythagoras and his followers. As a corollary to the belief in after-life, there is the desire to communicate with the departed. It has been thought that they can protect, bless, curse or even help the living to perform some of the social functions which they did while they were alive. Thus, the duty of the living towards the dead has been a regular affair. The ritual of their propitiation has been sometimes daily, at other times held on marked days like the Anthesteria, or it has been observed on personal dates like the *śrāddha* in *pitṛpakṣa*.[6]

In the lives of Indo-Europeans the presence of ancestors was a continuous reality. If the body is looked upon as not the only but just one of manifestation of being, then the non-corporeal manifestation of existence, called the eidolon or *sūkṣma śarīra*, can be present in space and time which are not material. The ancestors in this way can possess the same quality as gods do, namely, that of being free of clock-time and earthly space. They can, like the gods, be invoked to assist, bless or interfere in the daily affairs of men. They are endowed with semi-godhood which while offering protection can also promote cohesion in the family, phratry and genos or *gotra*.[7] As compared with the divine the relationship between the individual and the *pitṛs* is more intimate and emotionally strong as it is a conversion of a once very worldly attachment into an otherworldly bond. In ancient drama this feeling for ancestors is more extensively depicted than the relationship between man and Divine.

In Greek drama burial rituals and worship at tombs become a part of the dramatic action itself. Such instances are rare in Indian plays. Libations of water by Yudhiṣṭhira to supposedly dead brothers in 'Veṇīsaṁhāra' are an exception. In the Greek tragic muthoi the frequency of thanatological ritual on stage is accounted for by the culture pattern of desecration and prevention of burial. It was not simply war vendetta which encouraged desecration but a faith that the prevention of rites of passage shall weaken the opponent and his successors.[8] On the contrary, in India *antyeṣṭi* has been considered to be too sacred to be disturbed. The dying man is regarded as beyond the pale of animosity and there is the culture pattern of even seeking his advice. Bhīṣma's death-sermon epitomises this norm. When depicted in drama this pattern also promotes a peacefulness lessening of the pangs of horror. It was under this spirit that the dying hero of Bhāsa's 'Urubhaṅga' is made to give up his life-long hatred for Pāṇḍavas. On the other hand in the Greek tragic world horror is intensified by the victor's demand for ransom for desecrated body of the vanquished. The fury of the desecrater is a mark of his heroic wrath and the plaint of the relatives of the dead is a sign of their filial and pitiful obligation. The burial customs thus intensify the tragic conflict in one case while in the other they resolve it into a contemplative repentance.

As an extension of ancestor-worship in India, there also evolved the doctrine of *Pitṛ Ṛṇa*. To be free of the debt of ancestors, the individual was called upon to beget and raise a son who shall take over the task of providing libations for the family line.

Protection to the Suppliant

According to the Greek tribal law the punishment or vengeance (prorresis) was to be enforced on the murderer by the victim's family.[9] It was not the duty of the State as in modern times. In such a situation, it was natural for the guilty to flee his home and seek refuge in extended or permanent exile. The population of exiles in ancient Greece used to be in considerable numbers. Fugitives sought the protection of distant families or of closeby powerful rivals of the victim's house. Normally, a family would not interfere with the process of vengeance and would not thwart the attempts of the victim in capturing

the murderer. But in the case of an offending relative they would intervene to settle a ransom or blood-price. Or in the case of very minor crimes, temporary refuge may be provided to enable further escape. This could be true in the case of offenders who had incurred wrath or pollution. Even this was not free from censure or even the risk of divine wrath. However, in Greece and India alike, it was the bounden duty of a reputable person to grant refuge to one who had surrendered or had been unjustly threatened or victimised.[10] In Greece, if the suppliant had sought refuge at a temple, then he became as inviolable as the temple itself. If he were to be turned away, it may result in the wrath of the deity falling on the community. As the Supplices say to Pelasgus, "Do what you will/ Thy house remains to pay/ Find in thy children/ Justice is equal/ Mark the Justice of Zeus" (Supplices, line 193). Some of the well-known instances of suppliants seeking successful refuge are: daughters of Danaus before Pelasgus, King of Argos; Iphigenia and Hekabe before Achilles;[11] and Odysseus pleading before Hekabe in Troy.[12] In the Indian lore the classic example is of Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa winning the protection of Rāma.[13] Both the suppliants are exiles who were unfairly banished. A rather unknown instance from drama is that of Śakāra of 'Mṛcchakaṭikam' saving his life by becoming a supplicant of Cārudatta. Śakāra need not have been granted protection as he deserved it according to no norm. He ought to have been refused it, but Cārudatta true to his magnanimity and the moral obligation of granting refuge to a *śaraṇāgata* spared his life.

As very different from the Greek classical world the reasons for exile in India were usually political. Here punishment for homicide was executed by the State, except during the course of a war where vengeance was sought by kith and kin. Where shedding of blood caused pollution as in the case of matricide, brahmicide, in addition to the penal sentence there was a system of purification rites to remove *aśauca*. All the same there is the case of the embryo-killer Aśvatthāmā who could not be purged by any rite because of the curse that Kṛṣṇa laid on him.

The Greek method of removing miasma or *aśauca* consisted of seeking forgiveness at shrines of divination such as at Delphos. But the main practice was worship of Zeus Katharsios,[14] where the offender was washed with the blood of a consecrated pig. The pattern here is of seeking protection from the divine and placating him through sacrifice just as the offender seeks physical protection of a family and placates them through loyalty and service. The Greek miasma removal was a public affair unlike the Indian set of rites like *Cāndrāyaṇa* etc. which were austerities to be practised by the individual privately.

The Power of Oath

In cultures where writing was far removed from the lives of men low and high alike, the spoken word as a pledge made in the presence of witnesses was as much binding as a promise made in writing today. In grave matters the pledge came to be registered in the communal memory and the community waited for the promissory to fulfil his pledge or pay the price that he himself had set for his failure. To break a vow was not only to lose self-esteem but also to defame the family and its ancestry. More than that, at least in the Greek world a person incurred pollution which had to be got rid of like any other impurity. Here, there was also punishment after death and the broken oath was sometimes even personified as a pursuing spirit similar to the Erynes.[15] Now while the Indians had no such spirit to be afraid of, all the same loss of esteem and accumulated merit, *puṇya*, was a mortal dread. The oath then for the Indo-European defined his commitment to his fellow-beings which was expected to be enforced even by divine agency. In drama, which is all but made up of relationships, the oath becomes a dominating culture-pattern which is used as a dramatic device governing the plot.

The instances of vows that tragic and the other heroes make are too many to be recounted. Some of the most distinctive examples are the oath of Oedipos to banish from Thebes the killer of Laus; of Herakles to go and seize from Death his friend's wife, Alcestis; of Hippolytos not to give away the secret of Phaedra's love proposal; the vow of Bhīma to dress Draupadī's hair with Duḥśāsana's blood; of Arjuna's to kill Jayadratha; of Karṇa's to kill no other Pāṇḍava than Arjuna (*Veṇīsaṁhāra* and *Karṇabhāra*). Oedipos's word was kept but tragically it condemned him, and though he is discovered to be a great sinner, he does not face the ignominy of an oath-breaker. Herakles's is a success story, he is able to keep his oath. Hippolytos like Oedipos is led to his tragic end by his own oath. He is unable to tell his father how his mother proposed to him and thus fails to plead his case. Similar to his is the plight of Karṇa who gave away the divine armour to keep his word, knowing full well that this charity would result in his death. In the Indo-European world the world is lost but not the word which kept well brings everlasting glory. One who loses his life for the sake of his oath has a higher place than one who victoriously fulfils his vow and earns the best of both worlds.

Oracles and Curses

Divination for the Indo-European was not an effort to decipher future events for the sake of useful knowledge, it was a communication with the extra-terrestrial beings who were believed to be inhabiting the universe as surely and permanently as do the humans. Hence it was not the calculation of man which was sought to be perfected, but it was the will of the divine that had to be consulted. The culture-pattern here has lesser faith in individual choices, it has a greater trust in discovering what the divine has in store for one. Just as the choice of an individual is influenced by the opinions of his family-members and friends today, similarly for the ancients the extended family of the supernatural beings, ancestors, sages and prophets had to be conferred with. The oldest method of divination was prophecy by interpreting bird movements. The etymologies of words 'augury' and '*śakuna*' testify this. Other than this, a host of other methods such as throw of dice, weather signs, observation of entrails and vitals of the sacrificed animal (found in Homer and Yajurveda), and astralogomancy were widely practised. However, the Greek oracula (manteia, chresteria) and the Indian *devavāṇī* (*siddhavāṇī* or *ākāśavāṇī*) are to be found in maximum vogue in drama. Perhaps in life too they were the most popular methods.

In the dramatic structure of a given play an oracular announcement or a *siddhavāṇī* is synchronically ever-present. Like the oath, all action is geared towards it. Its fulfilment in itself does not matter, but the feeling that every event directly or circuitously is leading towards its fulfilment, is what matters more. Whereas an oath falls within the area of human effort (*puruṣārtha* or aretee), the prophecy is the force of supernatural which was *daiva*, dike, or moira. The purpose of nearly every muthos is to show the interplay between the individual virtue and the divine intention. The result may be tragic or happy.

As a general observation it may seem true that the oracular dominates the Greek dramatic scene with a force which has no equal in any other drama. This is more true of tragedy, as it may be said that the confrontation of the human with the Olympian is what makes up tragedy. The Greek comedies or the satyr plays do not have the terrorizing figures of hoary prophets as they are an exercise in scoffing the divine, which is depicted as weak and tardy. However, in the Indian dramatic universe there is as much intervention of the divine through prophecies or curses as much in the Greek universe, even though here the confrontation between the human and the divine does not acquire tragic sparagmos. To repeat, the human and divine are constantly juxtaposed

in both the theatres even if one chooses to show the horrific form of the divine, while the other more often depicts its finally conciliatory nature.

There is little need to cite examples of mantic pronouncements in the Greek plays, as there is hardly a play in which an oracle is not announced either through a soothsayer, or a message is not received from the shrine of mantike. If none of these, a god himself or herself may appear to make a pronouncement, as does Aphrodite in 'Hippolytos' and Apollo in 'Alcestis'. Sometimes the hero narrates how he is pursuing a course of action under an oracular command as does Oresetes in 'Choephori' and in 'Iphegenia at Tauris'. In the Indian plays, *daivavāṇī* or *śāpa* is usually not made during the course of the play. Of course, there are famous instances of Durvāsā's curse upon Śakuntalā and Cārudatta's upon Pālaka, both pronounced and effected during the plays, so is Rāma of 'Uttararāmacarita' (Act II) instructed by '*aśarīriṇī vāk*' to kill the erring Śambūka; however, in most cases the prophecy to be fulfilled in the play is mentioned to have been made long before the events depicted.[16]

The Wider Perspective of Some Common Beliefs

We have noticed above some behaviour-patterns of Indo-European life which are mimetized in Greek and Indian drama. Sustaining the branches of these patterns are the roots of certain beliefs of cosmological signification. For the sake of brevity we shall state those beliefs and give cursory comments. These five notions are: the parole of the Universal Egg, multitheism (*bahudevatva*, godmingling, theokrasis), perception of five elements as extension of the five senses, notion of time as a cycle of four ages, and metampsychosis. Whereas the behaviour-patterns, such as, oath-taking and others described earlier give shape to modes of action in drama, the philosophical notions about the universe define the identity of the individual. The Great Egg does not have a beginning in the same sense as Darwin's first cell. It was not created in a given point of time. The beginning is taking place again and again, after every cycle, or in other words, it is taking place all the time. And so is man, a '*piṇḍa*' is being eclipsed and renewed, polluted and purified constantly. Not only man but no being comes to an end; death is not the end of existence, the shades of the departed either inhabit the Hades or as the other view has it, they may be reincarnated. There can be extinction only if there is an end to time. This 'end' or *pralaya* is no end but a suspended animation, a waiting for rebirth.

In the Ṛgvedic hymns, Sky and Earth are looked upon as the first parents and in some other verses the Golden Embryo (*hiraṇyagarbha*) is thought to be floating on primeval waters (ṚV 10,121,1). By the age of the Brāhmaṇas, 'nonbeing became being; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became Heaven and Earth; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahma' (Chand. Up. V,19).[17] The idea is repeated in the Pelasgian muthos where Eurynome laid the Egg out of which came the Universe.[18] The Homeric and the Orphic creation muthoi also mention that black-winged night was courted by Wind and thus laid a silver Egg from which the Universe was hatched.[19]

From the Great Egg vision of the Universe, which accepts the basic sexuality of creation, unlike the Judaic muthos of genesis which introduces sexuality as an outcome of original sin, we come to Indo-Greek polytheism. It is not our purpose to trace the common ancestry of Indian and Greek gods, whether through philological method or through mythographic analysis. For study of drama, we are content to note that fire sacrifice or *yajña* is the main mode of worship and that in both the pantheons the divinities do not fall into any hierarchy. There is, of course, Zeus as the supreme force among Olympians, but that matters little to the ordinary worshipper who has to turn

to the appropriate divinity as required by the nature of his plaint. Even Zeus is viewed in many forms. For the Indians even the supreme is a trinity and in Vedic lore the very question of supremacy among gods did not arise. The hostility of the Greek gods towards ardent devotees of rival gods is well-known. In the Indian muthoi similar jealousies are not uncommon. Here, if the worship of a god does not rouse the ire of another, the devotees of different gods are often pitted against one another and each receives help from his patron deity (*iṣṭadeva*). Gods are like superior heroes patronizing inferior human supplicants. They must answer the call of whosoever invokes them. A deity does not wait to measure the merits or demerits of a devotee, justice in the end is not to be meted out by him but by the all-seeing Zeus, or by dike itself, or by law of *karma*.

In the classical Greek era and in India long before that in the Upanishadic times, the universe was thought to be made up of five elements earth, water, fire, air and ether (aitheros) or *ākāśa*. The genesis of this idea was undoubtedly in India from where it travelled to Greece through the Persians as a corollary to the doctrine of Ayurveda.[20] In Greece it exercised the minds of all early Ionian thinkers who tried to discover the primary one among the five. Without going into details we may mention here that this division into five elements is a method of relating the individual body to the cosmic body or egg. The later Indian doctrine or *'yat piṇḍe tat brahmāṇḍe'* (that which is present in the body is also there in the Universe), though stated a little later, had already been conceived in Puruṣa Sūkta of Ṛgvedic Saṁhitā. The five elements are a division of the universal material made by the measure of five senses of smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing. It is through the five senses that the individual (*piṇḍa*) conceives of the universe and it is of these five elements that the body is made of. This equation between the microcosm and the macrocosm came to be established during this time and it held its sway in the European world till Copernicus and Newton replaced it with notions of modern physics. In the cosmology of five elements man is not a fragmented creature but part of the whole, he is in essence and value the same as the Universe.

The Greek belief in the five ages of man was stated only by Hesiod and even though the notion that man has a declining history continued to be entertained widely, Hesiod's demarcation into five ages lost currency soon after. This belief was again an import from India where it was clearly expressed in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII,14) and later elaborated in the *Mahābhārata* and various other Smṛti works. The cycle of four ages, *yugas*, *manvantara* and *kalpa*, is the most pervasive statement about the universal eclipse and renewal. It was surely as a corollary to this thinking that the belief in reincarnation came to be formulated. If nothing comes to an end, why should it be so for the individual self? The Upanishads and Brāhmaṇa literature give full evidence of this belief formulated into *yugas* and reincarnation. It had been a common belief in Egypt too at this time. But it seems that Egyptian palingenesis emphasized the migration of the soul into animal and bird forms rather than rebirth into the human, whereas in India all the possibilities were accepted.

References

1. Ambrosia: Graves, R., *The Greek Myths*, Vol. I, Penguin, 1955, pp. 9-10.
2. Ate etc.: Dodds, E.R., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, California Univ., 1951, p. 10.
3. As above p. 5.
4. As above p. 8.
5. Divine weapons: "It has been said that Heracles when he set forth on his labours, Hermes gave him a sword; Apollo a bow and smooth shafted arrows, feathered with eagle feathers; Hephaestos a golden breast plate; and Athene a robe...The gift of Poseidon was a team of horses; that of Zeus, a magnificent and unbreakable shield" (Graves, II, p. 102).

There are many examples of divine or mantra charged weapons in ancient Indian plays. In 'Uttararāmacarita' Act I, while going through the picture gallery Rāma shows to Sītā how the painter had depicted the divine 'jambhrika' arrows. Sītā worships them and according to the blessings of Rāma her sons inherit them and as the plot would have it, they also use them.

राम: वन्दस्व देवि, दिव्यास्त्राणि।
ब्रह्मादयो ब्रह्महिताय तप्त्वा
परः सहस्रं शरदां तपांसि।
एतान्यदर्शन्गुरवः पुराणाः
स्वान्येव तेजांसि तपोमयानि।।
सीता: णमो एदाणम् (नमो एतेभ्यः)।
राम: सर्वथेदानीं त्वत्प्रसूतिमुपस्थास्यन्ति।
सीता: अणुगहीदह्मि (अनुग्रहीतास्मि)।

6. Daily offerings to *Pṭrs: Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Gṛhasthakarma, 102). They are svadhā, balikarma etc.

बलिकर्मस्वधाहोमसवाध्यायऽतिथिक्रियाः।
भूतपित्रऽमरब्रह्ममनुष्याणां महामखाः।।
बलिकर्म भूतयज्ञः, स्वधापितृयज्ञः, होमो देवयज्ञः,
स्वाध्यायो ब्रह्मयज्ञः, अतिथिक्रिया मनुष्ययज्ञः। एते
पञ्चमहायज्ञाअहरहः कर्तव्या, नित्यत्वात्। (मिताक्षरी)

7. *Pitṛs* as protectors: *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Śrāddhaprakaraṇa, 270):

वसुरुद्रादिसुताः पितरः श्राद्धदेवताः।
प्रीणयन्ति मनुष्याणां पितृञ्श्राद्धेन तर्पिताः।।
आयुः प्रजां धनं विद्या स्वर्गं मोक्षं सुखानि च।
प्रयच्छति तथा राज्यं प्रीता नृणां पितामहाः।।

8. Prevention of Burial: "Heracles next vanquished Pyrachmus, king of Euboeans, an ally of Minyans, when he marched against Thebes; and created terror throughout Greece by ordering his body to be torn in two by colts and exposed unburied beside the river Heracleius (Graves, II, p. 100).
Desecration of the corpse to weaken the opponent's spirit: The power of the dead man was so formidable, his desire for reprisals so certain, that the murderer, whenever he could, tried at least to escape his direct intervention so as to have to answer only to his living avengers. He would therefore strive to render him powerless by mutilating his corpse. He would cut off the latter's extremities, the feet, ears and nose, pass a cord through them and fasten the whole to the victim's neck by attaching the cord under the armpits. Deprived in this way, of his sensory organs and means of movements, the victim was rendered inoffensive (Mireaux, Emile, *Daily Life in Times of Homer* (London, 1959), tr. from French by Iris Sells), p. 173.
9. Vengeance on the murderer: as above p. 177.
Banishment of Homicider: "Amphitryon vented his annoyance by throwing a club at one of the cows which had strayed from the herd; it struck her horns, rebounded, and killed Electryon. Thereupon Amphitryon was banished from Argolis by his uncle Sthenelus... Amphitryon, accompanied by Alceme fled to Thebes, where king Creon purified him and gave his sister Perimede in marriage." Graves, Vol. II, p. 85.

10. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (Rājadharma, 326). Suppliant (*Tavāhamvādin*):

    तवाहंवादिनं क्लीवं निर्हेतिं परसंगतम्।
    न हन्याद्विनिवृत्तं च युद्धप्रेक्षणकादिकम्।।

11. Promise of Achilles:
    No, by the foster-son of Ocean's waves,
    Nereus, the sire of Thetis who bare me,
    King Agemmemnon shall not touch thy child...
    ("Iphigenia at Aulis", lines 948-50, tr. A.S. Way, Loeb Classical Library)
12. Reference to Odysseus's supplication to Hekabe in Troy:
    Hekabe: I saved thee — saved thee — send thee forth the land.
    Odysseus: Ay, thanks to thee, I see the sun's light now.
    ("Hekabe" as above 249-50)
    However, true to his foxy character Odysseus was too mean to accept Hekabe as his suppliant and return the favour that she had done to him when he was in her power.
13. Supplication of Vibhiṣaṇa: *Mahāviracarita* of Bhavabhūti, Act V.

    राम: वत्स, ब्रूहि किं संदिश यतामेवंवादिन: प्रियसुहृदो
    लङ्केश्वरस्य महाराजविभीषणस्य।
    लक्ष्मण: यदा लंकेश्वर: प्रियसुहृदित्युक्तमार्येण तत्किमवशिष्यते संदेशस्य।
    राम: यथाह सौमित्रि:।
    श्रमणा: अनुगृहीतास्मि।

14. Worship of Zeus Katharsios: "The usual piacular victim was a young pig, which was held over the head of the guilty, as we see Apollo holding it over Orestes in a vase painting that represents his purification. And the blood of the slaughtered animal was then poured over his hands, with invocation to Zeus Katharsios. In some accounts bathing in water of a river or the sea appears to have been a necessary part of the ceremony" (Farnell, L.R., *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1896, p. 69).
15. Oath Personified: "The strength of this belief in the religious character of the oath is shown by passages in Homer which speak of the punishment of oath-breaker after death, and by the lines of Hesiod's 'Theogony' where the oath is already personified as a child of the lower world, born to be 'the scourge of men': while in Sophocles he is spoken of as all-seeing child of Zeus. Farnell, p. 70.
16. Of the horrible curses in Greek drama some glaring examples are: Tiresias's curse upon Oedipos; Theseus's upon his son Hippolytos; Polymestor's upon Hekabe that she shall drown in the sea and become a dog before she submerges and so shall Kassandra and Agemmemnon be killed.

17. Also in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: "In the beginning it was all water. They the waters wished to be reproduced. They fermented and got heated with devotion. At this point a golden egg came into being which floated on waters for a whole year. In a year's time a man, a Prajāpati, was produced therefrom. He broke open this golden egg" (XI,1,6,1).
18. Graves, Vol. I, p. 18.
19. Graves, Vol. I, p. 30.
20. Says J. Filliozat, "That is why there are between Indian and Greek medicines so very particular and precise similarities which are not easy to ascribe to change." *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*, Pondicherry, 1949, Chap. X.
    Āyurveda, which can be traced back to as early as *Atharva Saṁhitā*, recognizes air, fire and water as three elements that make up the human body (*vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha*). The Greek medicine followed the same and recognized three as the elements of body. This is evident from the Hippocratic manuals and the great similarities are given in detail by Filliozat. The Greek medicine taken up by Arabs was got into India where it still survives as a sister system to Āyurveda and is known as Unāni (Greek) medicine.

Marital Status of the Nymph Urvaśī in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīyam*

Rajendra Nanavati

One fact about Kālidāsa's works is too obvious to need any emphasis: that love — an intense heterosexual longing — is the central theme of all his works — plays as well as poems. His explorations of the possibilities of this theme of love find expression in the various characters, various situations, various stories depicted in his works. Among themselves these characters and situations cover a wide variety of the aspects and situations of Indian life. While the fables of his works are almost always symbolic of higher visions of love and life and generally afford various levels of meaning, basically they are ethical in the sense that the characters of these fables conform to the then prevalent rules of *Dharmaśāstra* as well as the steady norms and values of Indian cultural tradition. Kālidāsa, therefore, is rightly called "the bard of Indian culture".

An oversimplified corollary generally derived from this observation is the widespread belief — often expressed but more often implied — that whenever Kālidāsa depicts heterosexual love it is always love-in-wedlock, sometimes may be love ending in wedlock (as in his play *Mālavikāgnimitram*) but never without it. It is true that this belief generally stands confirmed in almost all of his works. But even in Kālidāsa the situation is not universal. A very strong exception to this sweeping belief of wedded love is his play *Vikramorvaśiyam*. The theme of the play is love between a heavenly nymph Urvaśī and a mortal king Purūravas. They fall in love with each other, stay together for a number of years, produce a son who is ultimately consecrated, but they never marry. Kālidāsa is clear on this point and has left many hints to this situation. But scholars so often speak of the 'marital love' or 'married life' of the pair that their ambiguity on this point more often than not raises a suspicion that either they do not visualize the situation clearly or they wish to glide over it. However, unless we become clear on this point our assessment of the art of Kālidāsa will not be complete. In this paper, an attempt is made to examine and clarify the nature of the association of the loving pair as depicted in the play in the light of Dharmaśāstra's prescriptions.

To understand the exact nature of the problem we may quickly glance over the fable of the play.

Purūravas is a king of the lunar line. He is young, handsome, passionate and valorous. He is a friend and a dependable ally of Indra in the latter's wars against the demons. Urvaśī is the most beautiful of the nymphs in Indra's court. Once when Urvaśī is being kidnapped by one Keśī demon, Purūravas saves her. They fall in love with each other at first sight. However, they have to part very soon (Act I). After some time, she comes from heaven to visit her lover on earth. But before they can exchange anything but greetings, she is called back to her duty of preparing for a drama *Lakṣmī-svayaṁvara*

to be staged in Indra's court (Act II). Engrossed in the thoughts of her lover, Urvaśī commits a mistake and invites upon herself a curse to remain away from the divine region. Indra, however, makes a better use of the situation. He stipulates a limit to the curse. He orders her to go on earth to king Purūravas, stay with him, bear him a son because he is childless, and return to heaven when the king sees the face of his son. Urvaśī comes to earth and stays with her lover (Act III). But she loves him too much to like the idea of returning to heaven (Act IV). So the divine damsel conceals the signs of her pregnancy with her supernatural powers, and when the child is born, secretly arranges for him to be brought up in a hermitage away from his father. Thus she is able to prolong her stay with her lover for a number of years. But ultimately the trick snaps. The child, grown up into an adolescent boy, violates a rule of the hermitage and is returned to the king as his son. Urvaśī must now return to the heaven. The king, unable to bear separation from her, decides to seat the young son on his throne and himself renounce the world. But Indra cannot allow this. A war with the demons is certain and he cannot afford to lose an ally like Purūravas. So he allows Urvaśī to stay with him as long as his life. The son is consecrated as the heir-apparent.

How do the scholars look at this association? S.K. De says: "The fierce-souled spouse, *La belle dame sans merci* of the Ṛgveda, is transformed into a passionate but selfish woman, an elevated type of heavenly courtezan, and later on, into a happy and obedient wife; ...presenting offspring as the crown of wedded life."[1] Keith mentions the king as 'her husband'.[2] Winternitz calls Urvaśī 'his wife'.[3] G.C. Jhala mentions their association as "marital life for a number of years".[4] R.D. Karmarkar admits that Urvaśī is "an Apsaras, a euphemism for a prostitute", and then mentions their association as "married life of Purūravas and Urvaśī" and states "Urvaśī would continue to be his wife for life."[5] M.R. Kale says: "...heavenly harlot...her sense of honour is not very great in the visits she pays to the king before they are wedded."[6]

A.D. Singh is also ambiguous on this point. On the one hand he says: "She is thus given the rank of a chief queen." On the other hand he says: "Urvaśī remains as an unmarried consort of King Purūravas throughout the play. The marriage ceremony is not performed according to the rituals, although both the lovers live together as husband and wife."[7]

V.V. Mirashi is also ambiguous. Once he classifies Urvaśī as *sādhāraṇā* and *pragalbhā* ("common" and "bold").[8] Then he says: "Great calamity befell Urvaśī and Śakuntalā after their marriage."[9] He also mentions Purūravas as *bahu-patnīka* 'polygamous'[10] and since only one queen Auśīnarī is mentioned in the play, we must consider Urvaśī as the other 'queen'.

R.P. Kangle has made some detailed and interesting observations on the issue of their marriage. He says: "There is no clear mention of marriage in the type of union of the lovers as shown here (i.e., towards the end of Act III)...She is a heavenly harlot...Because she is a common woman there is nothing unnatural in her being prepared for such a relationship." So far Kangle accepts the reality of the situation. Then he says: "But there are many indications in Acts IV and V to show that Urvaśī was married to him and attained the status of a queen. In the prelude to Act IV Chitralekhā refers to him as her *bhartā* ('husband, master', lit. 'provider'). In the fifth Act the chamberlain and the hermit-lady address her as *devī* (generally an address of honour for queens). Nārada calls them *dampatī* ('husband and wife') and gives the blessing: 'Let this Urvaśī be your *saha-dharma-cāriṇī* for your lifetime.' From all this, the conclusion is inevitable that Urvaśī is a married wife of the King...If we agree to this, then we shall have to grant that the mention of their marriage is somehow left out through oversight."[11]

So, after minutely examining the details, Kangle would have us believe that Kālidāsa

who has already given an overwhelming proof of his masterful art of plot-construction in his very first play *Mālavikāgnimitram*, now forgets to mention through oversight an important fact like that of the marriage of the loving hero and heroine of his next play in spite of its comparatively simple plot-construction! Someone might as well say that he had all the time afterwards to compose *Meghadūtam*, *Raghuvaṁśam*, *Śākuntalam*, but none to rectify this small error! Kangle's approach and his conclusion are typical of the traditional Indian scholars who would never concede that Kālidāsa, the loftiest bard of the ideals of Indian culture, can ever depict a love out of wedlock.

It is not difficult to answer Kangle's arguments. *Bhartā* (provider) is a covert term including both the husband and the master. More generally it is an address or reference of honour for the master. For example, the maid-servant Nipuṇikā in the prelude to Act II refers to the King as *bhartā*.[12] Chitralekhā being Urvaśī's friend, it can be understood that she would refer to her friend's lover as her *bhartā* even if they are not married. The hermit-lady refers to the King as Urvaśī's *bhartā* for the sake of form. About the chamberlain addressing the nymph as *devi*, the critical edition of *Vikramorvaśīyam* has accepted the variant reading *bhavati*[13] ('your ladyship'). Nārada addressing the pair as *dampatī*[14] is also for form's sake. It can be understood a little later when he conveys Indra's message allowing Urvaśī to stay with the king as his *saha-dharma-cāriṇī* for as long as he lives.[15] The sanction has the appearance of a helpless consent to their association and need not be construed as referring to their marriage. After all, Indra does have a knack of making the best of every situation!

Kālidāsa is clear throughout on this point. He does not give any hint anywhere to suggest that the marriage ceremony of the royal hero and his celestial beloved ever took place. Their marriage is not a minor or insignificant detail which an artist like Kālidāsa can afford to forget. If he had meant it, he would have mentioned it. In fact, he has left a number of suggestions to the contrary. For example, the question of marriage should first arise when Urvaśī comes to stay with the king towards the end of Act III. How carefully does Kālidāsa devise the situation is worth observing.[16] Queen Auśīnarī has left after promising to live amicably with any beloved of the king. Then Urvaśī appears before the king who welcomes her and 'makes her sit on the same seat'—*ekāsane upaveśayati*. Now, sharing the royal seat is generally a privilege of the chief queen. But the king is shown to confer forthwith this privilege upon Urvaśī. Sharing a seat in this way also implies a close physical proximity between the persons thus sitting together which cannot normally be countenanced in the case of an unmarried pair. Urvaśī's words directed towards Chitralekhā at this point are somewhat apologetic in tone: "Friend, the king is given away by the queen. That is why I have come into physical contact with him as his beloved. Please do not consider me to be insolent or shameless."[17] Normally such close physical proximity is permissible only under the sanction of an official marriage. Hence only a ceremonially wedded queen has this right. But here she relinquishes this right of hers in favour of his beloved and Urvaśī takes up this right. It is not that Urvaśī has arrogated someone's right. The right is given to her by the queen. Thus, Urvaśī is acutely aware of the a-social a-ceremonial nature of this relationship and is somewhat apologetic about it. Soon after, the lovers retire to the royal bed-chamber without any further social or religious ceremony being mentioned. Moreover, Urvaśī is shown to continue to enjoy the privilege of sharing the royal seat till the end of the play.[18]

It is also significant that Urvaśī's normal address for the king is *mahārāo* (*mahārāja*) and not *ajjautta* (*āryaputra*) by which all lawfully wedded wives and queens address their husbands in Sanskrit dramas. Queen Auśīnarī addresses the king as *ajjautta*.[20] On the other hand king Purūravas also addresses Urvaśī as *Sundarī* or *priye* or *putravatī*[21]

and refers to her as *priyā* or *priyatamā* or simply *Urvaśī*,[22] whereas his term of address or reference for queen Auśīnarī is *devī*,[23] the standard form of address for a queen. This distinction is consistently maintained throughout the play by both the lovers and clearly indicates the distinction in status of the lawfully wedded queen Auśīnarī and the beloved companion Urvaśī.

As the play moves, one can observe a faint possibility or a semblance of two types of marriage according to the Indian *Dharmaśāstras*. The Gāndharva type of marriage is defined thus by Manu:

> "The type of marriage in which the association of a virgin and her chosen husband takes place only out of lust and for the purpose of cohabitation should be known as Gāndharva."[24]

Some later Smṛtikāras even condescend to confer validity *post facto* upon such purely carnal associations in the case of Kṣatriyas classing such associations as the Gāndharva type of marriage. Devala says:

> "In the case of Gāndharva marriages, the first three castes should perform the marriage ceremony again at a proper time in the witness of fire altar."[25]

Kultūkabhaṭṭa, commenting upon *Manusmṛti* VIII 226, remarks: "The Gāndharva type of marriage is often ceremonialized *post facto*. It is considered legally valid by Manu in the case of Kṣatriyas."[26]

In our case, Urvaśī and Purūravas meet each other out of an intense carnal longing. Either that probably can be considered their Gāndharva marriage or one may suppose the marriage ceremony to have taken place *post facto* some time after their complete physical intimacy suggested at the close of the third Act. There is one difficulty, however. Even in this type of marriage the girl should be a virgin which Urvaśī is not. She is an *apsaras*, a celestial courtezan, and as such any marriage ceremony is meaningless in her case. There is another type of marriage called *Prājāpatya* a semblance of which can be seen in the play. *Manusmṛti* defines it thus:

> "That marriage ceremony in which the gift of a virgin is made after honouring the groom and with the utterance of the words 'may you both perform *Dharma* together' (*Sah'obhau caratām dharmam*) is called Prājāpatya."[27]

Almost towards the end of the play Nārada delivers Indra's message to the king in these words: "May this Urvaśī be your *saha-dharma-cāriṇī* for as long as you live."[28] Resemblance of the word *saha-dharma-cāriṇī* with the words *Sah'obhau caratām dharmam* in the above definition is obvious. But there are more than one reservations. One: the Prājāpatya ceremony has no legal sanction *post facto*. It must be performed before the marriage is consummated. Whereas in our case the lovers have already stayed together for a number of years and produced a son who also is quite grown up now. To see some sort of marriage ceremony now in Indra's formal blessing and seek a semblance of religious sanction for their relationship would be only absurd. Two: the term 'gift of a virgin' (*Kanyā-pradāna*) in the definition precludes the gifting of an *apsaras* in a marriage of this type. Three: even in Prājāpatya type of marriage, the woman has no right to stipulation or freedom to leave the marriage which Urvaśī in the present case has.

It transpires from this discussion that the situation of a mortal king and a celestial nymph falling in love with each other and staying together in stipulated carnal intimacy has certain built-in checks which preclude any possibility of their lawful wedding. For one, according to Indian *Dharmaśāstras*, any wedding ceremony is valid only in the case of virgins. *Manusmṛti* says:

> "In the case of humans, the mantras accompanying the *pāṇi-grahaṇa* ceremony are ordained for virgins only, never for non-virgins because in them all religious ceremonies are void."[29]

Now Urvaśī is an *apsaras* 'a nymph' and *apsarasaḥ svar-veśyāḥ*,[29a] 'apsarases are celestial courtezans'. Therefore, she cannot be considered anywhere near a virgin and any auspicious *mantras* or religious wedding ceremonies being performed on her will be void *ab initio*.

Again, no Indian woman was supposed to be free from the onus of marriage even after the death of her husband. She was, in that case, expected to observe the vow and duties of widowhood. To quote from *Manusmṛti* once again:

> "It is better that she sustains her body on auspicious flowers and roots and fruits but after the death of her husband, she should not even utter the name of another man. She must stay, till her death, free from passions, observing vows and celibacy, desiring to achieve the highest *Dharma* of the wives devoted to a single man."[30]

At another place, it says:

> "After giving away his virgin daughter to some one, a wise man should not give her away again.
>
> The wife cannot become free from her husband even by sale or abandonment."[31]

But Urvaśī's association with the king is stipulated from the beginning. She will have to leave the king and return to the heaven after he has seen the face of his son born in her. She will attain the status of an *apsaras* once again. The king may not know this, but Urvaśī is fully aware of this stipulation. Therefore, she cannot expect any sort of marriage ceremony whatsoever, because none of the eight types of marriages described in the Indian *Dharmaśāstras* gives woman this liberty of repudiating marriage under any circumstances—even after the death of her husband. Even if Urvaśī is allowed to stay with her mortal lover till his life, the vow of widowhood is out of question in her case because she is immortal and an *apsaras*. In brief, the idea of a stipulated marriage is entirely alien to Indian *Dharmaśāstras*. Marriage in Indian culture is a sacrament, not a contract. To speak of the marriage of a celestial courtezan with a mortal king, and that too for a stipulated time, is a contradiction in the term itself.

The problem needs to be considered from another angle also. In the last Act when the king realizes that separation from Urvaśī is inevitable he decides to put Urvaśī's son Āyuṣ upon his throne and himself renounce the world. Ultimately Āyuṣ is consecrated as the crown prince. Now the question is: Who can inherit a royal throne? What is the status of Āyuṣ as the son of Urvaśī? Can the son of an unmarried consort inherit the property of his father? Or from the other end, what is the status of Urvaśī as the

mother of prince inheritor? Does the princely consecration of the child automatically imply his mother's status being that of a lawfully wedded queen?

To find a proper solution to this problem, let us first consider the status of the child Āyuṣ as the crown prince. While describing the laws of inheritance, Manu describes twelve types of sons.[32] They are as follows:

(1) *Aurasa*: One's own son born in one's lawful wife. He has maximum rights to his father's property.
(2) *Kṣetraja*: In the case of one's impotency or incapacity, the son produced in one's lawful wife by an appointed person according to one's own wish. He has second maximum rights to property.

The next four have right only to a part of the paternal property. They are:

(3) *Dattrima*: 'Adopted', given away by either of the parents.
(4) *Kṛtrima*: 'Artificial', a virtuous person of one's own caste and status, taken up as son.
(5) *Gūḍhotpanna*: 'Secretly produced', born in one's wife but whose father is not known.
(6) *Apaviddha*: A deserted child adopted as son.

The following six do not have any right to the ancestral property:

(7) *Kānīna*: 'Virginal'. Son of an unmarried mother born in her father's house. When one marries such a woman, the child is called one's *Kānīna* son.
(8) *Sahoḍha*: 'Brought alongwith'. That son with whom the mother is pregnant (knowingly or unknowingly) at the time of her marriage.
(9) *Krītaka*: 'Bought' from his parents to adopt as son.
(10) *Paunarbhava*: The son produced in a remarried wife.
(11) *Svayamdatta*: 'Self-given'. A son who being without parents or abandoned by them without cause, offers himself as son.
(12) *Pāraśava*: Son of a brahmin male and a śūdra woman.

In the discussion of the relative merits of these types, Manu says:

"These eleven types of sons beginning from *Kṣetraja* are called by the wise only representatives of a real son. They are made sons for the purpose of performing obsequial rites. But these who are born from another's seed and are called 'sons' only owing to the contingency are in reality the sons of those from whose seed they are born, not of others."[33]

Of the twelve types, there are three who are born of one's own seed: *aurasa*, *paunarbhava* and *pāraśava*. But even among these three the last two i.e. the sons born in a remarried wife and in a Śūdra woman are rejected. This means that only a son born of one's own seed and in one's lawfully wedded wife only is considered to be the rightful heir to his father's property.

Viewed thus, the status of Āyuṣ is ambiguous. That he is born of Purūravas' seed is not to be questioned, but whether Urvaśī is a lawfully wedded queen of Purūravas still remains open to question. Being a divine person, and an *apsaras*, as well as scheduled to stay with the king for a stipulated time, her marriage with the king is out of question. The fact of her son Āyuṣ being consecrated also does not alter this fundamental situation.

In spite of this, we can justify the fact of Āyuṣ' consecration on two grounds. One is the power of royal authority. The laws of inheritance described above are meant for the ordinary subjects of the state. The master of the state himself is beyond such rules. It is within his power to frame the rules as well as allow exceptions to them. He can, therefore, decide to nominate Āyuṣ as his royal heir because he is born of his own seed though born in his unmarried consort Urvaśī.

Another ground is that of a situation of inevitability created by the dramatist for the acceptance of Prince Āyuṣ. The king has stayed with Urvaśī for a number of years, has been married with queen Auśīnarī for even a longer time, but has not been fortunate in having a son. Āyuṣ has been secretly kept away for a number of years. Naturally, the anxiety of the king and his subjects to have a royal heir must be mounting. In fact, the Vidūṣaka does give voice to this feeling of anxiety in the beginning of Act V when he says: "He has nothing to worry about except his childlessness."[34] When, therefore, the king's own son, his only son is presented before him, it is only to be expected that he would forthwith embrace him eagerly as his own son without waiting to decide upon his status vis-a-vis his mother. In fact, only that he is the *aurasa* (in a wider sense) son of the king should suffice. On the other hand, Urvaśī has stayed with the king for years together now, and though not ceremonially wedded, she is accepted by all almost as a queen. Therefore, Urvaśī's son is accepted as the crown prince without even raising an eyebrow, particularly because there is no other prince to claim that position.

This way of arguing, however, once again confirms the position taken above that Urvaśī is not a lawfully wedded queen of king Purūravas throughout the play. Actually, the question of her status comes up for consideration immediately upon the prince's appearance. The situation that she must now return to the heaven underlines the stipulation as well as her status as an *apsaras*. True, that it is solved soon after the divine ordinance making her the king's *saha-dharma-cāriṇī* for life. This is the most that can be granted under the circumstances. Only by a royal ordinance can a courtezan be raised to the status of an honourable housewife. Vasantasenā is so raised by a royal ordinance in *Mṛcchakaṭikam*. For a celestial courtezan like Urvaśī, a divine ordinance must be provided. (And Indra is the king of gods.) Since Urvaśī is an immortal female, she can be ordained to stay with her lover only till his life. Widowhood is not possible in her case.

Thus Urvaśī is given some queenly status only in the wake of her son's consecration. But that is, as we have already seen, only *post facto* and that too when hardly any virtue or value can be attached to it. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that though Kālidāsa makes the mortal king and the divine nymph love each other and shows their offspring being accepted as the royal heir, yet he is aware that any sort of marriage between them is not possible. Marriage is a sacrament ordained for human females and it cannot be applied in the case of a divine damsel like Urvaśī. She must remain the consort of her lover without marriage. As Vidūṣaka advises the King: "May you not expect all the qualities of human females in divine damsels!"[35]

Postscript

Two minor arguments need to be clarified only as a postscript.

One: In the fourth Act, the king, roaming in the Gandhamādana forest in a somewhat demented condition in separation from his beloved Urvaśī, addresses the following verse to the cakravāka bird:

> "I am he whose mother's father is the sun and grandfather the moon, and who is the self-chosen husband of the two—Urvaśī and the Earth."[36]

The word 'husband' (*Patiḥ*) uttered by the King himself may perhaps be brought in to make us believe that the lovers are lawfully wedded some time between the third and the fourth Acts. But there are weightier arguments against this supposition. Commentators remark on this verse as follows: Says Koṇeśvara: "Though mentioning one's own prowess (I am chosen by them as their husband) is prohibited, yet in this particular condition (i.e. of dementation) it does not constitute a fault."[37] Kāṭyavema says: " 'Husband' means 'lover'. According to Amara, *dhavaḥ, priyaḥ, patiḥ, bhartā* are synonyms...because boasting is understood here."[38] Thus, according to commentators, there are two reasons for such a statement: boasting and a demented condition. Also, in this context, 'husband' is taken to mean 'lover'.

Commentators apart, even a close look at the simile itself will reveal the nature of the lovers' relationship. Urvaśī is covertly compared with the earth. Though a king is generally called a *bhūpati* 'lord of the earth', yet the lords keep changing. No 'husband' of the earth is constant. Therefore, the king should be considered 'husband' of Urvaśī on the strength of this verse only in the sense in which he is also *a* 'husband' of the earth.

Another argument can come up from a generally accepted textual reading. In the opening dialogue of Act V, the Vidūṣaka informs: "Today being an auspicious day, the king, alongwith his *queens* has taken a dip in the confluence of the sacred rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā."[39] The plural 'queens' must be considered closely. No queen other than Auśīnarī is mentioned throughout the play. If the plural is to be justified, we must suppose the king to have at least one more queen besides Auśīnarī, because the Vidūṣaka employs Prākrit in which there is no dual number. Now Kālidāsa has not mentioned any royal consort other than Auśīnarī and Urvaśī. Therefore, Urvaśī must be supposed to have become the lawful queen partaking in the religious ceremonies performed by the king.

There is, however, another reading which gives the singular form 'queen'[40] instead of the plural 'queens' and the meaning of which can be restricted to Auśīnarī only who justifiably accompanies the king in his religious performances. This reading having a singular form of the word *devī* 'queen' is more in keeping with the conclusion reached in the main body of this paper.

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

11. Kangle, R.P., *Kālidāsācin Nāṭaken* (Marathi), Bombay, 1957, pp. 101 & 113.
12. Cf. जंणिमित्तं भट्टा उक्कंढिदो ताए इत्थिआए etc. p. 15. Velankar, H.D., *Vikramorvaśiya*. Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, 1961. All references to the text of the play are traced to this critical edition.
13. Cf. कञ्चुकी — इत इतो भवती। p. 97.
14. Cf. नारद: — अविरहितौ दम्पती भूयास्ताम्। p. 107.
15. Cf. इयं चोर्वशी यावदायुस्तव सहधर्मचारिणी भवत्विति। p. 107.
16. Read the play from pp. 56ff.
17. Read: हला देवीए दिण्णो महाराओ। तदो से पणअवदी विअ सरीरसंगदम्हि। मा खु मं पुरोभाइणिं समत्येहि। p. 57.
18. Cf. the stage direction अर्धासनं ददाति। p. 101.
19. Cf. जेदु जेदु महाराओ। pp. 56 and 101.
20. Cf. p. 55.
21. Cf. pp. 56, 90, 101.
22. Cf. p. 100.
23. Cf. pp. 36, 50.
24. Cf. इच्छयान्योन्यसंयोग: कन्यायाश्च वरस्य च।
    गान्धर्व: स तु विज्ञेयो मैथुन्य: कामसंभव:।।
    Manusmṛti (*MS*), III.32.
25. Cf. गान्धर्वेषु विवाहेषु पुनर्वैवाहिको विधि:।
    कर्तव्यश्च त्रिभिर्वर्णै: समयेनाग्निसाक्षिक:।।
    Quoted by Kullūka in the commentary on *MS*, VIII.226.
26. Cf. गान्धर्वश्चोपगमनपूर्वकोऽपि भवति। तस्य क्षत्रियविषये सुधर्मत्वं मनुनोक्तम्।
27. Cf. सहोभौ चरतां धर्ममिति वाचानुभाष्य च।
    कन्याप्रदानमभ्यर्च्य प्राजापत्यो विधि: स्मृत:।। *MS*, III.30.
28. See above fn. 15.
29. Cf. पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्रा: कन्यास्वेव प्रतिष्ठिता:।
    नाकन्यासु क्वचिन्नृणाम् लुप्तधर्मक्रिया हिता:।। *MS*, VIII.226.
29a. Amarakośa I.1.52.
30. Cf. कामं तु क्षपयेद्देहं पुष्पमूलफलै: शुभै:।
    न तु नामापि गृह्णीयात्पत्यौ प्रेते परस्य तु।।
    आसीतामरणात्क्षान्ता नियता ब्रह्मचारिणी।
    यो धर्म एकपत्नीनां कांक्षन्ती तमनुत्तमम्।। *MS*, V.157-8.
31. Cf. न दत्त्वा कस्यचित्कन्यां पुनर्दद्याद्विचक्षण:। *MS*, IX.71.ab.
    न निष्क्रयविसर्गाभ्यां भर्तुर्भार्या विमुच्यते।। *MS*, IX.46.ab.
32. Cf. *MS*, IX.158ff.
33. Cf. क्षेत्रजादीन सुताजेतानेकादश यथोदितान्।
    पुत्रप्रतिनिधीनाहु: क्रियालोपान्मनीषिण:।।
    य एतेऽभिहिता: पुत्रा: प्रसङ्गादन्यबीजजा:।
    यस्य ते बीजतो जातास्तस्य ते नेवरस्य तु।। *MS*, IX.180-1.
34. Cf. असंताणत्तणं वज्जिअ से ण किं वि सोअणीण। p. 92.
35. Cf. मा भवं सव्वं माणुसीधम्मं दिव्वासु संभावेदु। p. 97.
36. Cf. सूर्याचन्द्रमसी यस्य मातामहपितामहौ।
    स्वयं वृत: पतिर्द्वाभ्यामुर्वश्या च भुवा च य:।। IV.38.
37. Cf. ताभ्यां पतित्वेनाहं वृत इति स्वपौरुषख्यापनं
    यद्यपि निषिद्धं तथाप्यवस्थाविशेषे न दोषायेति भाव:। *Vikramorvaśiyam*, The Sanskrit Academy, Hyderabad, 1966, p. 207.
38. Cf. पति: प्रिय:। 'धव: प्रिय: पतिर्भर्ता' इत्यमर:।...अत्र विकत्थनाया गम्यमानत्वात्। ibid.
39. Cf. अज्ज तिहिविसेसो त्ति भअवदीणं गंगाजमुणाणं संगमे देवीहिं सह किदाहिसेओ... etc., p. 92.
40. Cf. °देवीए सह° Bt p3 R., p. 92.

39

CONTENTS OF RĀMĀYAṆA—SOME OBSERVATIONS

M.M. PATHAK

Maharṣi Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is considered to be the Ādikāvya and it has influenced a number of literary creations in the succeeding ages. There can be nothing to be objected to for the genuine story of the epic as presented by the Ādi Kavi. Yet on a cursory reading some portions do appear such that some explanations are required for them. Here certain such portions are taken up for consideration and discussion and explanation is attempted for them.

There is one such portion which has its seeds in the Araṇya kāṇḍa. Sītā[1] says to Jaṭāyu when he fell down being wounded by Rāvaṇa in his fight to save Sītā. She here requests Jaṭāyu to inform everything about her abduction by Rāvaṇa to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

After returning to the Parṇakuṭi with Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma becomes very highly afflicted on not seeing Sītā there. He at once starts on a search for Sītā with Lakṣmaṇa. Rāma's wailing out of grief continues throughout this search, and at one place Rāma finds the impression of a big foot-step of a Rākṣasa and finds some ornaments and flowers which adorned Sītā. He asks[2] Lakṣmaṇa to see them.

At that place, there were some remnants showing that a fierce fight must have taken place there. Lakṣmaṇa shows all that to Rāma. It appeared to Lakṣmaṇa that a duel between two warriors must have been held there. So he advised Rāma to continue further the search for Sītā. They proceed further from the place. At some distance from that place they find Jaṭāyu lying wounded on the ground. As asked by Sītā Jaṭāyu tells[3] Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa about Sītā's abduction. But here it should be noted that Jaṭāyu mentions only the name of the abductor and not his whereabout. So from this information given by Jaṭāyu here it can be concluded that both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa knew only that the abductor of Sītā was a demon named Rāvaṇa and nothing beyond that.

Then Jaṭāyu dies and Rāma performs his obsequies.

Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa proceed further and meet Kabandha. They cut his arms, and then he proposes to help Rāma, as he would assume his original form thereafter. Rāma tells[4] Kabandha about the abduction of Sītā by a demon. Here Rāma admits that he knows only the name of the abductor and nothing else about him. It is Kabandha who after the cremation assuming his original form advised Rāma to befriend Sugrīva who would help him in his mission. But Kabandha also does not say anything about the residence etc. of Rāvaṇa.

Now, when we turn to the Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa, at the beginning we come to know about the friendship of Rāma with Sugrīva. He shows the garment of Sītā and the ornaments dropped by her to Rāma and informs that she was abducted by Rāvaṇa. But when Rāma asks further about Rāvaṇa Sugrīva admits[5] his ignorance about the demon.

Then after the death of Vālin in the fight with Sugrīva, the latter is installed on

the throne of Kiṣkindhā, marries Tārā the widow of Vālin, gets back his wife Romā, and passes his days happily. Thus some time lapses and Rāma entertains the doubt that Sugrīva has been unmindful of his promise. He sends Lakṣmaṇa to remind Sugrīva of his promise to help. So Lakṣmaṇa goes to the royal palace of Kiṣkindhā and sees Sugrīva. While reminding Sugrīva, he becomes harsh on him on account of his negligence towards the fulfilment of his promise. At that time Tārā comes there to persuade Lakṣmaṇa to forgive Sugrīva. Sugrīva had already promised Rāma for the rescue and return of Sītā.[6] Lakṣmaṇa understood that Sugrīva was unmindful of this promise given by him to Rāma. So he rebukes him bitterly. So Tārā persuades Lakṣmaṇa and pacifies him. She says[7] that Sugrīva would definitely keep his promise and try for the return of Sītā. She further informs[8] Lakṣmaṇa that she knew about Rāvaṇa as she was told by Vālin.

After this Lakṣmaṇa is convinced of Sugrīva's sincerity. Then Sugrīva issues orders to assemble all his forces and goes with Lakṣmaṇa to see Rāma. Sugrīva's generals arrive at his command, and then Sugrīva despatches his troops in all the four directions in search of Sītā. He sends Virāṭa and his party to the East, Angada and his party to the South, Suṣeṇa and his party to the West and Śatabali and his party to the North.

For this incident H. Jacobi has the following remarks:[9] "Sugrīva sends the monkeys in search of Sītā in four expeditions under Virāṭa, Hanumat, Suṣeṇa and Śatabali towards the East, South, West and North respectively. It gives Sugrīva the occasion for describing the four quarters of the world (IV.40-43). That four expeditions did not occur in the original poem and only Hanumat along with his friends was entrusted with the task of finding out Sītā undoubtedly proceeds from the fact that Hanumat carries Rāma's ring as a token of recognition. From the very beginning Hanumat was considered as most suitable to find out Sītā. In the 44th canto occurs the original story in which Sugrīva gives Hanumat the command to find out Sītā and Rāma hands over the ring to him. A feeble attempt is made to remove the contradiction with the story in the matter of sending three more expeditions by the addition of the first verse:

Viśeṣeṇa tu Sugrīvo Hanumati artham uktavān
Sa hi tasmin kapiśreṣṭhe niścitārtho'rthasādhane.

The contradiction as involved in choosing Hanumat as a messenger to Sītā and yet sending three more expeditions cannot be removed by adding one or a pair of verses to the book. In order to establish the original text and remove contradictions, just referred to, we must strike off the relevant cantos 40-43, in which the despatch of the four expeditions is narrated and the four quarters are described. A further consequence is this that with these cantos the cantos 45-47 lose ground and we can join the end of the 44th with the beginning of the 48th indeed to the second verse of the latter. Then the story continues without interruption." (The references by Jacobi are to the Vulgate editions.)

Now, when the matter is considered deeply it will appear that this apparent contradiction to which H. Jacobi has taken an objection does not hold ground.

We have already noted that Sugrīva admits his ignorance about the whereabout of Rāvaṇa (vide fn. no. 5 above). It is only Tārā who informs Lakṣmaṇa about Rāvaṇa, Laṅkā and the strength of Rāvaṇa while pacifying him. It is quite likely that Sugrīva might not have overheard the conversation between Tārā and Lakṣmaṇa. So his action of sending the search parties in all the four directions might be a result of his sincerity in the friendship with Rāma and his genuine desire to help Rāma in finding out Sītā. The reason for this belief is that Sugrīva had been very hardly taken to task by Lakṣmaṇa

for his negligence to his promise to Rāma, just before his conversation with Tārā. So Sugrīva might not be mindful of what Tārā had said to Lakṣmaṇa. Moreover he immediately proceeds with Lakṣmaṇa to see Rāma.

Thereafter Sugrīva tells his generals to proceed to perform their duty and describes the places coming in their way. He warns them before their departure that they should try to search at the places described by him and even at the places which he had not described.[10] He also warns[11] them to finish their job within a month, and those who detain after the lapse of the month would be liable to death. He sends Suṣeṇa to the West. Suṣeṇa is the father of Tārā and Sugrīva's father-in-law. Then he sends Śatabali to the North.

Thus his sending troops in all the directions does not seem motivated just by the desire to describe all the four quarters. If we were sure that Suṣeṇa would not find Sītā in the West, why should he send him, who was his father-in-law, i.e., a very near relative?

Now considering the question of Sugrīva's entrusting Hanumat the task of finding out Sītā, it can easily be understood that Sugrīva had special confidence in Hanumat due to his strength, resourcefulness and intelligence. He actually says so to Hanumat.[12] Here Sugrīva enumerates the special qualities of Hanumat like strength, intelligence, valour, understanding of time and place and knowledge of Nīti. So Sugrīva is here amply justified in having a special confidence in Hanumat. But on that account it would be rather a far-fetched idea to think that Sugrīva entertained such confidence in Hanumat and unnecessarily sent the other three expeditions. It just seems here that Sugrīva believes that on account of the special qualities of Hanumat, he was more sure that he would fulfil the work.

Now, regarding Rāma's entrusting his ring to Hanumat as the token of recognition, it can be understood to be Rāma's belief that Hanumat who was considered so highly by the king Sugrīva would surely fulfil the purpose.[13] Thus thinking that Hanumat, in whom his master had such a trust, would surely do the work successfully, Rāma gives him the ring[14] bearing his own name so that he could present himself as a genuine messenger of Rāma before Sītā. Thus it seems that Rāma also had the same confidence in Hanumat as Sugrīva had.

As an alternative explanation for Rāma's justification in giving the ring to Hanumat, it may be presumed that he might have come to know about Rāvaṇa through Lakṣmaṇa who was informed by Tārā and so he acted on his information, and gave the ring to Hanumat. But such a conversation between the two brothers has not been reported by the author, before the incident of giving the ring.

Regarding the striking off of the cantos dealing with the despatch of the search parties to various directions, it can be said that on the examination of the sincerity and genuine desire of helping Rāma on the part of Sugrīva it does not seem necessary to drop these cantos.

Moreover these cantos have been incorporated in the text of Critical Edition of the Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa, and not dropped from it. The obvious reason for this is that these cantos are there in all the four recensions of Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, and as a matter of usual practice what is common to all the recensions should be incorporated in the text and cannot be dropped as spurious. The grounds discussed by Dr. H. Jacobi for the suggestion to drop these cantos do not appear to be entirely convincing and conclusive.

The reasons for including these cantos, viz., 39-42 of the Critical Edition of Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa discussed above amply hold good to justify the genuineness of the said portion. It is definitely the genuine desire of Sugrīva to help Rāma, and his not knowing the whereabout of Rāvaṇa, which are the reasons for his sending the troops to all the four

directions. Moreover the author who is the contemporary witness of the incidents cannot be supposed to be ignorant of the intricacies of Rāma's story.

References

1. रामाय तु यथातत्त्वं जटायो हरणं मम।
   लक्ष्मणाय च तत्सर्वमाख्यातव्यमशेषतः।।

   III.47.36

2. पश्य लक्ष्मण वैदेह्याः शीर्णाः कनकबिन्दवः।
   भूषणानां हि सौमित्रे माल्यानि विविधानि च।।

   III.60.24

3. यामोषधिमिवायुष्मन्नन्वेषसि महावने।
   सा देवी मम च प्राणा रावणेनोभयं हृतम्।।
   त्वया विरहिता देवी लक्ष्मणेन च राघव।
   ह्रियमाणा मया दृष्टा रावणेन बलीयसा।।
   सीतामभ्यवपन्नोऽहं रावणश्च रणे मया।
   विध्वंसितरथच्छत्रः पातितो धरणीतले।।
   एतदस्य धनुर्भग्नमेतदस्य शरावरम्।
   अयमस्य रणे राम भग्नः सांग्रामिको रथः।
   परिश्रान्तस्य मे पक्षौ छित्त्वा खड्गेन रावणः।
   सीतामादाय वैदेहीमुत्पपात विहायसम्।
   रक्षसा निहतं पूर्वं न मां हन्तुं त्वमर्हसि।।

   III.63.14-18

4. रावणेन हृता सीता मम भार्या यशस्विनी।
   निष्क्रान्तस्य जनस्थानात्सह भ्रात्रा यथासुखम्।।
   नाममात्रं तु जानामि न रूपं तस्य रक्षसः।
   निवासं वा प्रभावं वा वयं तस्य न विद्महे।।

   III.67.19-20

5. न जाने निलयं तस्य सर्वथा पापरक्षसः।
   सामर्थ्यं विक्रमं वापि दौष्कुलेयस्य वा कुलम्।।
   सत्यं तु प्रतिजानामि त्यज शोकमरिंदम।
   करिष्यामि तथा यत्नं यथा प्राप्स्यसि मैथिलीम्।।

   IV.7.2-3

6. रसातले वा वर्तन्तीं वर्तन्तीं वा नभस्थले।
   अहमानीय दास्यामि तव भार्यामरिंदम।।

   IV.6.5

7. समानेष्यति सुग्रीवः सीतया सह राघवम्।
   शशाङ्कमिव रोहिण्या निहत्वा रावणं रणे।।
   शतकोटिसहस्राणि लङ्कायां किल रक्षसाम्।
   अयुतानि च षट्त्रिंशत्सहस्राणि शतानि च ।।

   IV.34.14-15

8. एवमाख्यात्वान्वाली सत्यभिज्ञो हरीश्वरः।
   आगमस्तु न मे व्यक्तः श्रवात्तस्य ब्रवीम्यहम्।।

   IV.34.18

9. Jacobi, H., '*Das Ramayana*', Bonn, 1893, translated by Dr. S.N. Ghosal, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, p. 31.

10. शैलेषु तेषु सर्वेषु कन्दरेषु वनेषु च।
ये च नोक्ता मया देशा विचेया तेषु जानकी।।

IV.39.59

11. अधिगम्य तु वैदेहीं निलयं रावणस्य च।
मासे पूर्णे निवर्तध्वमुदयं प्राप्य पर्वतम्।।
ऊर्ध्वं मासान्न वस्तव्यं वसन्वध्यो भवेन्मम।
सिद्धार्थाः संनिवर्तध्वमधिगम्य च मैथिलीम्।।

IV.39.61-62

12. तेजसा वापि ते भूतं समं भुवि न विद्यते।
तद्यथा लभ्यते सीता तत्त्वमेवोपपादय।।
त्वय्येव हनुमन्नस्ति बलं बुद्धिः पराक्रमः।
देशकालानुवृत्तिश्च नयश्च नयपण्डित।।

IV.43.5-6

13. सर्वथा निश्चितार्थोऽयं हनूमति हरीश्वरः।
निश्चितार्थतरश्चापि हनुमान्कार्यसाधने।।
तदेवं प्रस्थितस्यास्य परिज्ञातस्य कर्मभिः।
भर्त्रा परिगृहीतस्य ध्रुवः कार्यफलोदयः।।

IV.43.8-9

14. ददौ तस्य ततः प्रीतः स्वनामाङ्कोपशोभितम्।
अङ्गुलीयमभिज्ञानं राजपुत्र्याः परंतपः।।

IV.43.11

The Compound Verb in Gujarati and its Use in Connected Text

Peter Edwin Hook

Introduction

Like those of other modern Indo-Aryan languages,[1] every time speakers of Gujarati use a verb, they must choose between using a compound or non-compound form of it. The main objective of this paper is to elucidate some of the syntactic, semantic, and discourse-structural factors which condition that choice. But first, some definitions.

A compound verb (CV) is composed of the non-finite form of a main or primary verb followed by the inflected form of an auxiliary or vector verb. These latter are homophonous with members of Gujarati's inventory of primary verbs. When used as primary verbs they express some change in location or posture or actions that entail such changes: GIVE, TAKE, GO, THROW, RISE, STAY, FALL, etc. As vectors they express subtle nuances of aspect and speaker attitude. In examples (1) and (2) *banii* and *kahii*[2] are the non-finite forms of the main verbs *ban* 'become' and *kah* 'say'; while *gayo hato* and *de* are finite forms of vectors *jaa* GO and *de* GIVE (ex. (1) is from Meghani 1937:18 (M:18), while (2) is from M:19):

(1) rasto banduuk-nii naLii jevo sAAkaDo *ban-ii* *gayo* *hato*
road rifle-GN barrel as narrow become-NF WENT was[3]
'The road had become as narrow as the barrel of a gun.'

(2) *kah-ii* *de* dhokaDAA-vaaLaa-ne ke amaldaar-nAA gaaDAA che
say-NF GIVE bales-man-DT that officer-GN wagons are
'Tell the cottonmen that the wagons are the officer's.'

For every CV there is almost always a corresponding non-compound or simple verb (SV) in which the auxiliary is absent and the primary verb carries the desinential suffixes. Compare (1) with (3) and (2) with (4):

(3) kaagaDo be-caar vaar uuD-ii uuD-ii nirbhay *banyo* *hato* (M:4)
crow two-four times flying flying fearless become was
'Flying up (and landing) a few times the crow had become fearless.'

(4) taarii maa-ne *kahe* ke jhaT daaginaa naakh-ii de niice!
your mom-DT say that quick jewelry throw-NF GIVE down
'Tell your mom to throw down her jewels fast!' (M:13)

There is a second, less frequently occurring type of CV formed by preposing a past tense form of *caal* or *hal* (which as primaries mean either 'move' or 'walk') to a finite form of the main verb (usually a motion verb like *jaa* 'go', *aav* 'come', or *caal* 'move'):

(5) sAAdhaa-vaaLo ... sTeSan taraf *caal-yo* *gay-o*
switch-man station toward MOVED-msg went-msg
'The switchman went toward the station.' (M:6)

For many primary verbs there is a choice of vectors any one of which can be used to form a compound verb. Such choices may sometimes be meaningful. Compare (7) with (6) where the use of a form of *naakh* THROW rather than a form of *le* TAKE helps to express the greater degree of violence implicit in the action:

(6) be hajaar bhegaa *kar-ii* *liidhaa* bhiikh-mAA-thii...
two thousand together do-NF TOOK begging-in-from
'He collected two thousand by begging...' (M:5)

(7) ek ciil-e gaaDaa-naa jaaNe be TukRaa *kar-ii* *naakhyaa*
a shriek-ER carts-GN as-if two pieces do-NF THREW
'A piercing scream as if rent the carts asunder.' (M:13)

Sometimes such choices may not have any meaning or function at all (other than providing some kind of lexical variety):

(8) kAAk kaam *aav-ii* *gayU* *haSe*
some work come-NF GONE be-FUT
'Something (he had to do) must have come up.' (M:7)

(9) kAAk kaam *aav-ii* *paDyU* *haSe*
some work come-NF FALLEN be-FUT
'Something (he had to do) must have come up.' (M:12)

The chief objective of this paper, however, is not to try to solve the problem of which vectors may occur with which primaries but a prior problem: Under what conditions is the form of a verb most likely to be compound?[4]

The Problem

In Hook 1974 and later works I have identified a number of environments which (in Hindi-Urdu) virtually guarantee the appearance of a compound verb. These include:

1) clauses which explicitly mark one event as anterior to another:

(10) iske pahle ki uskaa paricay ve un logO se
this before that his introduction he those people with
kar-aa dE, vo ... kamre se baahar *ho* *jaa-taa*
do-CAUS GIVE he room from outside become GO-HAB
'Before he could introduce him to those people,
he'd leave the room.' (Singh 1971:13)

2) clauses introduced by *jab tak* 'until':

(11) jab-tak pakkaa viSvaas na *ho* *jaay*
until firm belief not become GO
'Until he is fully convinced...' (Premchand 1936:14)

and 3) complement clauses of predicates expressing fear or anxiety:

(12) bhay hai ki Agarezii sarkaar se sambandh *TuuT* *na* *jaaE*
fear is that English govt. with relations break not GO
'(We) are afraid that (our) relations with the English
government might break.' (Premchand n.d.: 168)

As I have shown elsewhere (in press, 1991, 1989, 1988), the first environment is a diagnostic for relative tense; and the other two, for grammatical (rather than inherent) perfective aspect. Of the three two have a similar favouring effect on the appearance of the compound verb in Gujarati (ex. 13 is from Christian 1987:210 and ex. 14 is from Joshi 1977:6):

(13) ma-ne dhaasti peThi ke a mallo rakhe kacch-ni abru *paaD-i jaay*
me-DT fear entered that these wrestlers lest Kutch-GN honour fell-NF GO
'I was afraid these wrestlers might destroy the honour of Kutch.'

(14) ke-ne maalam ke varas-mAA j taav jamaai-ne *khaa-i* *ja-Se*
who-DT known that year-in EMP fever son-in-law-DT eat-NF GO-FUT
'Who knew that before a year was out fever would take our son-in-law?'

In Gujarati, however, *until*-clauses do not favour CVs:

(15) tyAA sudhii ahII raho jyAA sudhii e tam-ne kaagal *aape*
then until here stay when until he you-DT letter give
'Wait here until he gives you the letter.'

I interpret this to mean that in Gujarati perfective aspect is not so powerful a determinant of CV manifestation as it is in Hindi-Urdu.

While these three environments are important in semantic and functional analyses of the compound verb, they are not so useful in understanding its distribution in texts. This is because they occur too rarely to account for more than a tiny fraction of the data, probably less than 1% of the compound forms. We must consider other variables if we want to be able to predict in general where verb forms in a prose text are most likely to surface as compound.

Methodology

In this study I selected for statistical analysis the first thirty pages of *soraṭh tārā vahetā pāṇī* (*Sorath, your flowing waters*) a novel by Zaverchand Meghani that was first published in 1937. Each verb form in it was coded for manifestation (CV or not CV) as well as finiteness. Selecting its finite forms as the sample set for further analysis, I proceeded down a list of conjectured variables, running what amounts to a chi-square test on each one. After each test I discarded that part of the data that had the lower percentage of compound forms. Doing so I was able to reduce the number of forms that had to

be coded for the less easily decidable variables (particularly, the last two) to a more manageable number. The cost of doing this was the loss of information required to discover to what degree any two variables are mutually dependent and how much weight should be given to each.

Findings

1. Global frequency of Gujarati CV. In a count of the 1280 verb forms in the text sample I found that 101 (=7.9%) of them were compound.[5] This figure puts Gujarati toward the midpoint of CV frequencies found in modern Indo-Aryan:[6]

Language	**Number of counts made**	**CV%**
Kashmiri	2	1/2-1
Middle Marwari (17th century)	2	1-4
Marathi	2	3-4
Gujarati	3	8-9
Bangla (20th century)	4	10-13
Modern Marwari (20th century)	3	13-17
Hindi-Urdu (late 20th century)	7	15-20

Table 1. Global CV%s in modern Indo-Aryan languages[7]

2. Finite versus non-finite. In modern Gujarati non-finiteness is a strongly disfavouring factor for occurrence of compound forms. A count of non-finite forms yields a CV frequency of only 4.9% (21 CVs out of a total of 432 non-finite forms). Casting non-finites out of the sample leaves the balance (the finite forms) with a somewhat higher rate of CV manifestation:

Verb form type	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Non-finite	432	21	4.9	
Finite	848	80	9.4	($p < .01$)

Table 2. CV percentages in Meghani's *soraTh* x finiteness

These figures contrast sharply with parallel figures from a text in Hindi-Urdu (Singh 1971) in which finite forms are over ten times more likely than non-finite forms to be CVs:

Verb form type	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Non-finite	419	9	2.1	
Finite	760	215	28.3	($p < .001$)

Table 3. CV% in D. Singh's *sukhaant* x finiteness

Rarer occurrence in non-finite form may be seen as indicating a greater "decategorialization" (Hopper 1991) of Hindi-Urdu (as compared to Gujarati) vector verbs.

3. The non-finite CV% of 4.9 conceals a marked degree of variation that depends

on non-finite form type. In particular, the perfect participle in *-el* shows a strong tendency for CV manifestation. Making separate counts both for it and for conjunctive participles, I found the following asymmetries:

Non-finite form type	Total	CVs	CV%
Conjunctive participles	151	6	4.0
Perfect participles in *-el*	53	11	20.8
Other non-finite forms	228	4	1.8

Table 4. Non-finite CV% in Meghani's soraTh x form type

The occurrence of conjunct participles in CV form:

(16) e-thii umang-mAA *aav-ii* *ja-ii* gaaDaa-vaaLaa-e kahyU
this-form spirit-in come-NF GO-NF cart-man-ER said
'Encouraged by this the carter said...' (M:7)

(17) pasaayat-ne to kyAA-no kyAA paachaL *choD-ii* *da-ii...*
guard-DT TOP where-GN where behind leave-NF GIVE-NF
'Leaving the village guard somewhere far behind...' (M:30)

is typical of CV-poor languages like Marathi and Kashmiri and is not found at all in CV-rich languages like Marwari and Hindi-Urdu. In earlier work, I have interpreted this as an indication of the crossing of a critical threshold in the evolution of the compound verb from a quasi-lexical to a fully grammatical category. Since Gujarati's CV adheres only in part to the tests for perfective aspect (see exx. (13-15)), the figures in Table 4 are consonant with an interpretation of the Gujarati CV as being less completely grammaticized than that of Hindi-Urdu.

4. Even so the high CV% in *el*-participial forms is, at first glance, somewhat surprising. However, unlike their counterparts in neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, Gujarati's *el*-participles are not infrequently used as predicates:

(18) tame *jam-el-aa?* e maaNas kyAA-thii *aav-el-o?*
you eat-PPM-mpl that man where-from come-PPM-msg
'Have you eaten?' 'Where has that man come from?'
(from Cardona 1964:212. The transcription and morph-by-morph glossing are mine.)

In fact, as these examples show, the participle in *-el* is well on its way to a reanalysis as another finite verb form. In the Meghani sample fifteen of the *el*-participles are used either as predicates or as parts of predicates (and for this reason I finally put them together with the finite forms):

(19) fituurio bangaaL-mAA-thii chuupaa *niikaL-ii* *ga-yel-aa*
traitors Bengal-in-from secretly go-out-NF GO-PPM-mpl
'(and after that so many) traitors secretly absconded
from Bengal.' (M:28)

In a longer count of 100 tokens (Meghani, pp. 3-55) the figures I obtained for *el*-participles in predicative function still showed a high rate of CV manifestation:

***el*-participle function**	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Predicative	20	6	30	
Attributive and other	80	16	20	(-SIG)

Table 5. CV% in *el*-participles x syntactic function

Furthermore, *el*-participles of all kinds have a CV% which is twice as large as that found for finite verbs overall. It is possible that the latter figure is skewed by material that is inherently excluded from the SV/CV alternation. To make a truer comparison we must purge it of classes of verbs that can never appear compound and those that cannot occur as the bases of *el*-participles.

5. About a quarter of the finite forms in the data set is comprised of stative verbs like *ch-* and *ha-* 'be', 'have to'; *paD* 'have to; *joiye* 'should'; *Sak* 'can'; *aavaD* 'know (how to)'; *laag* 'resemble', 'seem'; *dekhaa* 'appear'; *Sobh* 'look good', 'be appropriate'; *raakh* 'have'; and *rahe* 'stay', 'keep' as in (20):

(20) duur bes-ii-ne e hinsak najar-e ... taak-ii *rahyo*
far sit-NF-CPM he murderous look-LC stare-NF stayed
'He sat down at a distance and kept looking daggers...' (M:5)

These either never appear in CV form or do so rarely enough (*rah*, for example) to be safely excluded from the data set as constituting *simplicia tantum*'s:

Inherent aspect	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Stative	198	0		
Other	660	85	12.9	($p < .001$)

Table 6. CV% x inherent stativeness

6. There is a class of modal verbs which, although not stative, seem to be excluded from the set of verbs exhibiting CV/SV alternations in the sample text.[7] One is root-*vaa mAAD* 'begin to V':

(21) e-naa vicaaro bham-vaa *mAADyaa*
his thoughts spin-INF began
'His thoughts began to whirl.' (M:9)

A synonymous construction is root-*vaa laag*:

(22) mahaaraajaa SeTh-nii piiTh thaabaD-*vaa laagyaa*
maharajah merchant-GN back stroke-INF began
'The maharaja began patting the merchant on the back.' (M:29)

Another 'knock-out' is *de* when used in the sense of 'let':

(23) gaaDAA-ne bherav-naa naheraa-mAA uutar-*vaa* *de*
carts-DT Bhairav-GN stream-in descend-INF let
'Let the carts go down into Bhairav Run...' (M:11)

The result of knocking out such modals is shown in Table 6:

Non-stative modals	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
laag, mAAD, de	17	0	-	
Other finite forms	643	85	13.2	(-SIG)

Table 7. CV% x non-stative modals of phase and cause

7. A common observation in studies of the Hindi-Urdu compound verb is that it only rarely occurs in negative contexts. In Gujarati, however, negation seems not to have such a categorical effect on CV occurrence:

Polarity	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Negative	38	3	7.9	
Affirmative	605	82	13.6	(-SIG)

Table 8. CV% x polarity

Therefore, we will not cast out negated verbs.

8. There is a marked interaction of the SV/CV alternation with tense. Since there are sharp differences in the rate of occurrence of specific tense forms in texts, I have had to put some of the rarer forms together in groups: The perfect includes five sub-types: past, present, presumptive or future, subjunctive, and counter-to-fact. (Exx. (24) to (28) are respective illustrations.)

(24) Dosaa-Dosii beu ... khuuNaa taraf *lapaa-ii gayAA hatAA*
old-m old-f both corner toward hide-NF GONE were
'The old man and woman had hidden in a corner.' (M:8)

(25) devakii-gaam-mAA suunkaar *chavaa-ii gayo che*
Devaki-town-in desolation spread-NF GONE is
'Terror has enveloped the town of Devaki.' (M:28)

(26) kAAk kaam *aav-ii gayU haSe*
some work come-NF GONE will-be
'Something (he had to do) must have come up.' (M:7)

(27) koii lapaa-ii-ne *bes-ii gayo hoy* tevii yaad detaa hataa
some hide-NF-CPM sit-NF GONE were such memory give were
'...gave the impression that someone had sat in hiding.' (M:18)

(28) jo ... SeTh-e ... pOco bhabhuutiyaa-nii daaRo vacce na
if sheth-ER wrist (name of lion)-GN teeth among not
pesaaD-ii diidho hot to...
stick-NF GIVEN were then
'If the Sheth had not stuck his fist in the middle of
Bhabhutiya's teeth then...' (M:28)

I have also included the ten *el*-participles in predicative function (see ex. (19)) as part

of the perfect data-set.

The imperfects (formed from the imperfect stem in -*t@*) subsume the same five subtypes. To illustrate, the subjunctive imperfect is a root-*t@* plus a subjunctive form of *h*-:

(29) mardo-nU juuth *caalyU* *aav-tU* *hoy* tevo prabhaav ...
men-GN group MOVED come-IPM were such impression
'the impression that a group of men were coming...' (M:19)

In narratives, the past form of *h*- is often absent from the past imperfect:

(30) teo-ne kaDak bandobast-nii vaat jaldii gaL-e *uutr-ti* *jat-ti*
them-DT hard discipline-GN idea quick neck-LC descend GO-IM
'They would have no trouble at all in swallowing the idea of strict discipline.' (M:4)

The imperfect usually has either a habitual (30) or a progressive sense (29).

The "preterite" is the simple past tense:

(31) jakhmii saavaj *santaa-ii* *gayo*
wounded lion hide-NF WENT
'The wounded lion hid.' (M:28)

Almost half the finite non-stative data is in the preterite.

The "subjunctive" goes back to the OIA present indicative (*laT*) and as in other NIA languages has more than one function. Sometimes it expresses habitual or generic action:

(32) tame jem daataN-nii siir *faaD-ii* *naakho*, ne? - em
you how stick-GN splinter tear-NF THROW no? thus
'The way you split a twig, right? - that's how...' (M:9)

Other times it expresses non-habitual irrealis action:

(33) aavii aghor ekaant-mAA *phaaT-ii* *na* *paDe*
such terrible solitude-in break-NF not FALL
'In such terrible solitude they might fall apart.' (M:9)

The present definite is formed from the subjunctive by the addition of the auxiliary *ch*- 'be'. It expresses either present time or the immediate future:

(34) jo gaaDU halyU calyU che to *fUUk-ii* *daU* *chU*
if cart MOVED moved is then fire-NF GIVE am
'If this cart moves then I (will) shoot.' (M:13)

The progressive, a rare form in Gujarati, is composed of a non-finite form of the primary followed by a past form of the auxiliary *rahe* followed by a form of *ch*- 'be':

(35) goTaa SU *vaaL-ii* *rahyo* *che*, rOcaa?
balls what roll-NF PROG are hayseed
"Are you out of your mind, fool?' (M:12)

The Gujarati progressive never occurs compound. Future and imperative, the two categories that remain, I have named and defined in the traditional way. The distribution of CVs vis-a-vis tense is as below:

Tenses	Total	CVs	CV%
a. Perfects	70	19	27.1
b. Future	17	5	29.4
c. Preterite	293	43	14.7
d. Imperatives	71	9	12.7
e. Present definite	28	3	10.7
f. Imperfects	98	4	4.1
g. Simple subjunctive	62	2	3.2
h. Progressive	4	0	-

Table 9. CV% x tense

9. Casting out the three least favouring sets of tenses (f, g, and h) we have a remaining data set in which one form in six is compound:

Tense sets	Total	CVs	CV%	
Disfavouring (below 10%)	164	6	3.7	
Favouring (above 10%)	479	79	16.5	($p < .001$)

Table 10. CV% x aggregated sets of tenses

10. Searching for other possible factors I divided the 479 forms in the five favouring tenses into those that occur in a quoted passage and those that do not:

	Total	CVs	CV%	
Quotation	218	33	15.1	
Narrative	261	46	17.6	(-SIG)

Table 11. CV% x passage type

The effect of the being in a quotation is much too small to justify knocking out that part of the data. However, these figures do cast doubt on the idea that the use of the compound verb is somehow connected with spoken as opposed to written language (assuming, of course, that Meghani accurately depicted spoken Gujarati).

11. Within the set of data from quotation is a discernible effect of utterance type. If a verb was in an interrogative it was more likely to appear compound than if it was in a declarative or imperative:

	Total	CVs	CV%	
Question	40	9	22.5	
Non-question	178	24	13.5	(-SIG)

Table 12. Quotation CV% x utterance type

It should be kept in mind that the set of 218 tokens which are coded and counted in Table 11 have already been purged of stative forms, which are probably the preponderant type to be found in questions. There were too few questions in the narrative portion of the text to justify a count.

12. The semantic class of the primary verb affects the likelihood of its occurrence in compound form. I sorted the data into one or another of the following sets: A. Phasal. These are expressions that refer to the beginning or ending of action: viz., *saruu kar* 'begin', *bandh kar* 'stop', *pataav* 'finish, have done with', *aTkaav* 'halt', and idioms such as *doT muk* 'take off':

(36) bhaaNaa-e *doT mukii*
Bhana-ER running set
'Bhana set to running (wildly).' (M:25)

B. Sensory. These are verbs referring to sensory activities or events: viz., *jo* 'see', *sAAbhaL* 'hear', *bataav* 'show':

(37) javaab mAA pelaa-e saaf kothLii *bataav-ii diidhii*
answer in that-ER bare bag show-NF GAVE
'In reply he showed (him) the empty bag.' (M:9)

C. Linguistic. Verbs like *kahe* 'say', *bol* 'speak', or *puuch* 'ask' which refer to vocal acts of communication:

(38) strii-ne haLve-thii TUUkaa bol *kah-ii diidhaa*
woman-DT quiet-IN brief words say-NF GAVE
'Quietly he had some brief words with the woman.' (M:23)

D. Psychic. These are predicates of mental activity or emotional change: viz., *siikh* 'learn', *mansuubaa kar* 'intend or plan', *maan* 'believe', *paarakh/oLakh* 'recognize', *kaNTaaL* 'get sick and tired of', *saDak thaa* 'be confounded':

(39) juvaan putrii *hebtaa-ii gaii*
young daughter fear-NF WENT
'(His) young daughter became terrified.' (M:12)

E. Motion. These are predicates which express physical displacements or actions which have concrete motion as a major component: viz., *aav* 'come', *jav* 'go', *le* 'take', *de* 'give', *naakh* 'throw', *ciir* 'split', *lapaa* 'hide', *bAAdh* 'tie':

(40) maDdaa jevaa sTeSan-mAA nav-sruSTi *saLvaL-ii uuThii*
corpse like station-in new-creation stir-NF ROSE
'The dormant station bustled with new life.' (M:6)

F. Other. About a fifth of the data resists classification: Sometimes the putative sets would be too abstract (viz., *kar* 'do', *V-vaa mAA aav* 'come to be V-ed', *ban* 'happen', *jhapaT kar* 'hurry'):

(41) tame aaDiyAA to Thiik-Thaak *kar-ii lyo!* pachE samajaaSe!
you snot-spots TP alright make-NF TAKE-IMPER later understand-FUT
'First (learn to) wipe your nose! (You're too young to understand.)' (M:5)

or too specific (viz., *khalaas thaa* 'be used up or finished, die', *X no bhalo kar* 'bless X', *ghaayal kar* 'wound', *sthaapnaa thaa* 'be founded or established') to be usable:

(42) amaldaar-ne pahelaa j bol vaDe paricit *banaav-ii liidhaa*
officer-DT first EMP word with familiar make-NF TOOK
'With his very first words he made the officer into an acquaintance.' (M:21)

Sometimes there are a number of classes into which a given item might, with equal justification, be put. For instance, *javaab maL* in (43) might be classed as a motion, linguistic or sensory predicate:

(43) gaaDaa-nii paachaL-thii beparvaa *javaab maLyo*
cart-GN behind-from nonchalant answer met
'...came the nonchalant answer from behind the cart.' (M:12)

Even with such limitations a partial classification of the data into broad semantic types yields useful results:

Predicate type	Total	CVs	CV%
Phasal	11	0	-
Sensory	31	2	6.4
Linguistic	103	7	6.8
Psychic	36	6	16.7
Motion	202	46	22.9
Other	95	17	17.9

Table 13. CV% x semantic class of primary

As in Section 5 above the asymmetries in CV distribution which we observe here have mostly to do with inherent aspect: Predicates in the first three categories tend to be either Achievements, Activities, or States; while the other three groups tend to be Accomplishments or predicates which express changes of state. Since the CV itself expresses a conceptual completeness of action, it either contradicts or is redundant with the lexical meanings of many of the predicates in the first three sets, and therefore it occurs much less frequently with them. (See Hook 1989 and 1991 for further discussion of lexical aspect and CV manifestation.)

In Hook (1991) I have extracted parallel data from texts in Marathi and Hindi-Urdu. With the exception of the psychic class of predicates (and allowing for the fact that the compound verb is overall half as frequent in Marathi as it is in Gujarati and twice as frequent in Hindi-Urdu as it is in Gujarati), the figures for those two languages are in proportional agreement with the figures in Table 12:

Semantic class of finite predicate:	CV% in Marathi:	CV% in Gujarati:	CV% in Hindi-Urdu:
a. Phasal	0	0	4
b. Sensory	4	6	8
c. Linguistic	2	7	20
d. Psychic	6	16	9
e. Motion	10	23	44
f. Other	8	18	30

(CV stative predicates have nearly 0% frequency in all three languages)

Table 14. CV% x semantic class of primary for three NIA languages

I would interpret these figures as showing that Indo-Aryan CV systems have been developing along a regular diachronic path with the absolute differences possibly reflecting different dates of CV origin in each of the three languages.

13. So far we have considered CV occurrence as a likelihood that is favoured (or disfavoured) by the morphological and semantic characteristics of lexical items, taken either individually (as in Section 6) or in groups (as in Section 12). In this section, using the data from the last three rows in Table 13, we will consider the role played by discourse structure in a CV calculus.

One discourse-structural factor is the position of a verb in a sentence. If it is the very last item, then the chances that it will be a compound form double:

Position in sentence	Total	CVs	CV%	
Non-final	153	20	13.1	
Final	182	49	26.9	($p < .001$)

Table 15. CV% x position of verb in its sentence

This asymmetry is paralleled in Hindi-Urdu:

Position in sentence	Total	CVs	CV%	
Non-final	54	25	46.3	
Final	63	44	69.8	($p < .01$)

Table 16. CV% x position of verb in sentence (Hindi-Urdu)

One possible explanation of this effect is that it is a reflection of sentence-final position's being the unmarked position for the finite verb in Gujarati (as well as most other languages spoken in South Asia: see Masica 1991). For a finite verb to be in non-final position would mean that either that the speaker wants to divert the hearer's attention to some other element in the sentence. Or the sentence is a complex one with more than one finite verb in it. In that case the non-final verb may be expressing an action which is only a subsidiary part of a complex situation presented in the larger sentence.

The first of these possibilities seems the less likely one. It is very difficult to find specific instances in the text of a non-verbal element that can plausibly be taken as postposed in order to be made more prominent or salient. In (44) the object is postposed and the verb is not compound. But having the object after the verb rather than before it seems not to emphasize it in any definable way:

(44) haa, karsan, kem *rokyAA* *che* gaaDAA?
yes, Karsan, who stopped are carts
'Yes, Karsan, why have they stopped the carts?' (M:19)

The effect seems to be more that of softening a question or showing friendliness.

The second possibility seems more promising. In (45):

(45) gaaDii *uupaDii* ane khO khO khAAsii khaa-tii Saherii
train started and kho kho coughing eat-ing urban
SeThaaNii jevii mahaa-mahenat-e *caal-ii gaii*
shethani like great-effort-IN MOVED-fsg went
'The train started and, with great effort, like a fat
lady from town, went huffing and puffing away.' (M:7)

the action expressed by the simple verb *uupaDii* 'started up (all of a sudden)' is an accessory part of the overall image of the train leaving the station. That total event is expressed by the CV *caalii gaii* 'went away, departed'. This example, in fact, neatly illustrates the use of SV and CV which M.A.R. Barker (1967:391) suggested as a kind of canonical pattern for their use in Hindi-Urdu: "If an utterance contains more than one clause, and each of them has a verb, the compound verbal formation tends to occur only in the last clause."

But sequences of finite clauses linked by *ane* or other words meaning 'and' are not very common in running text. Of the 335 tokens in Table 15 only 32 (in 16 sentences) occur in co-ordinate conjoined constructions like (45). In this data set there are only four instances that show the Barker pattern. Two others show the opposite pattern. While those two counter-examples are conjunctions of clauses which have different rather than shared subjects:

(46) mahaaraajaa *caal-ii niikaLyaa* ne aa be jaNaao-nii
maharajah start-NF WENT-OUT and these two persons-GN
vacce jiivat-mot-nU ver *bandhaayU*
between life-death-GN enmity was-contracted
'The maharajah left and these two persons entered into (M:29)
mortal enmity.'

it is not possible to pursue same versus different subjects as a possible conditioning variable in a data set of only 16 examples.

Thus, the number of co-ordinate conjoined clauses that have compound forms in the last clause is no different from the number (3 or 4) that we should expect on the assumption that no effect exists for Gujarati of the kind described by Barker for Hindi-Urdu:

Situation in sentence	Total	CVs	CV%	
Preceded by a finite SV	13	4	30.8	
Other sentence-final forms	169	45	26.6	(-SIG)

Table 17. CV% x presence of a preceding SV in same sentence

This leaves the statistically significant effect shown in Table 15 unexplained by our appeals to asymmetries which stem from the sentence level of discourse structure. I have tried to connect CV occurrence to discourse structure at two other levels: at both a higher (Section 14) and a lower one (Section 15).

14. If Gujarati CVs mark units of discourse structure at a higher level, we might expect to find them associated with paragraph boundaries. Looking at the finite forms that are final in a paragraph we find the following distribution:

Situation in paragraph	Total	CVs	CV%	
Final form in paragraph	83	20	24.1	
Other sentence-final forms	99	29	29.3	(-SIG)

Table 18. CV% x position of finite form in its paragraph

These figures show if anything a disfavouring effect of paragraph-final position!

15. The observation made by Barker for Hindi-Urdu suggests the possibility that the occurrence of Gujarati CVs in texts might be affected by a variable related to the one displayed in Table 17: If preceded by the non-finite form of some other verb in the same clause, the chances that the finite verb will surface as a CV might be enhanced. This hypothesis assumes that in Gujarati discourse structure has a range of effect on CV occurrence that is shorter than the sentence, that it does not operate beyond the boundaries of single (although complex) finite clauses. As examples, consider (47) and (48):

(47) sAAdhaa-vaaLo sAAdhaa-no henDal dabaav-ii upar ghoDo
switch-man switch-GN handle press-NF above frame
palaaN-ii-ne *bes-ii gayo*
mount-NF-CPM sit-NF WENT
'The switchman pressed the switch-handle and then, getting up onto the frame, sat down.' (M:6)

The action of getting onto the frame near the switch-handle is part of the switchman's action of sitting down. Mention of the subsidiary action confers upon the final one a relatively higher rank in the hierarchy of actions in the narrative. The relatively higher rank is indicated by the CV *besii gayo*. In (48): putting luggage in the first cart is not a component of the family's action of sitting down in the second. Hence, there is no ranking on actions. Instead, we find two independent sentences with SVs in each:

(48) ek gaaDU saamaan-nU *bharaavyU.* biijaa-mAA kuTumb *beThU.*
one cart luggage-GN was-filled other-in family sat
'One cart was filled with the luggage. The family got in the other.' (M:7)

This pair of examples neatly illustrates the variant of Barker's pattern that we have proposed. But how does the hypothesis fare in a complete count of the relevant data? It seems that in Gujarati at least there is no more likelihood of a verb's being compound when preceded by such an adjunct than when not preceded by one.

Situation in clause	Total	CVs	CV%
Preceded by CPM or IPM	42	12	28.6
Other	140	37	26.4

Table 19. CV% x presence of preceding CPM or IPM in the same clause

Conclusions

The figures in Tables 17, 18 and 19 show that there is no significant extraclausal effects in the distribution of CVs in a Gujarati text (at least not in the text which I have subjected

to analysis). These results appear to be at variance with a recent study (Christian 1987) where compound verbs in Gujarati are said to mark "not only suddenness, unexpectedness, or intensity of an activity, but also fast progress in the event line" (p. 79). Progress in the event line might appear at first to be something that is determined by discourse structure. However, at those places in a narrative where progress is fast, a narrator selects lexical items that describe events and actions (Achievements and Accomplishments) that are inherently perfective. Hence, the compound verb will appear frequently at such points even if its functions are purely lexical. This is different from the discourse function proposed for the Hindi-Urdu CV where the choice of a compound versus a simple verb imposes a hierarchy of culminatory (as opposed to subsidiary) rankings on a sequence of events all of which may be, as individual actions, equally perfective. Thus, Gujarati contrasts with Hindi-Urdu in which similar analysis of CVs in a connected text (Singh 1971) reveals sharp asymmetries:

Presence of adjunct actions	**Total**	**CVs**	**CV%**	
Final, with adjuncts	29	25	86.2	
Final, without adjuncts	34	19	55.9	($p < .01$)

Table 20. CV% x presence of adjoined or conjoined prior act in a text in Hindi-Urdu

While the simple measures of discourse structure which I have used to construct Tables 17 through 20 show a sharp difference in the sensitivity of the Gujarati and the Hindi-Urdu CV to layers of discourse structure beyond the clause, there is less difference between the two languages in the sensitivity of their CVs to morphological variables (Tables 3 and 4) and even less difference with respect to lexical-semantic variables (Tables 13 and 14):

Variable	**Gujarati range**		**Hindi-Urdu range**	
Lexico-semantic (b-f)[8]	6-23%	(4x)	8-44%	(5x)
Morphological	5-10%	(2x)	2-20%	(10x)
Discourse-structural	30-24%	(-.2x)	56-86%	(.5x)

Table 21. Sensitivity of CV%s to different variables

It is possible to interpret this contrast as reflecting differing degrees of grammaticalization of the compound verb: in Hindi-Urdu, where its frequency in texts is twice what we find for it in Gujarati, the compound verb has evolved much further from its earlier primarily lexical functions toward acquiring functions in syntax and even discourse. As a set of elements that are highly grammaticalized in Hindi-Urdu, compound verbs have become sensitive to more abstract features at greater distances from their immediate lexical environment. That is, compound verbs in Hindi-Urdu show a greater degree of covariance with semantic variables located further away in the clause (and paragraph) than do compound verbs in Gujarati. In this we see reflected the differing distances travelled along the path from propositional to textual meaning (Traugott 1982) by the compound verb systems in these two Indo-Aryan languages.

References

1. The exceptions are the northern and western dialects of Shina and some languages spoken in southern Rajasthan. In the latter an adverb *po* or *parau* performs the functions of the compound verb auxiliaries (or "vectors") of other Indo-Aryan languages. See Hook and Chauhan 1988.
2. The transliteration system I use for Gujarati and other NIA languages is the one generally found in the Indo-Aryan linguistics literature with the following exceptions: Contrastive length in vowels is indicated by doubling the symbol (not by a macron or colon); nasality in vowels, by capitalization (not by a tilda or following capital *N*); retroflexion of apical stops and flaps, by an upper case letter (not by sublinear dots); and palatal fricatives, by capitalization of the symbol for the corresponding alveolar fricatives. However, in transcribing titles of books in Gujarati I have used diacritics.
3. Abbreviations used in this paper include:
   CPM....conjunctive participle marker
   CTF....counter-factual mood
   DT....dative case or postposition
   EMP....particle expressing exclusion
   ER....ergative case or postposition
   FUT....future tense
   GN....genitive case or postposition
   IMPER....imperative
   IMPFV....imperfective
   INF....infinitival form
   IN....instrumental case or postposition
   IPM....imperfect participle marker
   LC....locative case or postposition
   NEG....negative particle
   NF....non-finite form
   OBL....oblique form or case
   Pl....plural number
   PFV....perfective form
   PPM....perfect participle marker
   SBJNC....subjunctive
   TP....topic particle
   -SIG....not statistically significant
4. Elicited data corroborating the asymmetries illustrated in exx. (13) and (14) was collected in 1982 during a field trip to India funded by the Fulbright Program for the International Exchange of Scholars.
5. I counted as one any verb form or phrase that contained a primary (with or without auxiliaries) and that referred to one action, event, or state. Thus, *aavyaa* 'came', *aavii gayo* 'came', *aavii gayo hoto* 'had come', *bhaan aavii gayU* 'realized' were each counted as one verb. Inevitably there were some sequences of forms that were ambiguous. In (a):
   (a) haa, le *kaaDh-ii* *aapU*
   yes take take-out-NF give-1sg 'Yes, here, I'll take it off.' (M:14)
   is *kaaDhii aapU* to be analyzed as one CV 'I'll take it off (for you)'? Or as two SVs 'I will take it off and give it (to you)'? Indeterminacies of this kind affect about two percent of the total data set.
6. For details on the counts and their sources, see Hook (in press) for Hindi-Urdu and Middle Marwari, Hook (1991) for Marathi, Hook and Koul (MS) for Kashmiri, and Zbavitel (1970) for Bangla. A second Gujarati count was made of the first 36 pages of Mehta 1964: There were 100 CVs out of a total of 1134 forms (8.8%). A third, shorter count of Tripathi (1988:37-42) yielded 27 CVs out of a total of 307 forms (9%). Counts for modern Marwari were:

Title	Author	Date	CVs	Total	CV%
a. *ûkaḷtā āntarā*	Moolchand	1973	158	1249	12.7
b. *khiṛkî*	Rathore	1989	198	1118	17.7
c. *cānd caṛhyo gignār*	Sharma	1989	191	1141	16.7

7. Compound forms of phasal verbs are occasionally seen (Broker 1972:21):
   ek ardhU bole tyAA koi koi vaar bijU bol-vaa *maND-i* *ja-tU*
   one half speaks then some some time other speak-INF begin-NF GO-used to
   'One would utter half (a line) when sometimes another would start speaking.'
8. The numbers of phasals in the two samples were too low to be significant.

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New Light on the Ancient History of Kauśāmbī

Ajay Mitra Shastri

The final picture of the post-Mauryan history of Kauśāmbī region (anciently called Vatsa), as of the rest of northern India, has yet to emerge. Fortunately, this area is immensely rich in archaeological antiquities, and new finds are reported every now and then. Every new discovery, whether it be a coin, a seal or sealing or an inscription, brought to light as a result of the exposure of the surface of the earth during the rains, by the plough of the cultivator or the spade of the road-builder or foundation-digger or in numerous other varied manners, adds an important chapter to our knowledge of the history of the area. Consequently, our knowledge of the history of this region today is much richer than what it was a few decades ago. Recently, I had an opportunity to study a hoard of about three thousand coins found somewhere in the proximity of Kauśāmbī, and this study has thrown much new light on and helped to solve some baffling problems of the history of this region during the pre-Gupta period. The object of the present paper is to highlight these historical findings.

The analysis of the contents of the hoard revealed that all the coins, excluding only nine pieces, belonged to the Magha[1] kings who are known to have held sway in the Kauśāmbī region during the early centuries A.D. Two thousand five hundred odd coins bear the names of the Magha chiefs responsible for issuing them and thus admit of a definite attribution. The remaining coins cannot be attributed to individual Magha chiefs owing to disappearance of legends, but their fabric and types clearly show that they, too, belong to the Magha dynasty.

I. Nothing was known till now about the history of the Magha dynasty prior to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Bhīmasena whose inscriptions are dated in the years 51[2] and 52[3] of an unspecified era.[4] But the present hoard contains a circular copper coin of the normal Magha type[5] which affords us the name of a hitherto unknown Magha chief, viz., *Mahārāja* Magha, who as indicated by his name, was evidently the founder of the Magha dynasty which came to be known as Magha after him just as the Bodhi and the Gupta dynasties were christened after Śrībodhi and Śrīgupta[6] respectively. That he was a sovereign ruler is clearly indicated by his exercise of the royal prerogative of minting coins in his own name. But in the absence of any other information he still remains a shadowy figure.

II. Two kings named Śivamagha, one styled Gautamīputra and the other Kautsīputra,[7] were known from sealings and inscriptions. But all writers on the history of the Maghas took only one ruler, whom they called simply Śivamagha, into consideration. Likewise all the earlier numismatists assigned the coins bearing the name Śivamagha to a single ruler of that name. The present hoard, which contains a large number of coins bearing this name, furnishes indisputable evidence to show that all the coins giving this name cannot be attributed to the same ruler. On some coins the medial sign for *i* in the *akṣara si* shows only a primitive curve on the right whereas on others this curve is very highly developed and brought to the left of the letter. The coins with the primitive

form of medial *i* are evidently considerably earlier than those bearing its more developed form. Accordingly, these coins have to be attributed to two different chiefs of this name who were separated from each other by a considerable gap of time. We may call these rulers Śivamagha I and Śivamagha II respectively. According to available indications, Śivamagha I appears to be identical with Kautsiputra. Śivamagha, who was probably a brother of Kautsiputra Prausṭhaśri, son of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Bhimasena,[8] while Śivamagha II can be identified with Gautamiputra Śivamagha. I checked the published coins of Śivamagha and found that they also belong to two different chiefs. This highlights the necessity of examining all the coins bearing this name published so far.

III. There is a wide divergence of opinion about the position of Śivamagha vis-a-vis Vaiśravaṇa in the history of the Magha dynasty. Some scholars placed Śivamagha before Vaiśravaṇa[9] while according to others he flourished after Vaiśravaṇa.[10] As stated above, these scholars were aware of only a single ruler of this name. But now we have to decide the chronological position of two Śivamaghas who have been brought to light by coins and sealings. The hoard under reference helps us in solving this problem at least partially. It contains a coin of Śivamagha I which appears to have been restruck by Vaiśravaṇa. We can therefore conclude with certitude that Śivamagha I or Kautsiputra Śivamagha preceded Vaiśravaṇa. Likewise, another coin of Vaiśravaṇa restruck by Śivamagha II shows that the former was followed by the latter.

IV. Besides the above-mentioned rulers the hoard contains the monetary issues of Bhadramagha, Bhimavarman and Vijayamagha also; but they have no bearing on the history of the dynasty. Śivamagha I, Vaiśravaṇa and Śivamagha II claim a very large volume of coins as compared to other rulers which is probably indicative of the prosperity and brisk commercial activity during their rule.

V. For most of the Magha chiefs represented we get a much larger number of varieties of coins than hithertofore. Several new devices have also come to light.

VI. The metallic contents of Magha coins were not analysed so far and they were simply dubbed as copper issues. I got a few specimens examined in the laboratory of the Chemistry Department of Nagpur University and the results are quite interesting. It has been found that the Magha coins contain about 77% copper, 21% tin and 2% iron, which was obviously added as a hardening ingredient. It will thus be seen that the hoard has made a significant contribution to the study of Magha coins.

VII. As stated above, there are nine coins in the hoard which do not appear to belong to the Maghas. They give us the name of a hitherto unknown ruler of the Kauśāmbi region, viz., Vijayanandin. At first I felt that he was probably a hitherto unknown member of the Magha dynasty. But a close examination seems to indicate that in all probability he had nothing to do with the Magha dynasty. There are important typological and other differences between the specie of the Maghas on the one hand and those of Vijayanandin on the other. It is no doubt true that the bull is found on the coins of both the Maghas and Vijayanandin; but the similarity ends here. The bull on the Magha specie is represented as standing while that on the coins of Vijayanandin is couchant. The device consisting of six dots arranged in a triangle over a horizontal line and the strung bow-and-arrow device, which are met with on the coins of Vijayanandin, are not to be seen on the Magha issues. There is some difference regarding legends also. The legends on the coins of the Maghas give only the names of the issuing chiefs without any case ending. As against this, the legend on the issues of Vijayanandin ends in genitive singular. The language is Prakrit, and the *anusvāra* or *n* preceding *di* is omitted invariably; likewise, the use of the genitive singular suffix *sa*, which is regular for *a*-stems, for *i*-stem is significant.

Four varieties of Vijayanandin's coins can be distinguished as follows:

Var. 1

Obv. Above, humped bull couchant to left; below, legend.
Rev. Blank.

Var. 2

Obv. As above.
Rev. On left, six pellets so arranged as to form a triangle over a horizontal line: on right, strung bow-and-arrow.

Var. 3

Obv. Above, humped bull couchant to right; below, legend.
Rev. As above.

Var. 4

Obv. Above, humped bull couchant to left; below, legend.
Rev. Humped bull seated to right: three dots arranged horizontally above its head.

It is difficult to determine the date of Vijayanandin on the basis of the few letters forming part of the legend; for, palaeography by itself cannot be depended upon as a measure of an exact date. But on the whole he appears to have flourished in the second or third century A.D. If he had any relation with the Maghas cannot be ascertained in the present state of insufficient information.

Nothing is known about the family to which Vijayanandin belonged. He had nothing to do with kings Śivanandin and Śrīnandin known from a few coins found in Pañchāla region. Not only are the findspots of the coins of Vijayanandin and the other Nandin kings separated by a long distance, their coins are very much different typologically also.[11]

For more details about Vijayanandin we have to wait for future discoveries.

References

1. The dynasty is so called as the names of some of its members ended in magha. These kings are generally identified with the Meghas mentioned in the Purāṇas.
2. *EI*, xxxi, 171, no. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, iii, plate facing p. 306.
4. There is a difference of opinion about the era to which the dates of the Magha inscriptions ought to be referred. Most of the scholars favour Śaka era while others refer the dates to the Kalachuri-Chedi or Gupta era. We think it more probable that the Maghas had their own era which might have evolved from the continuation of the regnal years of the founder of the dynasty by his successors.
5. Its obverse bears three-peaked hill on left and tree within railing on right in the upper part and legend in the lower part whereas on the reverse we have bull standing to right. Its diameter is 1.5 cm and weight 1.7 mg.
6. Actually Bodhi and Gupta respectively; Śrī being only an honorific.
7. *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51, nos. 26 and 28, pl. XVIII.26. *JNSI*, xxiii, p. 412, no. 12.
8. This suggestion is based on the sameness of the matronymic borne by them.
9. *JGJRI*, i, pp. 50-51; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, pp. 44-45; *A Comprehensive History of India*, i, p. 261.

10. *EI*, xxvi, pp. 297ff. N.P. Chakravarti (*ibid.*, xxxi, p. 171) is in favour of placing Śivamagha earlier than Bhadramagha.
11. For the coins of Śrīnandin and Śivanandin, see K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 79 and 86-7.

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A Survey of Manuscript-Collections in Gujarat

Siddharth Yeshwant Wakankar

Religion revolving round rituals, righteousness resulting into reverence and riches reflected in researches represent the triad of the culture of a nation. In this respect, the Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist intelligentsia excels other religious faiths from time immemorial. Here is an humble attempt at exploring the possibilities of measuring the unfathomable treasure of manuscripts of the Hindu as well as the Jaina intellectual giants. The remnants of these treasures are scattered over an extensive piece of land, now known as Gujarat. Formerly, the entire Bharat was a unified territory and the scholars exchanged their pleasantries as well as views in the Sanskrit language — a refined language indicative of their genius, depth of thought, encompassing compassion towards every living entity, in fact, every thing that can be connoted by the term culture and civilization. Hence, there were no water-tight compartments of regions. The scholars freely moved from this place to that place throughout the length and breadth of this Blessed Land of ours. The scholars, obviously, carried their thoughts couched in Sanskrit/Prakrit. In this way, the Hindu as well as the Jaina saints and scholars with their hosts of followers gradually paved the way for not only the rapid growth and travel of their literature, but also of the collection and preservation of their rare objects, including the rich and varied collections of exquisitely beautiful manuscripts and scrolls and other objects of antiquarian and museological importance. Here, we are concerned more with their catholicity of mind as far as the wealth of their Mss-collections and their careful maintenance for the dissemination of knowledge is concerned.

At the outset, I must admit my inability to do full justice to all such Mss-collections in Gujarat and neighbouring states, esp. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. A few obvious reasons may be adduced:

1. The Govt. of Rajasthan has already established branches of Rajasthan Oriental Research Institutes at different places in Rajasthan. Hence, I do not intend to cover their collections, except when it is necessary as a part of the activity of the publication of some catalogue by the Baroda Institute.
2. In Madhya Pradesh also, there might have been such efforts at collecting manuscripts at different centres.
3. The former Central Provinces and Berar are now divided into Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. So, I'll just skip over them.
4. In Gujarat also, there are many places, especially Jaina strongholds, where we find varied treasures of Mss. I shall confine myself to only those places where at least hand-written lists and registers of Mss. are maintained. There are many

places which I could not visit due to shortage of time. At some places, I could not even see the registers of Mss. due to a variety of reasons such as the apathy of the owners, their reluctance, unwillingness or a sort of apprehension about the loss of their collections and most important thing is their innocence about the worth of their valuable treasure. At times, our letters were also never even acknowledged by the authorities of Bhandars/Institutes. Hence, it was not at all possible to know the Mss. collection of such Bhandars/Institutes. Under these circumstances, I am obliged to take note of only those very few collections, of which either the printed catalogues or at least hand-written registers were available to me. As a result, this article does not purport to be giving exhaustive information about the entire Mss. collections in Gujarat. Thus, there is ample scope to sustantially add to this information.

The Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda

H.H. the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III, the king of Baroda, established this Institute with a view to making singular contributions to the Indological research. With this noble ideal in mind, he started the world-famous and scholar-acclaimed Gaekwad's Oriental Series, popularly known as the GOS. Besides the publication of books based on rare, old and important Mss. from various fields such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Persian, Arabic, Prakrit, Old Gujarati, Apabhraṁśa, etc., the GOS also published many catalogues of Mss. from different places, such as Baroda, Cambay, Pattan, Jesalmere, etc. I furnish below the relevant details of these collections, so that the interested readers/scholars will get a fairly good idea of the worth of these works.

1. An Alphabetical List of Mss. in the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, 1942, pp. 12 & 742; Vol. II, 1950, pp. 12 plus 743 to 1654. Both these compiled by R. Nambiar, as GOS Nos. 97 & 114.

The Oriental Institute rightly boasts of a very fine collection of rare, rich and old Mss. on varied subjects. It has a collection of nearly 27100 Mss. in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Apabhraṁśa, Bengali and South Indian Languages, employing all the major scripts like Devanāgarī, Nandināgarī, Grantha, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Śāradā, Bengali, Newari, Gurumukhi and Urdu/Arabic/Persian.

These Mss. are written or engraved on paper, palm-leaves, Bhūrjapatra, agarutvak, śolapatra, tūlapatra, cloth, copper-plates and scrolls. The extremely beautiful scrolls of Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata, Bhagavadgītā and the Vijñaptipatra depicting pictorially the town of Jesalmere of the 18-19th century are the valuable pieces of art of calligraphy, painting, etc. Amongst the most important and notable Mss. a mention must be made of those works published in the GOS. Even a cursory glance at the GOS publications will prove this point—a fact known to every scholar interested in Indological research. In passing, I may just say that till this date the Oriental Institute has published 171 works in the GOS. Many more rare works are awaiting the light of the day. The Mss. in the Oriental Institute are divided into forty categories such as Vedic literature, Sūtras, Vedānta and other philosophical systems, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Alaṅkāra, Chhandas, Jyotiṣa, Āyurveda, Tantra, Bauddha and Jainaśāstras, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Vividha and South Indian and other languages. It is very difficult to give the exact number of rare and important Mss. from these subdivisions. But, one thing can easily be said that there are many rare and important Mss. in every section, the discerning scholars will easily gauge them. The oldest dated paper manuscript in the Oriental Institute

is that of the Kāvyalaṅkāra of Rudraṭa. It is dated 1301 A.D. (V.S. 1357).

2. A Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan, compiled from the notes of the late C.D. Dalal, with Introduction, Indices, Appendices by L.B. Gandhi, Vol. I, Palm-Leaf Mss., Baroda, 1937.

The Jainas have the singular credit of preserving with a conservative attitude the rarities of all kinds: gems, sciences, Mss. and other antiquities of art including temples. It has been their prime endeavour to collect and preserve for posterity the rich specimens of all types of important objects. Their riches were instrumental in not only possessing these things, but also in the wide spread of knowledge. In addition to their zeal and enthusiasm, they could get royal patronage for the furtherance of their activities—artistic as well as intellectual. Their affluent Bhandars at many places prove this point. In fact, theirs is no mean an achievement in the field of Mss. collection and preservation. The Jainas have rendered yeoman services particularly in Gujarat and Rajasthan, in respect of the preservation, propagation and dissemination of knowledge. At the instance of H.H. the Maharaja Sayajirao III of Baroda, Mr. C.D. Dalal prepared a "Report on the search for Sanskrit Mss. in the Jaina Bhandars at Pattan" and Mr. L.B. Gandhi edited the catalogue under review, based as it is on the notes of Mr. Dalal.

In this catalogue, nearly 600 palm-leaf Mss. composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Gujarati, Apabhraṁśa, etc. belonging to 8 different Bhandars are described in detail. These collections, though small in number, are of paramount importance as far as the antiquarian, literary, cultural and historical information is concerned.

3. Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Mss. in the Śāntinātha Jaina Bhandar, Cambay, Part I, 1961, pp. 6 & 200. Pt. II, 1966, pp. xii plus 201 to 497. Both ed. by Āgama Prabhākara Muni Puṇyavijayaji. GOS. Nos. 135, 149.

This collection of 290 rare, old and important Mss. is indeed very valuable from the points of view of history, culture, literature, etc. These Mss. offer invaluable information for critically studying original texts like the Jaina canons, treatises on Jaina Karmavāda, ancient story-literature couched in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa, etc., works on Indian philosophical systems, grammar, lexicography, Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, Subhāṣitas, et al. We find very old and, in some cases, oldest extant Mss. on a variety of subjects — mentioned above — furnishing a fund of information to researchers for the furtherance of their intellectual pursuits. A genuinely interested scholar will definitely be benefited from this magnificent collection.

4. A Catalogue of Mss. in the Jaina Bhandars at Jesalmere, compiled by C.D. Dalal and ed. with Introduction, Indexes and Notes on unpublished works and their authors by L.B. Gandhi, Central Library (now Oriental Institute), Baroda, 1923, pp. 70 plus 101.

This catalogue starts with the description of the little-known rare works and their authors arranged according to the subject matter, such as Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Sūtras, Nyāya (Jaina & Bauddha), Vaiśeṣika, Vedānta, Jain Gaṇita, Jainopadeśa, Jaina Dharmakathā, Vyākaraṇa, Kāvya, Chhandas, Alaṅkāra, Koṣa, Nāṭaka, Stotras, works in Gurjara and Hindi languages.

Then are described the paper Mss. of the Big Bhandar at Jesalmere (18 Mss.); list of palm-leaf Mss. in the Tapagaccha Bhandar (9 Mss.); paper Mss. in the Tapagaccha Upāśraya Bhandar (19 Mss.); paper Mss. of Dungarji Yati (22 Mss.); paper Mss. in the Thrushaha Bhandar (4 Mss.). In the Pariśiṣṭa are given the inscriptions about the Praśastis found in the Temple at Jesalmere. This quantitatively small collection is very important for the rare Mss. of Jainism.

5. Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijayaji Śāstra Saṅgraha, Jaina Atmārāma Mandira, Narasinhaji ni pola, Baroda-390001.

This small collection contains nearly 3100 Mss. of Jainism, composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Gujarati. Most of the Mss. deal with the canonical literature of the Jainas.

6. Pravartaka Kāntivijayaji Saṅgraha, Cchani, Baroda.

This hand-list of 35 folios contains nearly 1120 Mss. mainly Jaina canonical works. The languages are Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati. There are some rare palm-leaf Mss. also in this comparatively small collection.

Both these lists are available in the L.D. Institute of Indology at Ahmedabad.

7. A.S. Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad, Dist. Kaira, Gujarat.

This public library, mainly catering to the needs of general folks, possesses some rare Mss. in their collection of nearly 1300 Mss. They are mainly in Sanskrit, Gujarati, and Hindi. Amongst the rare Mss. a mention must be made of Śetarañjaraṅga a work on the game of chess, composed by Devaśaṅkara Vyās in Śaka 1667; Gurjarīśatakam of Devadatta. It is dated V.S. 1756; Vipraviḍambananāṭaka of Sadānanda depicting the tortúrous treatment meted out to Gujarati Brahmins by the Moghul nobles. This drama is unique in the sense that it has employed five languages, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrit, Urdu, Marathi and Hindi. Padakhaṇḍana of Viśvanāthāśrama challenges the authority of the Science of Grammar — a rare effort by an accomplished grammarian, who tries to strike at the roots of this existence. Other works are generally found to be quite common. This collection deserves to be studied carefully, as there is every possibility that some other unknown works, especially by Gujarati scholars, are hidden in this very old and little known collection.

8. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. (Gujarat Vidya Sabha Collection). Pt. I. Compiled and ed. by Dr. Priyabala Shah, 1964, Pt. II, Nov. 1964, both the vols. published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad.

These two volumes describe nearly 3000 works, divided into the regular subjects. The third volume of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the B.J. Institute Museum was published in 1986. The two lady editors, viz., Drs. Mrs. Bharatiben Shelat and Vibhutiben Bhatt, have covered nearly 300 Mss. The total collection of the B.J. Institute is nearly 11000 Mss. in Skt., Pkt., Marathi, Gujarati, etc. They have some rare Mss. particularly in Gujarati and Marathi, besides Skt. They are classified according to the usual subjects, starting with Vedas and ending with Miscellaneous Mss.

9. Catalogue of Gujarati Mss. L.D. Series No. 71. Catalogue of Skt. and Pkt. Mss. Munirāja Śrī Puṇyavijayaji Collection, L.D. Series Nos. 2, 5 and 15; March 1965, 1968 and 1968. Catalogue of Skt. Pkt. Mss. Collections of Ācārya Vijayadevasūri and Ācārya Kṣāntisūri L.D. Series No. 20 Nov. 1968.

All these catalogues were published by the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. These four major catalogues describe nearly 11000 Mss. in the collections of the L.D. Institute. They are mostly Jaina Mss. written in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Gujarati. A really wonderful mine of invaluable Jaina works touching all subjects is to be found in these collections. In fact, we can unhesitatingly say that the L.D. collections are almost encyclopaedic as far as Jaina sources are concerned. This Institute has rendered very valuable and singular service to the cause of Jainism. It is next only to the rich collections at Pattan, of which the next catalogue will give a proof, if need be.

10. Catalogue of Mss. in the Hemachandracharya Jaina Jñānamandira, Pattan, Pt. I. Paper Mss. Compiler: Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaji, Pub. by the same Jñānamandira, 1972.

There are nearly 20 Bhandars in Pattan wherein rare and important Mss. mostly dealing with Jainism are deposited. This part contains a list of nearly 15000 Mss. from 13 such Bhandars. One is wonderstruck at the enormous mass of Mss., which are written in the following languages: Skt., Pkt., Gujarati, Magadhi, Apabhraṁśa, Hindi, Marathi, Rajasthani, Panjabi, Vraja. It speaks for the diligent efforts of the Jainas in preserving their heritage, even in adverse situations, including political disturbances, absence of royal patronage, etc. It will be really a Herculean task even to physically handle them all. The intensely interested scholars have a harvest to bank on, during the course of their research. The paramount importance of this collection cannot be gainsaid by any scholar worth the name.

11. Shri Bhuvaneshvari Peetha, Gondal, Saurashtra.

This Peetha issued two catalogues of their valuable Mss. in 1956 and 1960. The speciality of this collection is that most of the works are complete and dated too. It is a rare thing. Another important feature of this collection is that it contains works written in Skt., Pkt., Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Vraja, Apabhraṁśa, Rajasthani, Marwadi. They have collected the Mss. from such distant places as Tanjore, Madras, etc.—really a feat to be emulated by all for creating a source of inspiration for the scholars. There are many rare and important works—some of which are still unpublished—in this wonderfully maintained collection. Their catalogues are verily a mine of information to the scholars. They have nearly 4200 Mss. in their custody.

12. Jaina Jñānabhandara, Limbadi, Saurashtra.

The catalogue of this Jñānabhandara containing 3507 Mss. was published in 1928. It was edited by Muniraja Chaturavijayaji, the disciple of the great savant Pravartaka Kāntivijayaji Maharaja. The speciality of this collection is that the works herein are composed in Skt., Pkt., Gujarati, Hindi, Apabhraṁśa, Farsi, etc. Though the main bulk deals with the Jaina canonical works, there are other rare and important works also adorning this old collection, despite the fact that the no. of manuscripts is comparatively

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very small. There are paper as well as palm-leaf Mss. in this Bhandara.

I may conclude this survey by suggesting some measures for the organisation of Mss. collections as well as writing a few words about the difficulties faced by the scholars in procuring the required Mss. for their studies.

Difficulties

The first and foremost is the apathy of the majority of Sanskrit scholars towards the study of manuscripts, mainly because manuscript-reading requires concentration and sincere urge to study it. It involves a lot of trouble beginning with the decipherment of letters — a really tedious job. The second reason is the absence of courtesy of even acknowledging the receipt of the letters/reminders from scholars/Institutes. The third reason is the lack of facilities to supply either xerox copy or microfilm negatives, due possibly to the paucity of funds. At some places, though these facilities are available, there are no qualified staff to handle these — thus rendering these machines redundant. In course of time, these go out of order. The fourth reason is the innocence of the persons handling these collections. They are either businessmen or no-scholars as far as Skt. and Pkt. are concerned. Added to that is the fear lurking in their minds that somebody will carry away their Mss. while referring to them in the premises also. It is tantamount to denying the scholar his dues.

The fifth reason is the rules which do not permit to take the Mss. out of the premises, even for xeroxing, or microfilming. Clinging to the word and not to the spirit of law, some Institutes just refuse to supply copies of their Mss. and inform the needy to carry their own machinery for getting the copies, which is physically impossible.

There are other causes also that can be enumerated. But, I have listed the major ones only.

Remedial Measures: Suggestions

The Central Govt. be requested to issue orders to the Directors of Libraries in all the States and Union Territories to arrange to collect information of the existence of libraries in their respective States that possess manuscripts. This can be done through the active help from the District Education Officers, impressing upon them the need to preserve this national heritage. A Central Advisory or Executive Committee be formed for this purpose. The members should be interested active scholars from various places/Institutes who will render their services in this direction. In the States also, such Committees be formed with the Director of Libraries at the helm, assisted by the members representing different libraries/Institutes.

The main work of these committees should be to collect valuable and authentic information about the existence of different Mss. collections in their regions and to report it to the National Committee for doing the needful in the matter. The National Body should send science-trained personnel to different Institutes/Libraries for enlightening them on the measures of preservation/conservation of Mss. in the light of modern research/techniques. There should be a meeting of the State bodies in every quarter of the year and the National Body should meet at least once in six months to try to sort out the problems and decide the next course of action. Efficient handling of these will definitely give rich dividends. Scholars should be invited to deliver talks on the topics connected with manuscriptology, wherein the main thrust will be on preservation. Seminars on State and National levels will also contribute their mite in this direction.